
THE
Historie of the
REFORMATION
of the
CHURCH of ENGLAND
RELIGION
SUPERSTITION
POPES
DECREES
SUPREMAC
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THE

OF THE

REFORMATION

OF THE

The First Part.

OF THE

Progress made in it during the Reign

OF

By *GILBERT BURNET.*

LONDON,

Printed by *T. H.* for at the Rose and Crown in St. *Paul's* Church-yard,

TO THE
KING



SIR,



HE first step that was made in the *Reformation* of this Church, was the restoring to your Royal Ancestors the Rights of the Crown, and an entire Dominion over all their Subjects; of which they had been disseised by the craft and violence of an unjust Pretender: to whom the Clergy, though your Majesties Progenitors had enriched them, by a bounty no less profuse than ill managed, did not only adhere, but drew with them the Laity, over whose Consciences they had gained so absolute an Authority, that our Kings were to expect no Obedience from their people, but what the Popes were pleased to allow.

It is true, the Nobler part of the Nation did frequently in Parliament, assert the Regal Prerogatives against those Papal invasions; yet these were but faint endeavours, for an ill-executed Law is but an unequal match to a Principle strongly infused into the Consciences of the people.

But how different was this from the teaching of Christ and his Apostles? They forbad men to use all those Arts by which the Papacy grew up and yet subsists:

ſiſts: They exhorted them to obey Magiſtrates, when they knew it would coſt them their Lives: They were for ſetting up a Kingdom, not of this World, nor to be attained but by a holy and peaceable Religion. If this might every-where take place, Princes would find Government both eaſie and ſecure: It would raiſe in their Subjects the trueſt courage, and unite them with the firmeſt charity: It would draw from them Obedience to the Laws, and Reverence to the perſons of their Kings. If the Standards of Juſtice and Charity, which the Goſpel gives, of doing as we would be done by, and loving our Neighbours as our ſelves, were made the meaſures of mens actions, how ſteadily would Societies be governed, and how exactly would Princes be obeyed!

The deſign of the *Reformation*, was to reſtore Chriſtianity to what it was at firſt, and to purge it of thoſe Corruptions, with which it was over-run in the later and darker Ages.

GREAT SIR, This work was carryed on by a ſlow and unſteady Progreſs under King *Henry* the VIII; it advanced in a fuller and freer courſe under the ſhort but bleſſed Reign of King *Edward*; was Sealed with the blood of many Martyrs under Queen *Mary*; was brought to a full ſettlement in the happy and glorious days of Queen *Elizabeth*; was defended by the learned Pen of King *James*; but the eſtabliſhed frame of it, under which it had ſo long flouriſhed, was overthrown with your Majeſties bleſſed Father, who fell with it, and honoured it by his unexempled Suffering for it; and was again reſtored to its former beauty and order, by your Majeſties happy Return.

What

What remains to compleat and perpetuate this Blessing, the composing of our differences at home, the establishing a closer correspondence with the Reformed Churches abroad, the securing us from the restless and wicked practices of that Party, who hoped so lately to have been at the end of their designs; and that which can only entitle us to a Blessing from God, the Reforming of our manners and lives, as our Ancestors did our Doctrine and Worship; All this is reserved for your Majesty, that it may appear, that your Royal Title of Defender of the Faith is no empty sound, but the real strength and Glory of your Crown.

For attaining these ends, it will be of great use to trace the steps of our first Reformers; for if the land-marks they set be observed, we can hardly go out of the way. This was my chief design in the following sheets, which I now most humbly offer to your Majesty, hoping that as you were graciously pleased to command that I should have free access to all *Records* for composing them, so you will not deny your Royal Patronage to the History of that Work, which God grant your Majesty may live to raise to its perfection, and to compleat in your Reign the Glory of all your Titles. This is a part of the most earnest as well as the daily Prayers of,

May it please Your Sacred Majesty,

Your Majesties most Loyal,
most Faithful, and most
devoted Subject and Servant,

G. BURNET.

THE CONTENTS OF THIS VOLUME.

BOOK I.

ERRATA in the Historical part.

PAge 12. Line 6. Margent for 15. read 1st. p. 49. l. 19. for *chiefly* r. *clearly*. p. 54. l. 15. for 10. r. 13. p. 103. l. 32. *Abisha* r. *Abishag*. p. 109. l. 47. *had* r. *has*. p. 115. l. 10. *having* r. *had*. p 125. l. 9. before *officiate* r. *did*. p. 151. l. 31. *speak* r. *spake*. p. 173. l. 31. dele *a*. p. 186. l. 25. *Pachon* r. *Pachom* p. 198 l. 8. *co* r. *to*. p. 203. l. 41. *then* r. *that*. p. 205. l. 20. *being her last words* r. *her last words being*. p. 235. l. 44. *that so*, r. *so that*. p. 239. l. 33. *was* r. *is*. p. 259. l 42. *As* r. *All*. p. 264. l. 15. *down* r. *out*. p. 275. l. 5. *no* r. *on*. p. 283. l. 49. *in that* r. *that in*. l. 51. *the great charges of* r. *of the great charges*. p. 284. l. 21. *person* r. *prison*. p. 327. l. 31. *desertion* r. *discovery*. p. 333. Marginal Note *resentments* r. *preferments*, *Informers* r. *Reformers*. p. 344. l. 22. before *be* r. *that*. p. 369. l. 5. *utrumque* r. *utcumque*.

Some Literal faults and mistakes in the Punctuation the Reader will more easily Correct.

The

THE

PREFACE.



Here is no Part of History better received than the Account of great Changes, and Revolutions of States and Governments, in which the Variety of unlooked-for Accidents and Events, both entertains the Reader and improves him.

Of all Changes, those in Religion that have been sudden and signal, are enquired into with the most searching Curiosity: where the Salvation of Souls being concern'd, the better sort are much affected; and the Credit, Honour, and Interest of Churches and Parties draw in these, who though they do not much care for the Religious part, yet make noise about it to serve other Ends. The Changes that were made in Religion in the last Century have produc'd such effects everywhere, that it is no wonder if all persons desire to see a clear account of the several steps in which they advanced, of the Counsels that directed them, and the Motives both Religious and Political that enclined men of all conditions to concur in them. Germany produced a Sleidan, France a Thuanus, and Italy a Frier Paul, who have given the World as full satisfaction in what was done beyond Sea as they could desire. And though the two last lived and died in the Communion of the Church of Rome, yet they have delivered things to Posterity, with so much Candour and Evenness, that their Authority is disputed by none but those of their own Party.

But while Forreign Churches have such Historians, ours at home have not had the like good fortune: for whether it was, that the Reformers at first presumed so far on their Legal and calm proceedings, on the continued Succession of their Clergie, the Authority of the Law, and the Protection of the Prince, that they judged it needless to write an History, and therefore imployed their best pens, rather to justifie what they did, than to deliver how it was done; or whether by a meer neglect the thing was omitted, we cannot determine. True it is, that it was not done to any degree of Exactness, when matters were so fresh in mens memories, that things might have been opened with greater Advantages, and vouch'd by better Authority, than it is to be expected at this distance.

They were soon after much provok'd by Sanders History, which he published to the World in Latine: yet either despising a writer, who did so impudently deliver falshoods, that from his own Book many of them may be disproved, or expecting a Command from Authority, they did not then set about it. The best account I can give of their silence is, that most of Sanders Calumnies being levelled at Queen Elizabeth, whose birth and parents he designed chiefly to disgrace, it was thought too tender a point by her wise Counsellors to be much enquired into: it gave too great credit to his Lies, to answer them; an answer would draw forth a Reply, by which those Calumnies would still be kept alive; and therefore it was not without good reason thought

better to let them lie unanswered and despised. From whence it is come that in this age that Author is in such Credit, that now he is quoted with much assurance: most of all the writers in the Church of Rome, *relie on his testimony as a good authority. The Collectors of the General History of that Age, follow his thred closely, some of them transcribe his very words. One* Pollini *a Dominican, published an History of the Changes that were made in* England, *in* Italian *at* Rome Anno. 1594. *which he should more ingenuously have called a Translation, or Paraphrase of* Sanders *History: and of late more candidly, but no less maliciously, one of the best pens of* France *has been employed to translate him into their language, which has created such prejudices in the minds of many there, that our Reformation, which generally was more modestly spoken of, even by those who wrote against it, is now look'd on by such as read* Sanders, *and believe him, as one of the foulest things that ever was.*

Fox *for all his Voluminous Work, had but few things in his eye when he made his Collection, and designed only to discover the Corruptions and Cruelties of the Roman Clergie, and the Sufferings and Constancy of the Reformers. But his work was written in haste, and there are so many defects in it, that it can by no means be called a Compleat History of these times; though I must add, that having compared his Acts and Monuments with the Records, I have never been able to discover any errors or prevarications in them, but the utmost fidelity and exactness.* Parker *Arch-bishop of* Canterbury, *designed only in his account of the* British Antiquities, *to do justice and honour to his See, and so gives us barely the life of* Cranmer, *with some few and general hints of what he did.* Hall *was but a superficial Writer, and was more careful to get full informations of the Cloaths that were worn at the Interviews of Princes, Justs, Tournaments, and great Solemnities, than about the Counsels, or secret Transactions of the time he lived in.* Holingshead, Speed, *and* Stow, *give but bare Relations of things that were Publick, and commit many faults. Upon their scent most of our later Writers have gone, and have only collected and repeated what they wrote.*

The Lord Herbert *judged it unworthy of him to trifle as others had done, and therefore made a more narrow search into Records and original Papers, than all that had gone before him; and with great fidelity and industry, has given us the History of King* Henry *the Eighth. But in the Transactions that concern Religion, he dwells not so long as the matter required, leaving those to men of another Profession, and judging it perhaps not so proper for one of his condition to pursue a full and accurate Deduction of those matters.*

Since he wrote, two have undertaken the Ecclesiastical History, Fuller *and* Heylin. *The former got into his hands some few Papers, that were not seen before he published them; but being a man of fancie, and affecting an odd way of writing, his work gives no great Satisfaction. But Doctor* Heylin *wrote smoothly and handsomly, his Method and Stile are good, and his work was generally more read than any thing that had appeared before him: but either he was very ill informed, or very much led by his Passions; and he being wrought on by most violent prejudices against some that were concerned in that time, delivers many things in such a manner and so strangely, that one would think he had been secretly set on to it by those of the Church of* Rome, *though I doubt not he was a sincere Protestant, but violently carried away by some particular conceits. In one thing he is not to be excused, That he never vouched any Authority for what he writ, which is*

not

not to be forgiven any, who write of Transactions beyond their own time, and deliver new things not known before. So that upon what grounds he wrote a great deal of his Book we can only conjecture, and many in their guesses are not apt to be very favourable to him.

Things being delivered to us with so much alloy and uncertainty, those of the Church of Rome *do confidently disparage our Reformation. The short History of it, as it is put in their mouths, being, That it was begun by the lusts and passions of King* Henry *the Eighth, carried on by the Ravenousness of the Duke of* Summerset, *under* Edward *the Sixth, and confirmed by the Policy of Queen* Elizabeth *and her Council to secure her Title. These things being generally talked and spread abroad in Forreign parts, especially in* France, *by the new Translation of* Sanders, *and not being yet sufficiently cleared, many have desired to see a fuller and better account of those Transactions than has yet been given; so the thing being necessary, I was the more encouraged to set about it by some persons of great Worth and Eminence, who thought I had much leisure and other good Opportunities to go through with it, and wished me to undertake it. The person that did engage me chiefly to this work, was on many Accounts much fitter to have undertaken it himself, being the most Indefatigable in his Industry, and the most Judicious in his Observations, of any I know, and is one of the greatest Masters of Stile now living. But being engaged in the service of the Church, in a station that affords him very little leisure, he set me on to it, and furnished me with a curious Collection of his own Observations. And in some sort this work may be accounted his, for he corrected it with a most Critical Exactness; so that the first materials, and the last finishing of it, are from him. But after all this, I lie under such restraints from his Modesty, that I am not allowed to publish his name.*

I had two Objections to it, besides the knowledg of my own unfitness for such a work. One was my Unacquaintedness with the Laws and Customs of this Nation, not being born in it: the other was the Expence, that such a Search as was necessary, required, which was not easie for me to bear. My acquaintance with the most ingenious Master William Petyt *Councellour of the* Inner-Temple *cleared one difficulty, he offering me his assistance and direction, without which I must have committed great faults. But I must acknowledg my self highly obliged by the favour and bounty of the Honourable Master of the Rolls, Sir* Harebottle Grimstone, *of whose Worth and Goodness to me I must make a large digression, if I would undertake to say all that the Subject will bear: The whole Nation expressed their value of him, upon the most Signal Occasion, when they made him their Mouth and Speaker in that Blessed Assembly which called home their King, after which real evidence all little Commendations may be well forborn. The Obligations he has laid on me are such, that as the Gratitude and Service of my whole life, is the only equal return I can make for them; so as a small tribute I judg my self obliged to make my acknowledgments in this manner, for the leisure I enjoy under his Protection, and the Support I receive from him; and if this work does the world any service, the best part of the Thanks is due to him, that furnished me with particular Opportunities of Carrying it on. Nor must I conceal the Nobleness of that Renown'd Promoter of Learning Master* Boyle, *who contributed liberalty to the Expence this Work put me to.*

Upon these encouragements I set about it, and began with the Search of all Publick Records and Offices, the Parliament *and* Treaty-Rolls *with all the*

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Patent-Rolls, *and the Registers of the Sees of* Canterbury *and* London, *and of the* Augmentation-Office. *Then I laid out for all the MSS. I could hear of, and found things beyond my Expectation in the famous* Cotton *Library, where there is such a Collection of Original Papers relating to these times, as perhaps the World can shew nothing like it. I had also the favour of some MSS. of great value, both from the Famous and eminently Learned Doctor* Stillingfleet, *who gave me great Assistance in this work, and from Mr.* Petyt *and others. When I had look'd these over, I then used all the Endeavours I could, to gather together the Books that were printed in those days, from which I not only got considerable hints of matters of Fact, but (that which I chiefly look'd for) the Arguments upon which they managed the Controversies then on foot, of which I thought it was the part of an Ecclesiastical Historian to give an Account, as I could recover them, that it may appear upon what motives and grounds they proceeded.*

The Three chief Periods of Henry *the Eighth his Reign, in which Religion is concerned, are, First, From the beginning of his Reign, till the Process of his Divorce with Queen* Katharine *commenced. The Second is from that, till his total Breaking off from* Rome, *and setting up his Supremacy over all Causes and Persons. The Third is from that, to his Death.*

When I first set about this Work, I intended to have carryed on the History of the Reformation to the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, *in which it was finished and fully setled; but I was forced to change that Resolution. The chief reason, among many others, was, that I have not yet been able to discover such full Informations of what passed under the Succeeding Reigns, as were necessary for a History; and though I have search't the publick Registers of that time, yet I am still in the dark my self in many particulars. This made me resolve on publishing this Volume first, hoping that those in whose hands any Manuscripts or Papers of that time lie, will from what is now performed, be encouraged to Communicate them: or if any have made a considerable Progress in those Collections, I shall be far from envying them the honour of such a work, in which it had been inexcusable Vanity in me to have medled, if the desires of others, who have great Power over me, had not prevailed with me to set about it. And therefore though I have made a good Advance in the following part of the Work, I shall most willingly resign it up to any who will undertake it, and they shall have the free use of all my Papers. But if none will set about it, who yet can furnish materials towards it, I hope their zeal for carrying on so desired a Work, will engage them to give all the help to it that is in their Power.*

There is only one passage belonging to the next Volume, which I shall take notice of here, since from it I must plead my Excuse for several defects, which may seem to be in this Work. In the Search I made of the Rolls and other Offices, I wondred much to miss several Commissions, Patents, and other Writings, which by clear evidence I knew were Granted, and yet none of them appeared on record. This I could not impute to any thing but the omission of the Clerks, who failed in the enrolling those Commissions, though it was not likely that matters of so high Concernment should have been neglected, especially in such a Critical time, and under so severe a King. But as I continued down my search to the Fourth year of Queen Mary, *I found in the Twelvth Roll of that year, a Commission, which cleared all my former doubts, and by which I saw what was become of the things I had so anxiously searched after. We have heard of the Expurgation of Books practi-*

sed

sed in the Church of Rome, *but it might have been imagined, that publick Registers and Records would have been safe; yet lest these should have been afterwards Confessors, it was resolved they should then be Martyrs; for on the 29th of* December, *in the 4th year of her Reign, a Commission was issued out under the great Seal to* Bonner *Bishop of* London, Cole *Dean of St.* Pauls, *and* Martine *a Doctor of the Civil Law, which is of that importance, that I shall here insert the material words of it :* Whereas it is come to our knowledg, that in the time of the late Schisme diverse Compts, Books, Scrolls, Instruments, and other writings were practised, devised, and made, concerning Professions against the Popes Holiness, and the See Apostolick; and also sundry infamous Scrutinies taken in Abbeys and other Religious houses, tending rather to subvert and overthrow all good Religion and Religious houses, than for any truth contained therein: Which being in the Custody of divers Registers, and we intending to have those writings brought to knowledg, whereby they may be Considered and ordered according to our will and pleasure; *thereupon, those three or any two of them are empowered* to cite any persons before them, and examine them upon the Premisses upon Oath, and to bring all such Writings before them, and certifie their diligence about it to Cardinal *Pool*, that further order might be given about them.

When I saw this, I soon knew which way so many Writings had gone: and as I could not but wonder at their boldness, who thus presumed to raze so many Records; so their ingenuity in leaving this Commission in the Rolls, by which any who had the Curiosity to search for it, might be satisfied how the other Commissions were destroyed, was much to be commended. Yet in the following Work, it will appear that some few Papers escaped their hands.

I know it is needless to make great Protestations of my sincerity in this Work. These are of course and are little considered, but I shall take a more effectual way to be believed, for I shall vouch my Warrants for what I say, and tell where they are to be found. And having copied out of Records and MSS. many Papers of great importance, I shall not only insert the substance of them in the following Work, but at the end of it shall give a Collection of them at their full length, and in the Language in which they were originally written: from which as the Reader will receive full Evidence of the truth of this History; so he will not be ill pleased, to observe the Genius and way of the Great men in that time, of which he will be better able to judge, by seeing their Letters and other Papers, than by any representation made of them at second hand. They are digested into that order, in which they are referred to in the History.

It will surprize some to see a Book of this Bigness, written of the History of our Reformation, under the Reign of King Henry *the Eighth : since the true beginnings of it, are to be reckoned from the Reign of King* Edward, *the 6. in which the Articles of our Church, and the Forms of our Worship, were first compiled and set forth by Authority. And indeed in King* Henry's *time the Reformation, was rather conceived than brought forth, and two Parties were in the last* 18 *years of his Reign strugling in the Womb, having now and then advantages, on either side, as the unconstant humour of that King changed, and as his Interests, and often as his passions swayed him.*

Cardinal Wolsey *had so dissolved his mind into pleasures, and puffed him up with Flattery and servile Compliances, that it was not an easie thing to serve him; for being boisterous and impatient naturally, which was much*

heightned

heightned by his most extravagant vanity, and high conceit of his own Learning and Wisdom, he was one of the most uncounsellable persons in the World.

The Book which he wrote, had engaged him deep in these Controversies, and by perpetual flatteries, he was brought to fancie it was written with some degrees of inspiration. And Luther *in his answer had treated him so unmannerly, that it was only the necessity of his Affairs, that forced him into any correspondence with that Party in* Germany.

And though Cranmer *and* Cromwel *improved every advantage, that either the Kings temper, or his Affairs offered them, as much as could be; yet they were to be pitied, having to do with a Prince, who upon the slightest pretences threw down those whom he had most advanced; which* Cromwel *felt severely, and* Cranmer *was sometimes near it.*

The faults of this King being so conspicuous, and the severity of his proceedings so unjustifiable, particularly that heinous violation of the most sacred Rules of Justice and Government, in condemning men without bringing them to make their Answers; most of our Writers have separated the Concerns of this Church from his Reign: and imagining that all he did, was founded only on his Revenge upon the Court of Rome, *for denying his Divorce, have taken little care to examine how matters were transacted in his time.*

But if we consider the great things that were done by him, we must acknowledge that there was a signal providence of God, in raising up a King of his temper, for clearing the way to that blessed Work that followed: and that could hardly have been done, but by a man of his humour; so that I may very fitly apply to him the witty Simile of an ingenious writer, who compares Luther *to a* Postilion *in his waxed Boots and oiled Coat, lashing his horses through thick and thin, and bespattering all about him.*

This Character befits King Henry *better (saving the Reverence due to his Crown) who as the* Postilion of Reformation, *made way for it through a great deal of mire and filth. He abolished the Popes Power, by which not only that Tyranny was destroyed, which had been long an heavie burthen on this oppressed Nation; but all the Opinions, Rites, and Constitutions, for which there was no better Authority than Papal Decrees, were to fall to the ground; The Foundation that supported them being thus sapped. He suppressed all the Monasteries; in which though there were some inexcusable faults committed, yet he wanted not reason to do what he did. For the Foundation of those Houses being laid on the Superstitious Conceit of Redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, by saying Masses for them; they whose Office that was, had by counterfeiting Relicks, by forging of Miracles, and other like Impostures, drawn together a vast wealth, to the enriching of their Saints, of whom some perhaps were damn'd Souls, and others were never in being. These arts being detected, and withal their great Viciousness in some places, and in all, their great abuse of the Christian Religion, made it seem unfit they should be continued. But it was their dependence on the See of* Rome, *which, as the state of things then was, made it necessary that they should be supprest. New Foundations might have done well, and the scantness of those, considering the number and wealth of those which were suppressed, is one of the great blemishes of that Reign. But it was in vain to endeavour to amend the old ones. Their numbers were so great, their Riches and Interests in the Nation so considerable; that a Prince of Ordinary mettal would not have attempted such a design, much less have compleated it in Five years time. With these fell the Superstition of Images, Reliques, and the Redemption of Souls out of*

Purgatory.

Purgatory. And those Extravagant Addresses to Saints that are in the Roman Offices were thrown out, only an Ora pro nobis *was kept up, and even that was left to the liberty of Priests, to leave it out of the Litanies as they saw cause. These were great preparations for a Reformation. But it went further, and two things were done, upon which a greater Change was reasonably to be expected. The Scriptures were Translated into the* English *tongue, and set up in all Churches, and every one was admitted to read them, and they alone were declared the Rule of Faith. This could not but open the eyes of the Nation, who finding a profound silence in these writings about many things, and a direct opposition to other things that were still retained, must needs conclude, even without deep Speculations or nice Disputing, that many things that were still in the Church had no ground in Scripture, and some of the rest were directly contrary to it. This* Cranmer *knew well would have such an operation, and therefore made it his chief business to set it forward, which in Conclusion he happily effected.*

Another thing was also established, which opened the way to all that followed: That every National Church was a Compleat Body within it self, so that the Church of England, *with the Authority and Concurrence of their Head, and King, might examine and Reform all Errors and Corruptions, whether in Doctrine or Worship. All the Provincial Councils in the ancient Church, were so many Precedents for this, who condemned Heresies, and Reformed abuses as the occasion required. And yet these being all but parts of one Empire, there was less reason for their doing it, without staying for a General Council, which depended upon the pleasure of one man (the* Roman *Emperor) than could be pretended, when* Europe *was divided into so many Kingdoms: By which a common Concurrence of all these Churches was a thing scarce to be expected; and therefore this Church must be in a very ill Condition, if there could be no endeavours for a Reformation, till all the rest were brought together.*

The Grounds of the new-Covenant between God and man in Christ, were also truly stated, and the terms on which Salvation was to be hoped for, were faithfully opened according to the New-Testament. And this being in the strict notion of the word, the Gospel, *and the glad tidings preached through our Blessed Lord and Saviour, it must be confessed that there was a great Progress made, when the Nation was well instructed about it; though there was still an alloy of other Corruptions, embasing the Purity of the Faith. And indeed in the whole progress of these changes, the Kings design seemed to have been to terrifie the Court of* Rome, *and cudgel the Pope into a Compliance with what he desired: for in his heart he continued addicted to some of the most extravagant Opinions of that Church, such as Transubstantiation and the other Corruptions in the Mass, so that he was to his lives end more Papist than Protestant.*

There are two Prejudices, which men have generally drunk in against that time. The one is, from the Kings great Enormities, both in his personal Deportment and Government, which make many think, no good could be done by so ill a man, and so cruel a Prince. I am not to defend him nor to lessen his faults. The vastness and irregularity of his Expence procured many heavy Exactions, and twice extorted a publick Discharge of his debts, embased the Coin, with other Irregularities. His proud and impatient Spirit occasioned many cruel proceedings. The taking so many lives; only for denying his Supremacy, particularly Fisher's *and* More's; *the one being extreme old,*

and the other one of the Glories of his Nation, for Probity and Learning: The taking advantage from some Eruptions in the North, to break the Indempnity he had before proclaimed to those in the Rebellion, even though they could not be proved Guilty of those second disorders: His extreme Severity to all Cardinal Pool's *Family: his cruel using, first* Cromwel, *and afterwards the Duke of* Norfolk *and his Son, besides his un-exampled Proceedings against some of his Wives; and that which was worst of all, The laying a Precedent for the subversion of Justice, and oppressing the clearest Innocence, by attainting men without hearing them: These are such remarkable blemishes, that as no man of ingenuity can go about the whitening them; so the poor Reformers drunk so deep of that bitter cup, that it very ill becomes any of their followers, to endeavour to give fair Colours to those red and bloody Characters, with which so much of his Reign is stained.*

Yet after all this sad enumeration, it was no new nor unusual thing in the methods of Gods Providence, to employ Princes who had great mixtures of very gross faults, to do signal things for his Service. Not to mention David *and* Solomon, *whose sins were expiated with a severe Repentance; it was the bloody* Cyrus *that sent back the Jews to their Land, and gave them leave to re-build their Temple.* Constantine *the Great is by some of his Enemies, charged with many blemishes both in his Life, and Government.* Clovis *of* France *under whom that Nation received the Christian Faith, was a monster of Cruelty and Perfidiousness, as even* Gregory *of* Tours *represents him, who lived near his time, and nevertheless makes a Saint of him.* Charles *the Great; whom some also make a Saint, both put away his wife for a very slight cause, and is said to have lived in most unnatural lusts with his own Daughter.* Irene *whom the Church of* Rome *magnifies, as the Restorer of their Religion in the East, did both contrary to the Impressions of Nature, and of her Sex, put out her own Sons eyes, of which he died soon after, with many other execrable things. And whatever Reproaches those of the Church of* Rome *cast on the Reformation, upon the account of this Kings faults, may be easily turned back on their Popes, who have never failed to court and extol Princes that served their ends, how gross and scandalous soever their other faults have been. As* Phocas, Brunichild, Irene, Mathildis, Edgar *of* England, *and many more. But our Church is not near so much concerned in the persons of those Princes, under whom the Reformation began, as theirs is in the persons of their Popes, who are believed to have far higher Characters of a Divine Power and Spirit in them, than other Princes pretend to. And yet if the lives of those Popes, who have made the greatest advances in their Jurisdiction be examined, particularly* Gregory *the Seventh, and* Boniface *the Eighth, vices more eminent, than any can be charged on King* Henry, *will be found in them. And if a leud and wicked Pope may yet have the holy Ghost dwelling in him, and directing him infallibly; why may not an ill King do so good a Work as set a Reformation forward, And if it were proper to enter into a dissection of Four of those Popes, that sate at* Rome *during this Reign, Pope* Julius *will be found beyond him in a vast Ambition, whose bloody Reign did not only embroil* Italy, *but a great part of Christendome. Pope* Leo *the Tenth was as extravagant and prodigal in his expence, which put him on baser Shifts, than ever this King used, to raise money; not by embasing the Coin, or raising new and heavie taxes, but by embasing the Christian Religion, and prostituting the pardon of sin in that foul trade of Indulgences.* Clement *the*

Seventh

Seventh was false to the highest degree; a vice which cannot be charged on this King. And Paul *the 3d. was a vile and lewd Priest, who not only kept his whore, but gloried in it, and raised one of his Bastards to an high Dignity, making him Prince of* Parma *and* Piacenza; *and himself is said to have lived in Incest with others of them. And except the short Reign of* Hadrian *the Sixth, there was no Pope at* Rome *all this while, whose example might make any other Prince blush for his faults; so that* Guicciardine, *when he calls Pope* Clement *a good Pope, adds,* I mean not Goodness Apostolical, for in those days he was esteemed a good Pope, that did not exceed the wickedness of the worst of men.

In sum, Gods ways are a great deep, who has often shewed his Power and Wisdom, in raising up unlikely and unpromising instruments, to do great services in the World; not always employing the best men in them, lest good Instruments should share too deep in the Praises of that, which is only due to the Supreme Creator and Governour of the World. And therefore he will stain the pride of all Glory, *that* such as Glory may only Glory in the Lord. Jehu *did an acceptable Service to God, in destroying the Idolatry of* Baal, *though neither the way of doing it be to be imitated, being grosly insincere, nor was the Reformation compleat, since the Worshipping the two Calves was still kept up; and it is very like, his chief design in it, was to destroy all the Party that favoured* Ahab's *Family; yet the thing was good and was rewarded by God: So whatever this Kings other faults were, and how defective soever the Change he made was, and upon what ill motives soever it may seem to have proceeded; yet the things themselves being good, we ought not to think the worse of them because of the Instrument, or manner by which they were wrought; but are to adore and admire the paths of the Divine Wisdom, that brought about such a Change, in a Church, which being subjected to the See of* Rome, *had been more than any other part of* Europe *most tame under its Oppressions, and was most deeply drenched in Superstition: And this by the means of a Prince, who was the most devoted to the Interest of* Rome *of any in Christendome, and seemed to be so upon knowledg, being very learned; and continued to the last much leavened with Superstition, and was the only King in the World whom that See declared,* Defender of the Faith. *And that this should have been carried on so far, with so little Opposition, some risings though numerous and formidable being scattered and quieted without Blood; And that a mighty Prince, who was Victorious almost in all his undertakings,* Charles *the 5th. and was both provoked in point of Honour and Interest, yet could never find one spare season to turn his Arms upon* England, *are great Demonstrations of a particular Influence of Heaven in these Alterations, and of its watchful care of them.*

But the other prejudice touches the Reformation in a more vital and tender part; and it is, That Cranmer *and the other Bishops, who promoted the Reformation in the Succeeding Reign, did in this comply too servilly with King* Henry's *humours, both in carrying on his frequent Divorces, and in retaining those Corruptions in the worship, which by their throwing them off in the beginning of King* Edward's *Reign, we may conclude were then condemned by them; so that they seem to have prævaricated against their Consciences in that Complyance.*

It were too faint a way of Answering so severe a Charge, to turn it back on the Church of Rome, *and to shew the base Compliances of some, even of the best of their Popes, as* Gregory *the Great, whose Congratulations to the*

the Usurper Phocas, *are a strain of the meanest, and undecentest flattery that ever was put in writing. And his Complements to* Brunichild, *who was one of the greatest Monsters both for Lust and Cruelty that ever her Sex produced, show that there was no person so wicked that he was ashamed to flatter : but the blemishing them will not (I confess) excuse our Reformers, therefore other things are to be considered for their Vindication. They did not at once attain the full knowledg of divine Truth, so that in some particulars, as in that of the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament, both* Cranmer *and* Ridley *were themselves then in the dark.* Bertram's *Book first convinced* Ridley, *and he was the chief instrument in opening* Cranmer's *eyes ; So if themselves were not then enlightned, they could not instruct others. As for other things, such as the giving the Cup to the Laity, the Worshiping God in a known tongue, and several reformations about the Mass, though they judged them necessary to be done as soon as was possible ; yet they had not so full a perswasion of the necessity of these, as to think it a sin not to do them. The Prophets words to* Naaman *the* Syrian, *might give them some colour for that mistake, and the practice of the Apostles, who continued not only to worship at the Temple, but to Circumcise and to offer Sacrifices (which must have been done by St.* Paul, *when he purified himself in the Temple) even after the Law was dead, by the appearing of the Gospel, seemed to excuse their Compliance. They had also observed, that as the Apostles were* all things to all men, that so they might gain some ; *so the Primitive Christians had brought in many rites of Heathenism into their worship : Upon which inducements they were wrought on to comply in some uneasie things, in which if these excuses do not wholly clear them, yet they very much lessen their Guilt.*

And after all this, it must be Confessed they were men, and had mixtures of fear and human infirmities with their other excellent Qualities. And indeed Cranmer *was in all other points so extraordinary a person, that it was perhaps fit, there should be some ingredients in his Temper, to lessen the Veneration, which his great worth might have raised too high, if it had not been for these feeblenesses, which upon some occasions appeared in him. But if we examine the failings of some of the greatest of the Primitive Fathers, as* Athanasius, Cyril, *and others, who were the most zealous assezters of the Faith, we must conclude them to have been nothing inferiour to any that can be charged on* Cranmer ; *whom if we consider narrowly, we shall find as eminent vertues, and as few faults in him, as in any Prelate that has been in the Christian Church for many Ages. And if he was prevailed on to deny his Master through fear, he did wash off that stain by a sincere Repentance and a patient Martyrdome, in which he expressed an eminent resentment of his former frailty, with a pitch of Constancy of mind above the rate of modern Examples.*

But their vertues as well as their faults are set before us for our instruction ; and how frail soever the vessels were, they have conveyed to us a treasure of great value, The pure Gospel of our Lord and Saviour : *which if we follow, and govern our lives and hearts by it, we may hope in easier and plainer paths to attain that Blessedness, which they could not reach but through scorching flames : and if we do not improve the Advantages, which this light affords, we may either look for some of those trials, which were sent for the exercise of their Faith and Patience, and perhaps for the punishment of their former Compliance ; or if we escape these, we have cause to fear worse in the Conclusion.*

THE

EFFIGIES HENRICI VIII. D.G. ANGLIÆ, GALLIÆ, ET HIB. REGIS DEFENSORIS FIDEI



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THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of England.

BOOK I.

A Summary View of King Henry *the Eighth's Reign, till the Process of his Divorce was begun, in which the State of* England, *chiefly as it related to* Religion, *is opened.*



NGLAND had for a whole Age felt the Miseries of a long and cruel War between the Two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*; during which time as the Crown had lost great Dominions beyond Sea, so the Nation was much impoverished, many Noble Families extinguisht, much Blood shed, great Animosities every-where raised, with all the other Miseries of a lasting Civil War: But they now saw all these happily composed, when the Two Families did unite in King *Henry* the Eighth. In his Fathers Reign they were rather cemented and joyned than united; whose great Partiality to the House of *Lancaster*, from which he was Descended, and Severity to the Branches of the House of *York*, in which even his own Queen had a large share, together with the Impostors that were set up to disturb his Reign, kept these heats alive, which were now all buried in his grave: and this made the Succession of his Son so universally acceptable to the whole Nation, who now hoped to revive their former pretensions in *France*, and to have again a large share in all the Affairs of *Europe*, from which their Domestick Broils had so long excluded them. King *Henry's* Succession to the Crown, *Apr.* 22. 1509.

There was another thing, which made his first coming to the Crown no less acceptable, which was, that the same day that his Father He proceeds against *Dudley* and *Empson*.

* *Hall* says the same day. *L. Herbert* says the day following.

Father died, * he ordered *Dudley* and *Empson* to be committed to the Tower: His Father, whether out of Policy, or Inclination, or both, was all his life much set on the gathering of Treasure, so that those Ministers were most acceptable, who could fill his Coffers best: and though this occasioned some Tumults, and disposed the People to all those Commotions, which fell out in his Reign; yet he being successful in them all, continued in his course of heaping up Money.

Towards the end of his Life, he found out those Two Instruments, who out-did all that went before them, and what by vexatious Suits upon Penal but obsolete Laws, what by unjust Imprisonments, and other violent and illegal proceedings, raised a general *odium* upon the Government; and this grew upon him with his years, and was come to so great a height towards the end of his Life, that he died in good time for his own quiet: For as he used all possible endeavours to get Money, so what he got, he as carefully kept, and distributed very little of it among those about him, so that he had many Enemies, and but few Friends. This being well considered by his Son, he began his Government with the disgrace of those Two Ministers, against whom he proceeded according to Law; all the other inferiour Officers whom they had made use of were also Imprisoned.

When they had thus fallen, many and great Complaints came in from all parts against them; they also apprehending the danger they were like to be in upon their Masters Death, had been practising with their Partners to gather about them all the Power they could bring together, whether to secure themselves from popular Rage, or to make themselves seem considerable, or formidable to the new King. This and other Crimes being brought in against them, they were found guilty of Treason in a legal Trial. But the King judged this was neither a sufficient Reparation to his Oppressed People, nor Satisfaction to Justice: Therefore he went further, and both ordered Restitution to be made by his Fathers Executors of great Sums of Money, which had been unjustly extorted from his Subjects; and in his first Parliament which he Summoned to the Twenty first of *January* following, he not only delivered up *Empson* and *Dudley* with their Complices to the Justice of the Two Houses, who attainted them by Act of Parliament, and a little after gave order for *their Execution*; but did also give his Royal assent to those other Laws by which the Subject was secured from the like Oppressions for the future: and that he might not at all be suspected of any such Inclinations as his Father had to amass Treasure, he was the most magnificent in his Expence of any Prince in Christendom, and very bountiful to all about him; and as one extreme commonly produces another, so his Fathers Covetousness led him to be Prodigal; and the vast Wealth which was left him, being reckoned no less then 1800000 *l.* was in Three years dissipated, as if the Son in his expence had vied Industry with his Father in all his Thrift.

Hall.

He holds a Parliament *Jan.* 21. 1510.

Aug. 18.

His great Expence.

Thomas Earl of *Surrey* (afterwards Duke of *Norfolk*) to shew how compliant he was to the Humours of the Princes whom he served, as he had been Lord-Treasurer to the Father the last Seven years of his Life; so being continued in the same Office by this King, did as dextrously comply with his Prodigality, as he had done formerly with his Fathers sparingness.

But

But this in the beginning of the Princes Reign did much endear him both to the Court and Nation: there being a freer Circulation of Money by which Trade was encouraged; and the Courtiers tasted so liberally of the Kings bounty, that he was every-where much magnified, though his Expence proved afterwards heavier to the Subject, than ever his Father's Avarice had been.

Another thing that raised the Credit of this King was, the great Esteem he was in beyond Sea, both for his Wisdom and Power; so that in all the Treaties of Peace and War he was always much considered; and he did so exactly pursue that great Maxime of Princes, of *Holding the Ballance*, that still as it grew heavier, whether in the Scale of *France*, or *Spain*, he governed Himself and Them as a wise *Arbiter*. His first Action was against *France*, which by the Accession of the Dutchy of *Britain*, through his Father's over-sight, was made greater and more formidable to the Neighbouring Princes; therefore the *French* Successes in *Italy* having United all the Princes there against them, *Spain* and *England* willingly joyned themselves in the Quarrel. The Kingdom of *Spain* being also then United, conquered *Navarre*, which set them at great ease, and weakned the King of *France* on that side. Whose Affairs also declining in *Italy*, this King finding him so much lessened, made Peace with him; having first managed his share of the War, with great Honour at Sea and Land: For, going over in Person, he did both defeat the *French* Army, and take *Terwin* and *Tourney*; the former he demolished, the latter he kept: and in these Exploits he had an unusual Honour done him, which though it was a slight thing, yet was very pleasant to him; *Maximilian* the Emperour taking pay in his Army, amounting to a Hundred Crowns a-day, and upon all publick Solemnities giving the King the precedence.

His Affairs beyond Sea.

A War with France.

Aug. 24. & *Octob.* 2. 1513.

The Peace between *England* and *France* was made firmer by *Lewis* the *French* Kings Marrying *Mary* the Kings Sister; but he dying soon after, new Counsels were to be taken. *Francis*, who succeeded, did in the beginning of his Reign, court this King with great Offers to renew the Peace with him, which was accordingly done. Afterward *Francis* falling in with all his force upon the Dutchy of *Milan*, all endeavours were used to engage King *Henry* into the War, both by the Pope and Emperour, this last feeding him long with hopes of resigning the Empire to him, which wrought much on him; insomuch that he did give them a great Supply in Money, but he could not be engaged to divert *Francis* by making War upon him: and *Francis* ending the War of *Italy* by a Peace, was so far from resenting what the King had done, that he courted him into a straiter League, and a Match was agreed between the *Dolphin* and the Lady *Mary* the Kings Daughter, and *Tourney* was delivered up to the *French* again.

Aug. 7. 1514. A Peace, and a Match with *France*. *Oct.* 9.

Lewis dies *Jan.* 1. 1515.

Lady *Mary* Betrothed to the *Dolphin*, *Octob.* 8. 1518.

But now *Charles*, Arch-Duke of *Austria* by his Father, and Heir to the House of *Burgundy* by his Grand-mother, and to the Crown of *Spain* by his Mother, began to make a great Figure in the World; and his Grand-Father *Maximilian* dying, *Francis* and He were Corrivals for the Empire: but *Charles* being preferred in the Competition, there followed, what through personal Animosities, what through reason of State, and a desire of Conquest, lasting Wars between them; which though they were sometimes for a while closed up, yet were never

Emperour dies, *Jan.* 12. 1519.

Charles Elected, *June* 28.

clearly ended. And those two great Monarchs as they eclipsed most other Princes about them, so they raised this Kings glory higher, both courting him by turns, and that not only by earnest and warm Addresses, but oft by unusual Submissions; in which they, knowing how great an Ingredient Vanity was in his temper, were never deficient when their Affairs required it. All which tended to make him appear greater in

1520. the eyes of his own People. In the year 1520. there was an Interview agreed on between the *French* King and Him; but the Emperor, to prevent the effects he feared from it, resolved to outdoe the *French* King in the Complement, and without any Treaty or previous assurances came to *Dover*, and sollicited the Kings friendship against *Francis*: and to advance his design gained Cardinal *Wolsey*, who then Governed all the Kings Counsels, by the promise of making him Pope; in which he judged he might, for a present Advantage, promise a thing that seemed to be at so great a distance, (Pope *Leo* the Tenth being then but a young man) and with rich presents, which he made both to the King, the Cardinal and all the Court, wrought much on them. But that which prevailed most with the King was, that he saw, though *Charles* had great Dominions, yet they lay at such a distance, that *France* alone was a sufficient Counterpoise to him; but if *Francis* could keep *Milan*, recover *Naples*, *Burgundy*, and *Navarre*, to all which he was then preparing, he would be an uneasie Neighbour to himself; and if he kept the footing he then had in *Italy*, he would lie so heavy on the Papacy, that the Popes could no longer carry equally in the affairs of Christendome, upon which much depended, according to the Religion of that time. Therefore he resolved to take part with the Emperor, till at least *Francis* was driven out of *Italy*, and reduced to juster terms: so that the following Interview between *Francis* and him, produced nothing but a vast Expence and high Complements: and from a second Interview between the King and the Emperor, *Francis* was full of jealousie, in which what followed justified his apprehensions; for the War going on between the Emperor and *Francis*, the King entred in a League with the former, and made War upon *France*.

The Emperor comes to *England*, *May*. 26.

June 7.

July. 10. A second War with *France*.

Leo. 10. dies *Dec*. 1. 1521.

But the Pope dying sooner than it seems the Emperor look't for, Cardinal *Wolsey* claimed his promise for the Papacy; but before the Messenger came to him, *Adrian* the Emperors Tutor was chosen Pope: yet to feed the Cardinal with fresh hopes, a new promise was made for the next vacancy, and in the mean while he was put in hope of the Arch-Bishoprick of *Toledo*. But two years after, That Pope dying, the Emperor again broke his word with him; yet though he was thereby totally alienated from him, he concealed his indignation, till the publick Concerns should give him a good opportunity to prosecute it upon a better colour; and by his Letters to *Rome*, dissembled his resentments so artificially, that in a Congratulation he wrote to Pope *Clement*, He 'protested his Election was matter of such joy both to the King and 'himself, that nothing had ever befaln them which pleased them bet'ter, and that he was the very person, whom they had wished to see raised to that Greatness. But while the War went on, the Emperor did cajole the King with the highest Complements possible, which always wrought much on him, and came in person into *England* to be installed Knight of the *Garter*: where a new League was Concluded,

Adrian chosen Pope *Jan*. 9. 1522.

He dyed *Septemb*. 14. 1523.

Clement the 7th chosen *Novemb*. 19.

1522.

Emperor Landed at *Dover*. *May*. 26.

ded, by which, beside mutual assistance, a Match was agreed on between the Emperor and the Lady *Mary*, the Kings only Child by his Queen, of whom he had no hopes of more Issue. This was sworn to on both hands, and the Emperor was obliged, when She was of Age, to marry Her, *Per verba de præsenti*, under pain of Excommunication and the forfeiture of 100000 Pounds. The Emperor contracted to the Kings Daughter. *June* 19.

The War went on with great success on the Emperors part, especially after the Battel of *Pavia*, in which *Francis* his Army was totally defeated, and himself taken Prisoner and carried into *Spain*. After which the Emperor being much offended with the Pope for joyning with *Francis*, turned his Arms against him, which were so successful that he besieged and took *Rome*, and kept the Pope prisoner Six Months. *May* 6. 1527.

The Cardinal finding the publick Interests concur so happily with his private Distastes, engaged the King to take part with *France*, and afterwards with the Pope against the Emperor, his Greatness now becoming the Terror of Christendome; for the Emperor lifted up with his success, began to think of no less than an Universal Empire. And first, that he might unite all *Spain* together, he preferred a Match with *Portugal*, to that which he had before Contracted in *England*; and he thought it not enough to break off his sworn Alliance with the King, but he did it with an heavy Imputation on the Lady *Mary*: for in his Council it was said that she was illegitimate, as being born in an unlawful Marriage, so that no Advantage could be expected from her Title to the Succession, as will appear more particularly in the Second Book. And the Pope having dispensed with the Oath, he Married the *Infanta* of *Portugal*. Besides, though the King of *England* had gone deep in the Charge, he would give him no share in the Advantages of the War; much less give him that Assistance which he had promised him, to recover his Ancient Inheritance in *France*. The King being irritated with this manifold ill usage, and led on by his own Interests, and by the offended Cardinal, joyned himself to the Interests of *France*. Upon which there followed not only a firm Alliance, but a personal Friendship, which appeared in all the most obliging expressions that could be devised. And upon the Kings threatning to make War on the Emperor, the *French* King was set at liberty, though on very hard terms, if any thing can be hard that sets a King out of Prison; but he still acknowledged he owed his Liberty to King *Henry*. *Mar.* 18. 1525.

Then followed the famous *Clementine League* between the Pope and *Francis*, the *Venetians*, the *Florentines* and *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, by which the Pope absolved the *French* King from the Oath he had sworn at *Madrid*, and they all united against the Emperor, and declared the King of *England Protector of the League*. This gave the Emperor great distaste, who complained of the Pope as an ungrateful and perfidious person. The first beginning of the storm fell heavy on the Pope; for the *French* King, who had a great mind to have his Children again into his own hands, that lay Hostages in *Spain*, went on but slowly in performing his part. And the King of *England* would not openly break with the Emperor, but seemed to reserve himself to be Arbiter between the Princes. So that the *Colonna's* being of the Imperial Faction, with 3000 men entered *Rome*, and sack't a part of it, forcing the Pope to fly into the Castle of St. *Angelo*, and The *Clementine* League. *May.* 22. 1526. *September.* 20.

to make peace with the Emperor. But as soon as that fear was over, the Pope returning to his old arts, complained of the Cardinal of *Colonna*, and resolved to deprive him of that Dignity, and with an Army entred the Kingdom of *Naples*, taking divers places that belonged to that Family. But the Confederates coming slowly to his Assistance, and he hearing of great forces that were coming from *Spain* against him, submitted himself to the Emperor, and made a Cessation of Arms; but being again encouraged with some hopes from his Allies, and (by a
1527. Creation of 14 Cardinals for Money,) having raised 300000 Duckats he disowned the Treaty, and gave the Kingdom of *Naples* to Count *Vaudemont*, whom he sent with forces to subdue it. But the Duke of *Bourbon* prevented him, and went to *Rome*, and giving the Assault, in which himself received his mortal wound, the City was taken by Storm,
Rome taken and sack't *May* 16. and plundered for several days, about 5000 being killed. The Pope with 17 Cardinals fled to the Castle St. *Angelo*, but was forced to render his person, and to pay 400000 Duckats to the Army.

This gave great offence to all the Princes of Christendome, except the *Lutherans* of *Germany*; but none resented it more loudly than this
July 11. King, who sent over Cardinal *Wolsey* to make up a new Treaty with *Francis*, which was chiefly intended for setting the Pope at Liberty. Nor did the Emperor know well how to justifie an Action which seemed so inconsistent with his Devotion to the See of *Rome*; yet the Pope was for some months detained a Prisoner, till at length the Emperor having brought him to his own terms, ordered him to be set at liberty: but he being weary of his Guards escaped in a disguise, and owned his Li-
Decemb. 9. berty to have flowed chiefly from the Kings endeavours to procure it. And thus stood the King as to forreign affairs: he had infinitely obliged both the Pope and the *French* King, and was firmly united to them, and engaged in a War against the Emperor, when he began first to move about his Divorce.

The Kings success against Scotland. As for *Scotland*, the near Alliance between him and *James* the Fourth King of *Scotland*, did not take away the standing Animosities between the two Nations, nor interrupt the Alliance between *France* and *Scotland*. And therefore when he made the first War upon *France* in the Fourth year of his Reign, the King of *Scotland* came with a great Army into the North of *England*, but was totally defeated by the Earl
Sept. 9. 1513. of *Surrey* in *Floudon* field. The King himself was either killed in the Battel, or soon after; so that the Kingdom falling under Factions, during the Minority of the new King, the Government was but feeble, and scarce able to secure its own quiet. And the Duke of *Albany*, the chief Instrument of the *French* Faction, met with such opposition from the Parties that were raised against him by King *Henry's* means, that he could give him no disturbance. And when there c[illegible]o be a lasting peace between *England* and *France*, then, as the K[illegible]eeded fear no trouble from that Warlike Nation, so he got a great Interest in the Government there. And at this time Money becoming a more effectual Engine than any the War had ever produced, and the discovery of the *Indies* having brought great wealth into *Europe*, Princes began to deal more in that trade than before: so that both *France* and *England* had their Instruments in *Scotland*, and gave considerable yearly Pensions to the chief heads of Parties and Families. In the search I have

made

made, I have found ſeveral Warrants for Sums of Money, to be ſent into *Scotland*, and divided there among the Favourers of the *Engliſh* Intereſt; and 'tis not to be doubted but *France* traded in the ſame manner, which continued till a happier way was found out for extinguiſhing theſe Quarrels, both the Crowns being ſet on one head.

Having thus ſhewed the State of this Kings Government as to foreign Matters, I ſhall next give an account of the Adminiſtration of Affairs at home, both as to Civil and Spiritual Matters. The King upon his firſt coming to the Crown did chooſe a wiſe Council, partly out of thoſe whom his Father had truſted, partly out of thoſe that were recommended to him by his Grand-Mother, the Counteſs of *Richmond* and *Derby*, in whom was the Right of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, though ſhe willingly devolved her pretenſions on her Son, claiming nothing to her ſelf, but the Satisfaction of being Mother to a King. She was a wiſe and Religious Woman, and died ſoon after her Grand-Son came to the Crown. There was a Faction in the Council between *Fox* Biſhop of *Winchester*, and the Lord Treaſurer, which could never be well made up, though they were oft reconciled : *Fox* always complaining of the Lord Treaſurer, for ſquandring away ſo ſoon that vaſt Maſs of Treaſure, left by the Kings Father in which the other juſtified himſelf, that what he did, was by the Kings Warrants which he could not diſobey: but *Fox* objected that he was too eaſie to anſwer, if not to procure theſe Warrants, and that he ought to have given the King better advice. In the Kings firſt Parliament things went as he deſired, upon his delivering up *Empſon* and *Dudley*, in which his preventing the ſeverity of the Houſes, and proceeding againſt them at the Common Law, as it ſecured his Miniſters from an unwelcome Preſident, ſo the whole honour of it fell on the Kings juſtice.

His Counſels at home.

1509.

Jan. 21. 1510.

His next Parliament was in the Third year of his Reign, and there was conſidered the *Brief* from Pope *Julius* the Second to the King, complaining of the Indignities and Injuries done to the Apoſtolick See and the Pope by the *French* King, and entreating the Kings aſſiſtance with ſuch cajoling words as are always to be expected from Popes on the like occaſions. It was firſt read by the Maſter of the Rolls in the Houſe of Lords, and then the Lord Chancellour (*Warham* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*) and the Lord Treaſurer, with other Lords, went down to the Houſe of Commons and read it there. Upon this and other reaſons they gave the King ſubſidies towards the War with *France*. At this time *Fox*, to ſtrengthen his Party againſt the Lord Treaſurer, finding *Thomas Wolſey* to be a likely man to get into the Kings favour, uſed all his endeavours to raiſe him, who was at that time neither unknown nor inconſiderable, being Lord Almoner; he was at firſt made a Privy Counſellour, and frequently admitted to the Kings preſence, and waited on him over to *France*. The King liked him well, which he ſo managed that he quickly engroſſed the Kings favour to himſelf, and for 15 years together was the moſt abſolute Favourite that had ever been ſeen in *England*; all forreign Treaties and Places of Truſt at home were at his Ordering; he did what he pleaſed, and his Aſcendant over the King was ſuch, that there never appeared any Party againſt him all that while. The great Artifice by which he inſinuated himſelf ſo much on the King, is ſet down very plainly by one that knew him well, in theſe

Feb. 4. 1512.

Cardinal Wolſeys riſing.

Cavendish life of Wolsey MSS. in Bibli-oth. Nob. D. G. Pierpoint.

these words. *In him the King conceived such a loving fancy, especially for that he was most earnest and readiest in all the Counsel to advance the Kings only will and pleasure, having no respect to the case; and whereas the Ancient Counsellors would according to the Office of good Counsellors, divers times perswade the King to have some time a recourse unto the Council, there to hear what was done in weighty Matters, the King was nothing at all pleased therewith; for he loved nothing worse than to be constrained to do any thing contrary to his pleasure, and that knew the* Almoner *very well, having secret Insinuations of the Kings Intentions; and so fast as the others Counselled the King to leave his pleasures, and to attend to his Affairs, so busily did the* Almoner *perswade him to the contrary, which delighted him much, and caused him to have the greater affection and love to the* Almoner. Having got into such Power, he observed the Kings Inclinations exactly, and followed his Interests closely: for though he made other Princes retain him with great Presents and Pensions, yet he never engaged the King into any Alliance, but what was for his Advantage. For affairs at home, after he was established in his Greatness, he affected to Govern without Parliaments, there being from the Seventh year of his Reign, after which he got the great Seal, but one Parliament in the 14th and 15th year, and no more till the One and Twentieth, when matters were turning about: But he raised great Sums of Money by Loans and Benevolences. And indeed if we look on him as a Minister of State, he was a very extraordinary Person; but as he was a Churchman, he was the disgrace of his Profession. He not only served the King in all his secret pleasures, but was lewd and vicious himself; so that his having the *French Pox* (which in those days was a matter of no small infamy) was so publick, that it was brought against him in Parliament when he fell in disgrace: he was a man of most extravagant vanity, as appears by the great State he lived in; and to feed that, his Ambition and Covetousness were proportionable.

Octob. 1513. He was first made Bishop of *Tourney*, when that Town was taken from the *French*; then he was made Bishop of [a] *Lincoln*, which was the first Bishoprick that fell void in this Kingdom; after that, upon Cardinal *Bembridge* his death, he parted with *Lincoln* and was made Arch-Bishop of [b] *York*; then *Hadrian*, that was a Cardinal and Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, being deprived, that [c] See was given to him; then the Abbey of [d] St *Albans* was given to him in *Comendam*; he next parted with *Bath* and *Wells*, and got the Bishoprick of [e] *Duresm*, which he afterwards exchanged for the Bishoprick of [f] *Winchester*. But besides all that he had in his own hands, the King granted him a full Power of disposing of all the Ecclesiastical benefices in *England* (which brought him in as much money as all the Places he held) for having so vast a Power committed to him both from the King and the Pope as to Church-preferments, it may be easily gathered what advantages a man of his temper would draw from it. *Warham* was Lord Chancellour the first seven years of the Kings Reign, but retired to give place to this aspiring favourite, who had a mind to the great Seal, that there might be no interfering between the Legantine and Chancery Courts. And perhaps it wrought somewhat on his vanity, that even after he was Cardinal, *Warham* as Lord Chancellour took place of him, as appears from the Entries made in the Journals of the House of Peers in the Parliament held

[a] Rest. temp. 4. *March.* 5 *Regni* 1 *part Rot pat.*
[b] *Novemb.* 6 *Regni*, 1. *part.* R. P.
[c] *Aug.* 28. 10. *Regni.* 1 *part.* R. P.
[d] *Decemb.* 7. 13. *Regni* 3 *part.* R. P.
[e] *April* 30. 15. *Reg.* 2 *part.* R. P.
[f] *May* 4. 20. *Reg.* 1. *part* R. P.

held the 7th year of the Kings Reign, and afterwards gave him place, as appears on many occasions, particularly, in the Letter written to the Pope 1530 set down by the Lord *Herbert*, which the Cardinal subscribed before *Warham*. We have nothing on record to shew what a Speaker he was, for all the Journals of Parliament from the 7th to the 25th year of this King are lost, but it is like he spoke as his Predecessor in that Office *Warham* did, whose speeches as they are entred in the Journals, are Sermons begun with a Text of Scripture; which he expounded and applyed to the business they were to go upon, stuffing them with the most fulsome flattery of the King that was possible.

The next in favour and Power was the Lord Treasurer restored to his Fathers honour of Duke of *Norfolk*, to whom his Son succeeded in that Office as well as in his hereditary honours; and managed his Interest with the King so dexterously that he stood in all the Changes that followed, and continued Lord Treasurer during the Reign of this King, till near the end of it, when he fell through Jealousie rather than guilt; this shewed how dexterous a man he was, that could stand so long in that imployment under such a King.

But the chief Favourite in the Kings pleasures, was *Charles Brandon* a Gallant graceful Person, one of the strongest men of the Age, and so a fit match for the King at his Justs and Tiltings, which was the manly diversion of that time, and the King taking much pleasure in it, being of a robust Body, and singularly expert at it, he who was so able to second him in these Courses, grew mightily in his favour; so that he made him first Viscount *Lisle*, and some Months after, Duke of *Suffolk*. *May 15.* Nor was he less in the Ladies favours, than the Kings; for his Sister *Reg. 1. Part.* the Lady *Mary* liked him, and being but so long Married to King *Lew-* *Rot. pat.* *is* of *France*, as to make her Queen Dowager of *France*, she resolved to choose her second Husband her self, and cast her eye on the Duke of *Suffolk*, who was then sent over to the Court of *France*. Her Brother had designed the Marriage between them, yet would not openly give his Consent to it; but she by a strange kind of Wooing, prefixed him the Term of four days to gain her Consent, in which she told him if he did not prevail, he should for ever lose all his hopes of having her, though after such a Declaration he was like to meet with no great difficulty from her. So they were Married, and the King was easily *April 1515.* pacified and received them into favour; neither did his favour die with her, for it continued all his life: but he never medled much in business, *Lady Mary died Jun. 23. 1533.* and by all that appears was a better Courtier than States-Man. Little needs be said of any other Person more than will afterwards occur.

The King loved to raise mean Persons, and upon the least distaste to throw them down: and falling into disgrace, he spared not to sacrifice them to publick discontents. His Court was magnificent, and his Expence vast; he indulged himself in his pleasures: and the hopes of Children (besides the Lady *Mary*,) failing by the Queen, he, who of all things desired issue most, kept one *Elizabeth Blunt* by whom he had *Henry Fitzroy*, whom in the 17th year of his Reign he created Earl *Jun. 17. 18.* of *Nottingham*, and the same day made him Duke of *Richmond* and *Reg. Rot. Pat.* *Sommerset*, and intended afterwards to have put him in the Succession *Duke Rich.* of the Crown after his other Children; but his death prevented it. *died Jun. 22.* As for his Parliaments, he took great care to keep a good under- *1536.*

ſtanding with them, and chiefly with the Houſe of Commons, by which means he ſeldom failed to carry Matters as he pleaſed among them: only in the Parliament held in the 14th and 15th of his Reign, the Demand of the Subſidy towards the War with *France*, being ſo high as 800000 lib. the 5th of mens goods and lands to be paid in Four years, and the Cardinal being much hated, there was great Oppoſition made to it: for which the Cardinal blamed Sir *Thomas More* much, who was then Speaker of the Houſe of Commons; and finding that which was offered, was not above the half of what was asked, went himſelf to the Houſe of Commons, and deſired to hear the reaſons of thoſe who oppoſed his Demands, that he might anſwer them: but he was told the Order of their Houſe was to reaſon only among themſelves, and ſo went away much diſſatisfied. It was with great difficulty that they obtained a Subſidy of 3*s.* in the lib. to be paid in four years. This diſappointment it ſeems did ſo offend the Cardinal, that as no Parliament had been called for Seven years before, ſo there was none ſummoned for Seven years after. And thus ſtood the Civil Government of *England* in the 19th year of the Kings Reign, when the Matter of the Divorce was firſt moved. But I ſhall next open the State of Affairs in Reference to Religious and Spiritual Concerns.

He was bred a Scholar.

King *Henry* was bred with more care than had been uſually beſtowed on the Education of Princes for many Ages, who had been only trained up to thoſe Exerciſes that prepared them to War; and if they could read and write, more was not expected of them. But learning began now to flouriſh; and as the Houſe of *Medici* in *Florence* had great honour by the Protection it gave to learned men, ſo other Princes every-where cheriſhed the Muſes. King *Henry* the 7th, though illiterate himſelf, yet took care to have his Children inſtructed in good letters. And it generally paſſes current that he bred his ſecond Son a Scholar, having deſigned him to be Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, but that has no foundation; for the Writers of that time tell, that his Elder Brother Prince *Arthur* was alſo bred a Scholar. And all the Inſtruction King *Henry* had in Learning, muſt have been after his Brother was dead, when that Deſign had vaniſhed with his life. For he being born the 18th of *June* 1491. and Prince *Arthur* dying the Second of *April* 1502. he was not full eleven years of Age, when he became Prince of *Wales*; at which Age Princes have ſeldom made any great progreſs in Learning. But King *Henry* the 7th, judging either that it would make his Sons Greater Princes, and fitter for the Management of their Affairs, or being jealous of their looking too early into buſineſs, or their pretending to the Crown upon their Mothers Title, which might have been a dangerous competition to him, that was ſo little beloved by his Subjects, took this Method for amuſing them with other things: thence it was, that his Son was the moſt learned Prince that had been in the World for many Ages, and deſerved the Title *Beau-Clerke*, on a better account than his Predeceſſor that long before had carried it. The Learning then in credit, was either that of the Schools, about abſtruſe Queſtions of Divinity, which from the days of *Lombard* were debated and deſcanted on with much ſubtlety and nicety, and exerciſed all Speculative Divines; or the Study of the Canon-Law, which was the way to Buſineſs and Preferment. To the former of theſe the

King was much addicted, and delighted to read often in *Thomas Aquinas*; and this made Cardinal *Wolsey* more acceptable to him, who was chiefly conversant in that sort of Learning. He loved the purity of the Latine tongue, which made him be so kind to *Erasmus* that was the great Restorer of it, and to *Polidore Virgil*; though neither of these made their Court dextrously with the Cardinal, which did much intercept the Kings favour to them; so that the one left *England*, and the other was but coarsly used in it, who has sufficiently revenged himself upon the Cardinal's Memory. The Philosophy then in fashion was so intermixed with their Divinity, that the King understood it too; and was also a good Musician, as appears by two whole Masses which he composed. He never wrote well, but scrawled so that his hand was scarce legible.

Being thus inclined to Learning, he was much courted by all hungry Scholars, who generally over *Europe* dedicated their Books to him, with such flattering Epistles, that it very much lessens him, to see how he delighted in such stuffe. For if he had not taken pleasure in it, and rewarded them, it is not likely that others should have been every year writing after such ill Copies. Of all things in the World Flattery wrought most on him; and no sort of Flattery pleased him better than to have his great Learning and Wisdom commended. And in this, his Parliaments, his Courtiers, his Chaplains, Forreigners and Natives, all seemed to vie who should exceed most, and came to speak to him in a Stile which was scarce fit to be used to any Creature. But he designed to entail these praises on his Memory, cherishing Church-men more than any King in *England* had ever done; he also Courted the Pope with a constant submission, and upon all occasions made the Popes Interests his own, and made War and Peace as they desired him. So that had he dyed any time before the 19th year of his Reign, he could scarce have scaped being Canonized, notwithstanding all his faults; for he abounded in those vertues, which had given Saintship to Kings for near 1000 years together, and had done more than they all did, by writing a Book for the *Roman* Faith.

England had for above 300 years been the tamest part of Christendome to the Papal Authority, and had been accordingly dealt with. But though the Parliaments and two or three high-spirited Kings, had given some interruption to the cruel exactions and other illegal proceedings of the Court of *Rome*, yet that Court always gained their designs in the end. But even in this Kings days, the Crown was not quite stript of all its Authority over Spiritual persons. The Investitures of Bishops and Abbots, which had been originally given by the delivery of the Pastoral Ring and Staffe, by the Kings of *England*, were after some opposition wrung out of their hands: yet I find they retained another thing, which upon the matter was the same. When any See was vacant, a Writ was issued out of the Chancery for seizing on all the Temporalties of the Bishoprick, and then the King recommended one to the Pope, upon which his Bulls were expeded at *Rome*, and so by a Warrant from the Pope he was consecrated, and invested in the Spiritualties of the See; but was to appear before the King either in Person or by Proxie, and renounce every clause in his Letters and Bulls, that were or might be prejudicial to the Prerogative of the Crown, or contrary to the Laws of the Land, and was to swear Fealty

The Kings Prerogative in Ecclesiastical matters.

Custodia Temporalitatis.

and Allegiance to the King. And after this a new Writ was issued out of the Chancery, bearing that this was done, and that thereupon the Temporalties should be restored. Of this there are so many Precedents in the Records, that every one that has searched them must needs find them in every year; but when this began, I leave to the more Learned in the Law to discover. And for proof of it the Reader will find in the Collection the fullest Record which I met with concerning it in *Henry* the 7th his Reign, of Cardinal *Adrian's* being Invested in the Bishoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*. So that upon the matter the Kings then disposed of all Bishopricks, keeping that still in their own hands which made them most desired in those Ages; and so had the Bishops much at their Dovotion.

Restitutio Temporalitatis.

Collect. *Numb.* 15.

But King *Henry* in a great degree parted with this, by the abovementioned power granted to Cardinal *Wolsey*, who being Legate as well as Lord Chancellour, it was thought a great errour in Government, to lodge such a trust with him which might have past into a Precedent, for other Legates pretending to the same Power; since the Papal greatness had thus risen, and oft upon weaker grounds, to the height it was then at. Yet the King had no mind to suffer the Laws made against the suing out of Bulls in the Court of *Rome* without his leave to be neglected; for I find several Licenses granted to sue Bulls in that Court, bearing for their Preamble the Statute of the 16 of *Richard* the Second against the Popes pretended Power in *England*.

License to the Prior of *Petterburg. Novemb.* 3. 1 *Part.* 5^to *Reg. Rot. Pat.*

But the immunity of Ecclesiastical persons was a thing that occasioned great complaints. And good cause there was for them. For it was ordinary for persons after the greatest Crimes to get into Orders; and then not only what was past must be forgiven them, but they were not to be questioned for any Crime after holy Orders given, till they were first degraded; and till that was done they were the Bishops Prisoners. Whereupon there rose a great dispute in the beginning of this Kings Reign, of which none of our Historians having taken any Notice, I shall give a full account of it.

A Contest about the Ecclesiastical Immunity. *Kielways* Reports.

King *Henry* the Seventh in his Fourth Parliament did a little lessen the Priviledges of the Clergy, enacting that Clerks convicted should be burnt in the hand. But this not proving a sufficient restraint, it was Enacted in Parliament in the Fourth year of this King, that all Murderers and Robbers should be denyed the benefit of their Clergy. But though this seemed a very Just Law, yet to make it pass through the House of Lords, they added two Proviso's to it, the one for excepting all such as were within the Holy Orders of *Bishop*, *Priest*, or *Deacon*; the other that the Act should only be in force till the next Parliament. With these Proviso's it was unanimously assented to by the Lords on the 26 *Jan.* 1513. and being agreed to by the Commons, the Royal Assent made it a Law: Pursuant to which many Murderers and Felons were denyed their Clergy, and the Law passed on them to the great Satisfaction of the whole Nation. But this gave great offence to the Clergy, who had no mind to suffer their Immunities to be touched or lessened. And judging that if the laity made bold with Inferiour Orders, they would proceed further even against Sacred Orders; therefore as their Opposition was such that the Act not being continued did determine at the next Parliament (that was in the 5th

year

year of the King,). so they not satisfied with that, resolved to fix a censure on that Act as contrary to the Franchises of the Holy Church. And the Abbot of *Winchelcomb* being more forward than the rest, during the session of Parliament in the 7 year of this King's Reign, in a Sermon at *Pauls* Cross, said openly, That that Act was *contrary to the Law of God, and to the Liberties of the Holy Church, and that all who assented to it, as well Spiritual as Temporal Persons, had by so doing incur'd the Censures of the Church.* And for Confirmation of his Opinion, he published a Book to prove, That all Clerks, whether of the greater or lower Orders, were Sacred, and exempted from all Temporal Punishment by the Secular Judge, even in Criminal cases. This made great noise, and all the Temporal Lords, with the concurrence of the House of Commons, desired the King to suppress the growing Insolence of the Clergy. So there was a Hearing of the Matter before the King, with all the Judges and the Kings Temporal Council. Doctor *Standish* Guardian of the Mendicant Friers in *London* (afterwards Bishop of Saint *Asaph*) the chief of the Kings Spiritual Council, argued, That by the Law, Clerks had been still convened and judged in the Kings Court for Civil Crimes, and that there was nothing either in the Laws of God, or the Church, inconsistent with it; and that the publick good of the Society, which was chiefly driven at by all Laws, and ought to be preferred to all other things, required that Crimes should be punished. But the Abbot of *Winchelcomb* being Counsel for the Clergy, excepted to this and said, *There was a Decree made by the Church expresly to the contrary, to which all ought to pay Obedience under the pain of Mortal sin; and that therefore the trying of Clerks in the Civil Courts was a sin in it self. Standish* upon this turned to the King and said, *God forbid that all the Decrees of the Church should bind. It seems the Bishops think not so, for though there is a Decree that they should reside at their Cathedrals all the Festivals of the year, yet the greater part of them do it not*; Adding, That no Decree could have any force in *England*, till it was received there; and That this Decree was never received in *England*, but that as well since the making of it, as before, Clerks had been tryed for Crimes in the Civil Courts. To this the Abbot made no answer, but brought a place of Scripture to prove this Exemption to have come from our Saviours words, *Nolite tangere Christos meos*, Touch not mine Anointed; and therefore Princes ordering Clerks to be arrested and brought before their Courts, was contrary to Scripture, against which no custome can take place. *Standish* replyed, these words were never said by our Saviour, but were put by *David* in his *Psalter* 1000 years before Christ; and he said these words had no relation to the Civil Judicatories, but because the greatest part of the World was then wicked, and but a small number believed the Law, they were a Charge to the Rest of the World, not to do them harm. But though the Abbot had been very violent, and confident of his being able to confound all that held the contrary opinion, yet he made no answer to this. The Laity that were present being confirmed in their former opinion by hearing the Matter thus argued, moved the Bishops to order the Abbot to renounce his former opinion, and recant his Sermon at *Pauls Cross*. But they flatly refused to do it, and said they were bound by the Laws of the Holy Church to maintain the Abbots opinion in

every point of it. Great heats followed upon this during the ſitting of the Parliament, of which there is a very partial Entry made in the Journal of the Lords Houſe; and no wonder, the Clerk of the Parliament Doctor *Tylor* Doctor of the Canon-Law being at the ſame time Speaker of the Lower Houſe of Convocation. The Entrie is in theſe words. *In this Parliament and Convocation there were moſt dangerous contentions between the Clergy and the Secular Power, about the Eccleſiaſtical liberties*, *one* Standiſh *a Minor Frier being the Inſtrument and Promoter of all that miſchief.* But a paſſage fell out, that made this matter be more fully proſecuted in the *Michaelmas-Term.* One *Richard Hunne* a Merchant-Taylor in *London*, was queſtioned by a Clerk in *Middleſex* for a Mortuary, pretended to be due for a Child of his that died 5 weeks old. The Clerk claiming the *bearing* ſheet, and *Hunne* refuſing to give it; upon that he was ſued, but his Counſel adviſed him to ſue the Clerk in a *Premunire*, for bringing the Kings Subjects before a forreign Court; the Spiritual Court ſitting by Authority from the Legate. This touched the Clergy ſo in the quick, that they uſed all the Arts they could to faſten Hereſie on him; and underſtanding that he had *Wickliff's* Bible, upon that he was attached of Hereſie and put in the *Lollards* Tower at *Pauls*, and examined upon ſome Articles objected to him by *Fitz-James* then Biſhop of *London*. He denied them as they were charged againſt him, but acknowledged he had ſaid ſome words ſounding that way, for which he was ſorry, and asked Gods mercy, and ſubmitted himſelf to the Biſhops Correction; upon which he ought to have been enjoyned Penance and ſet at Liberty, but he perſiſting ſtill in his Sute in the Kings Courts, they uſed him moſt cruelly. On the Fourth of *December* he was found hanged in the Chamber where he was kept * Priſoner. And Doctor *Horſey* Chancellour to the Biſhop of *London*, with the other Officers who had the Charge of the Priſon, gave it out that he had hang'd himſelf. But the Coroner of *London* coming to hold an Inqueſt on the dead body, they found him hanging ſo looſe, and in a ſilk girdle, that they clearly perceived he was killed; they alſo found his Neck had been broken, as they judged, with an Iron chain, for the Skin was all fretted and cut; they ſaw ſome ſtreams of blood about his body, beſides ſeveral other evidences which made it clear he had not murdered himſelf; whereupon they did acquit the dead body, and laid the Murder on the Officers that had the charge of that Priſon: and by other proofs they found the Biſhops Sumner and the Bell-ringer guilty of it, and by the depoſition of the Sumner himſelf it did appear, that the Chancellour and he, and the Bell-ringer did Murder him, and then hang him up.

Made Clerke *Octob.* 29. 1. *Reg. Rot. Pat. Part.* 1°.

Journal Procerum 7 Hen.8. Diſſolutum & finitum fuit hoc Parliamentum 22 Dece. 1515. Johanne Tylor Juris Pontificii Doct. Clerico Parliamentorum Domini Regis: & eodem tempore Prolocutore Convocationis Cleri quod raro accidit. In hoc Parliamento & Convocatione periculoſiſſimæ ſeditiones exortæ ſunt inter Clerum & Secularem poteſtatem ſuper libertatibus Eccleſiaſticis, quodam Fratre Minore, nomine Standiſh, *omnium malorum miniſtro ac ſtimulatore.*

Hall. and *Fox.*

* *Hunne* hanged in Priſon.

But as the Inqueſt proceeded in this Trial, the Biſhop began a new Proceſs againſt the dead body of *Richard Hunne*, for other points of Hereſie; and ſeveral Articles were gathered out of *Wickliff's* Preface to the Bible with which he was charged. And his having the Book in his Poſſeſſion being taken for good evidence, he was judged an Heretick, and his body delivered to the Secular Power. When judgment was given, the Biſhops of *Dureſme* and *Lincoln* with many Doctors both of Divinity and the Canon-Law ſate with the Biſhop of *London*; ſo that it was lookt on as an Act of the whole Clergy,

and

and done by common consent. On the 20th of *December* his body was burnt at *Smithfield*. And his body burned *Dec. 20. 1514.*

But this produced an effect very different from what was expected, for it was hoped that he being found an Heretick no body should appear for him any more: whereas on the contrary, it occasioned a great outcry, the man having lived in very good reputation among his Neighbours; so that after that day the City of *London* was never well affected to the Popish Clergy, but inclined to follow any body who spoke against them, and every one lookt on it, as a Cause of common concern. All exclaimed against the Cruelty of their Clergy, that for a mans suing a Clerke according to law, he should be long and hardly used in a severe imprisonment, and at last cruelly murdered; and all this laid on himself to defame him, and ruin his family. And then to burn that body which they had so handled, was thought such a complication of Cruelties, as few Barbarians had ever been guilty of. The Bishop finding that the Inquest went on, and the whole matter was discovered, used all possible endeavours to stop their proceedings; and they were often brought before the Kings Council, where it was pretended that all proceeded from Malice and Heresie. The Cardinal laboured to procure an order to forbid their going any further, but the thing was both so foul and so evident that it could not be done: and that opposition made it more generally believed. In the Parliament there was a Bill sent up to the Lords by the Commons for restoring *Hunne's* Children, which was passed, and had the Royal assent to it; but another Bill being brought in about this Murther, it occasioned great heats among them. The Bishop of *London* said that *Hunne* had hanged himself, that the Inquest were false perjured Caitiffs, and if they proceeded further he could not keep his house for Hereticks; so that the Bill which was sent up by the Commons was but once read in the House of Lords, *April* 3. for the power of the Clergy was great there. But the Trial went on, and both the Bishops Chancellour and the Summer were endicted as Principals in the Murder.

The Convocation that was then sitting, finding so great a stir made, and that all their liberties were now struck at, resolved to call Doctor *Standish* to an Account for what he had said and argued in that matter, so he being summoned before them, some Articles were objected to him by word of mouth, concerning the judging of Clerks in Civil Courts; and the day following they being put in writing, the Bill was delivered to him, and a day assigned for him to make answer. The Doctor perceiving their intention, and judging it would go hard with him if he were tryed before them, went and claimed the Kings Protection, from this trouble that he was now brought in, for discharging his duty as the Kings Spiritual Counsel. But the Clergy made their excuse to the King, that they were not to question him for any thing he had said as the Kings Counsel; but for some Lectures he read at St *Pauls* and elswhere, *contrary to the Law of God, and Liberties of the holy Church which they were bound to maintain*; and desired the Kings Assistance according to his *Coronation Oath*, and as he would not incur the Censures of the holy Church. On the other hand the Temporal Lords and Judges, with the concurrence of the House of Commons, addressed to the King, to maintain the Temporal Jurisdiction according to his *Coronation Oath*,

and

and to protect *Standish* from the Malice of his enemies.

This put the King in great perplexity, for he had no mind to lose any part of his Temporal Jurisdiction, and on the other hand, was no less apprehensive of the dangerous effects that might follow on a breach with the Clergy. So he called for Doctor *Veysey*, then Dean of his Chappel and afterwards Bishop of *Exeter*, and charged him upon his Allegiance to declare the truth to him in that matter: which after some study he did, and said, upon his *Faith*, *Conscience*, and *Allegiance*, he did think that the convening of Clerks before the secular Judg, which had been always practised in *England*, might well consist with the Law of God and the *true Liberties of the holy Church*. This gave the King great satisfaction; so he commanded all the Judges, and his Council both Spiritual and Temporal, and some of both Houses, to meet at *Black-Friers*, and to hear the matter argued. The Bill against Doctor *Standish* was read, which consisted of Six Articles that were objected to him. First, *That he had said that the lower Orders were not sacred*. Secondly, *That the Exemption of Clerks was not founded on a divine Right*. Thirdly, *That the Laity might coerce Clerks when the Prelates did not their duty*: Fourthly, *That no positive Ecclesiastical Law binds any but those who receive it*. Fifthly, *That the Study of the Canon-Law was needless*. Sixthly, *That of the whole Volume of the* Decretum, *so much as a man could hold in his fist, and no more, did oblige Christians*. To these Doctor *Standish* answered, that for those things exprest in the Third, the Fifth, and the Sixth Articles he had never taught them; as for his asserting them at any time in discourse, as he did not remember it, so he did not much care, whether he had done it or not. To the First he said, *Lesser Orders in one sense* are *sacred*, and in another they are *not sacred*. For the Second and Fourth, he confessed he had taught them, and was ready to justifie them. It was objected by the Clergy, that as by the Law of God, *no man could judge his Father*, it being contrary to that Commandment, *Honour thy Father*: So Church-men being *Spiritual Fathers*, they could not be judged by the Laity who were their *Children*. To which he answered, that as that only concluded in favour of *Priests*, those in Inferiour Orders not being *Fathers*; so it was a mistake to say a Judge might not sit upon his Natural Father, for the Judge was by another Relation above his Natural Father: and though the Commandment is conceived in general words, yet there are some exceptions to be admitted; as though it be said, *Thou shalt not kill*, yet in some cases we may lawfully kill, so in the case of justice a Judge may lawfully sit on his Father.

But Doctor *Veysey*'s Argument was that which took most with all that were present. He said, it was certain that the Laws of the Church *did not bind any but those who received them*. To prove this, he said, that in old times all secular Priests were Married; but in the days of St. *Augustine*, the Apostle of *England*, there was a Decree made to the contrary, which was received in *England* and in many other places, by vertue whereof the Secular Priests in *England* may not Marry; but this Law not being universally received, *the Greek Church never judged themselves bound by it*, so that to this day the Priests in that Church have Wives as well as other secular men. If then the Churches of the *East* not having received the Law of the Celibate of the Clergy, have never

ver been condemned by the Church, for not obeying it; then the conveening Clerks having been always practised in *England*, was no sin, notwithstanding the Decree to the contrary which was never received here. Nor is this to be compared to those priviledges that concern only a Private mans Interest, for the Common-Wealth of the whole Realm was chiefly to be lookt at, and to be preferred to all other things.

When the Matter was thus argued on both sides, all the Judges delivered their Opinions, in these words. *That all those of the Convocation who did award the Citation against* Standish, *were in the case of a Premunire facias*; and added somewhat about the Constitution of the Parliament, which being forreign to my business, and contrary to a received opinion, I need not mention, but refer the Reader to *Ketlway* for his Information, if he desires to know more of it: and thus the Court broke up. But soon after, all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, with many of the House of Commons, and all the Judges and the Kings Council, were called before the King to *Baynards* Castle; and in all their presence the Cardinal kneeled down before the King, and in the name of the Clergy said, *That none of them intended to do any thing that might derogate from his Prerogative, and least of all himself, who owed his advancement only to the Kings favour. But this matter of Conveening of Clerks, did seem to them all to be contrary to the Laws of God, and the Liberties of the Church, which they were bound by their Oaths to maintain according to their Power.* Therefore in their name he humbly begged, *That the King to avoid the Censures of the Church, would refer the Matter to the decision of the Pope and his Council, at the Court of* Rome. To which the King answered. *It seems to us that Doctor* Standish, *and others of our Spiritual Council, have answered you fully in all points.* The Bishop of *Winchester* replyed, *Sir, I warrant you Doctor* Standish *will not abide by his Opinion at his peril.* But the Doctor said, *what should one poor Frier doe alone, against all the Bishops and Clergy of* England? After a short silence the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* said, *That in former times divers holy Fathers of the Church had opposed the execution of that Law, and some of them suffered Martyrdome in the Quarrel.* To whom *Fineux* Lord Chief Justice said, *That many holy Kings had mantained that Law, and many holy Fathers had given Obedience to it, which it is not to be presumed they would have done, had they known it to be contrary to the Law of God*: and he desired to know by what Law Bishops could judge Clerks for Felony, it being a thing only determined by the Temporal Law; so that either it was not at all to be tryed, or it was only in the Temporal Court; so that either Clerks must do as they please, or be tryed in the Civil Courts. To this no Answer being made, the King said these words: *By the Permission and Ordinance of God we are King of* England, *and the Kings of* England *in times past had never any Superiour, but God only. Therefore know you well that we will maintain the Right of our Crown, and of our Temporal Jurisdiction as well in this, as in all other points, in as ample manner, as any of our Progenitours have done before our time. And as for your Decrees we are well assured that you of the Spirituality go expresly against the words of divers of them, as hath been shewed you by some of our Council; and you interpret your Decrees at your pleasure, but we will not agree to them more than our Progenitors have done in former times.* But the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* made most humble Instance, that the

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Matter might be so long respited, till they could get a Resolution from the Court of *Rome*, which they should procure at their own Charges; and if it did consist with the Law of God, they should conform themselves to the Law of the Land. To this the King made no answer: but the Warrants being out against Doctor *Horsey* the Bishop of *London's* Chancellour, he did abscond in the Arch-Bishops house; though it was pretended he was a Prisoner there, till afterwards a temper was found, that *Horsey* should render himself a Prisoner in the Kings Bench and be tryed. But the Bishop of *London* made earnest Applications to the Cardinal that he would move the King to command the Attourney-General to confess the Inditement was not true, that it might not be referred to a Jury; since he said the Citizens of *London* did so favour Heresie, that if he were as Innocent as *Abel* they would find any Clerk guilty. The King not willing to irritate the Clergy too much, and judging he had maintained his Prerogative by bringing *Horsey* to the Bar, ordered the Attourney to do so. And accordingly when *Horsey* was brought to the Bar and Endited of Murder, he pleaded *Not guilty*; which the Attourney acknowledging, he was dismissed, and went and lived at *Exeter*, and never again came back to *London*, either out of fear or shame. And for Doctor *Standish*, upon the Kings Command, he was also dismissed out of the Court of Convocation.

It does not appear that the Pope thought fit to interpose in this Matter. For though upon less Provocations, Popes had proceeded to the highest Censures against Princes, yet this King was otherwise so necessary to the Pope at this time, that he was not to be offended. The Clergy suffered much in this business, besides the loss of their reputation with the people, who involved them all in the guilt of *Hunne's* Murder; for now their Exemption being well examined, was found to have no foundation at all, but in their own Decrees; and few were much convinced by that authority, since upon the matter it was but a judgment of their own, in their own favours: nor was the City of *London* at all satisfied with the Proceedings in the Kings Bench, since there was no justice done; and all thought the King seemed more careful to maintain his Prerogative than to do Justice.

This I have related the more fully, because it seems to have had great Influence on peoples minds, and to have disposed them much to the Changes that followed afterwards. How these things were entred in the Books of Convocation, cannot be now known. For among the other sad losses sustained in the late burning of *London*, this was one, that almost all the Registers of the Spiritual Courts were burnt, some few of the Arch-Bishops of *Canterbury* and Bishops of *London's* Registers being only preserved. But having compared *Fox* his Account of this and some other matters, and finding it exactly according to the Registers that are preserved, I shall the more confidently build, on what he published from those Records that are now lost.

The King obliged the Popes highly, and was much courted by them.

This was the only thing in the first 18 years of the Kings Reign that seemed to lessen the Greatness of the Clergy, but in all other matters he was a most faithful Son of the See of *Rome*. Pope *Julius* soon after his coming to the Crown, sent him a Golden Rose with a

Letter to Arch-Bishop *Warham* to deliver it, and though such Presents might seem fitter for young Children, than for men of discretion ; yet the King was much delighted with it : and to shew his Gratitude, there was a Treaty concluded the year following between the King and *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, for the Defence of the Papacy against the *French* King. And when in opposition to the Council, that the *French* King and some other Princes and Cardinals had called, first to *Pisa* (which was afterwards translated to *Milan*, and then to *Lions*, that summoned the Pope to appear before them, and suspended his Authority) Pope *Julius* called another Council to be held in the *Lateran* ; the King sent the Bishops of *Worcester* and *Rochester*, the Prior of St. *Johns* and the Abbot of *Winchelcomb* to sit in that Council, in which there was such a Representative of the Catholick Church as had been for several of the latter Ages in the *Western* Church : in which a few Bishops packt out of several Kingdoms, and many *Italian* Bishops, with a vast number of Abbots, Priors, and other Inferiour Dignified Clergy-men, were brought to Confirm together whatever the Popes had a mind to Enact; which passing easily, among them, was sent over the world with a stamp of Sacred Authority, as the Decrees and Decisions of the *Holy Universal Church assembled in a General Council.*

Collect. Numb. 2d. Treaty-Rolls 3 Reg. 19 April 1512.

Nor was there a worse understanding between this King and Pope *Leo* the 10*th*. that succeeded *Julius*, who did also complement him with those Papal Presents of Roses, and at his desire made *Wolsey* a Cardinal ; and above all other things obliged him by conferring on him the Title of *Defender of the Faith*, (upon the presenting to the Pope his Book against *Luther*) in a pompous Letter Signed by the Pope, and 27 Cardinals, in which the King took great pleasure ; affecting it always beyond all his other Titles, though several of the former Kings of *England* had carried the same Title, as *Spelman* informs us. So easie a thing it was for Popes to oblige Princes in those days, when a Title or a Rose was thought a sufficient Recompence for the greatest Services.

1521. October 11. L. Herbert.

The Cardinal Governing all Temporal Affairs as he did, it is not to be doubted but his Authority was absolute in Ecclesiastical Matters, which seemed naturally to lie within his Province ; yet *Warham* made some opposition to him, and complained to the King of his encroaching too much in his Legantine Courts, upon his Jurisdiction ; and the things being clearly made out, the King chid the Cardinal sharply for it, who ever after that hated *Warham* in his heart, yet he proceeded more warily for the future.

But the Cardinal drew the hatred of the Clergy upon himself, chiefly by a Bull which he obtained from *Rome*, giving him Authority to visit all Monasteries, and all the Clergy of *England*, and to dispence with all the Laws of the Church for one whole year after the date of the Bull. The power that was lodged in him by this Bull was not more invidious, than the words in which it was conceived were offensive ; for the Preamble of it was full of severe Reflections against the Manners and Ignorance of the Clergy, who are said in it to have been delivered over *to a Reprobate mind.* This, as it was a publick Defaming them, so how true soever it might be, all thought it did not become the Cardinal, whose Vices were notorious and scandalous, to tax others whose faults were neither so great, nor so eminent as his were.

A Bull for Reforming the Clergy. 10 *June* 1519. L. Herbert, and Article 29. of his Impeachment.

The Cardinal's Pride. *Polydore Virgil.* He did also affect a Magnificence and Greatness, not only in his Habit (being the first Clergy-man in *England* that wore Silks) but in his Family, his Train, and other pieces of State, equal to that of Kings. And even in performing Divine Offices, and saying Mass, he did it with the same Ceremonies that the Popes use; who judg themselves so nearly related to God, that those humble acts of Adoration, which are Devotions in other persons, would abase them too much. He had not only Bishops and Abbots to serve him, but even Dukes and Earls to give him the Water and the Towel. He had certainly a vast mind; and he saw the corruptions of the Clergy gave so great Scandal, and their Ignorance was so profound, that unless some effectual ways were taken for correcting these, they must needs fall into great disesteem with the People: For though he took great liberties himself, and perhaps according to the Maxime of the Canonists, he judged Cardinals as Princes of the Church were not comprehended within ordinary Ecclesiastical Laws; yet he seemed to have designed the Reformation of the Inferiour Clergy by all the means he could think of, except the giving them a good Example: Therefore he intended to visit all the Monasteries of *England*, that so discovering their corruptions, he might the better justifie the design he had to suppress most of them, and convert them into Bishopricks, Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches and Colledges: For which end he procured the Bull from *Rome*: but he was diverted from making any use of it; by some who advised him rather to suppress Monasteries by the Popes Authority, than proceed in a Method which would raise great hatred against himself, cast foul aspersions on Religious Orders, and give the Enemies of the Church great advantages against it. Yet he had communicated his design to the King; and his Secretary *Cromwell* understanding it, was thereby instructed how to proceed afterwards when they went about the total suppression of the Monasteries.

[Margin: He designs a Reformation. And a Suppression of Monasteries.]

The Calling of Convocations. The Summoning of Convocations he assumed by vertue of his Legantine Power. Of these there were two sorts, the first were called by the King; for with the Writs for a Parliament there went out always a Summons to the Two Arch-Bishops for calling a Convocation of their Provinces, the Stile of which will be found in the Collection. It differs in nothing from what is now in use, but that the King did not prefix the day: requiring them only to be Summoned to meet with all convenient speed; and the Arch-Bishops, having the King's pleasure signified to them, did in their Writs prefix the day. Other Convocations were called by the Arch-Bishops in their several Provinces upon great Emergencies to meet and treat of things relating to the Church, and were Provincial Councils. Of this I find but one, and that called by *Warham* in the first year of this King, for restoring the Ecclesiastical Immunities that had been very much impaired, as will appear by the Writ of Summons. But the Cardinal did now, as Legate, issue out Writs for Convocations. In the year 1522. I find by the Register there was a Writ issued from the King to *Warham* to call one, who upon that Summoned it to meet at St. *Pauls* the 20*th*: of *April*. But the Cardinal prevailed so far with the King, that on the 2*d*. of *May* after, he by his Legantine Authority dissolved that Convocation; and issued out a Writ to *Tonstall* Bishop of *London* to bring the Clergy of *Canterbury* to St. *Peter's* in *Westminster*, there to meet and reform Abuses in the Church; and

[Margin: Collect. Numb. 3d. — Collect. Numb. 4th. — Regist. Tonst. Fol. 33, 34.]

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consider of other important Matters that should be proposed to them. What they did towards Reformation, I know not, the Records being lost: But as to the Kings Supply, it was proposed, That they should give the King the half of the full value of their Livings for one year, to be paid in Five years. The Cardinal laid out to them how much the King had merited from the Church, both by suppressing the Schism that was like to have been in the Papacy in Pope *Julius* his time, and by Protecting the See of *Rome* from the *French* Tyrannie; but most of all, for that excellent Book written by him in Defence of the Faith against the Hereticks: and that therefore, since the *French* King was making War upon him, and had sent over the Duke of *Albany* to *Scotland* to make War also on that side, it was fit that on so great an occasion, it should appear that his Clergy were sensible of their Happiness in having such a King; which they ought to express in granting somewhat, that was as much beyond all former Presidents, as the King had merited more from them than all former Kings had ever done.

But the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Rochester* opposed this: For they both hated the Cardinal. The one thought him ungrateful to him who had raised him: The other being a man of a strict Life hated him for his Vices. Both these spake against it as an unheard-of Tax, which would so oppress the Clergy, that it would not be possible for them to live and pay it; and that this would become a Precedent for after-times, which would make the condition of the Clergy most miserable. But the Cardinal, who intended that the Convocation by a great Subsidy should lead the way to the Parliament, took much pains for carrying it thorough; and got some to be absent, and others were prevailed on to consent to it: And for the fear of its being made a Precedent, a Clause was put in the Act, *That it should be no Precedent for after-times*. Others laughed at this, and said, It would be a Precedent for all that, if it once passed. But in the end it was granted, with a most glorious Preamble; and by it all the Natives of *England* that had any Ecclesiastical Benefice were to pay the full half of the true value of their Livings in Five years; and all Forreigners who were Beneficed in *England* were to pay a whole years Rent in the same time: out of which number were excepted the Bishops of *Worcester* and *Landaffe*, *Polidore Virgil*, *Peter* the *Carmelite*, *Erasmus* of *Roterdam*, *Silvester Darius*, and *Peter Vannes*, who were to pay only as Natives did. This encreased the hatred that the Clergy bore the Cardinal. But he despised them, and in particular was a great Enemy to the Monks, and looked on them as idle mouths that did neither the Church nor State any Service, but were through their scandalous Lives a reproach to the Church, and a burden to the State. Therefore he resolved to suppress a great number of them, and to change them to another Institution.

Collect. Numb. 5th.

Of the State of the Monasteries.

From the days of King *Edgar* the State of Monkery had been still growing in *England*. For most of the Secular Clergy being then Married, and refusing to put away their Wives, were by *Dunstan* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and *Ethelwald* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Oswald* Bishop of *Worcester*, who were all Monks, turned out of their Livings. There is in the Rolls an *Inspeximus* of King *Edgars*, Erecting the Priory and Convent of *Worcester*, which bears date *Anno* 964. *Edgari* 6^to^. on St. *Innocents*-day, Signed by the King, the Queen, Two Arch-Bishops, Five

Rot. Pat. 11. Hen. 8. Part. 1.

Bishops, Six Abbots, (but neither Bishoprick nor Abbey are named) Six Dukes, and Five Knights, but there is no Seal to it. It bears, that the King, with the Council and Consent of his Princes and Gentry, did Confirm and Establish that Priory; and that he had Erected 47 Monasteries, which he intended to encrease to 50. the number of Jubilee; and that the former Incumbents should be for ever excluded from all pretensions to their Benefices, because they had rather chosen, with the danger of their Order, and the prejudice of the Ecclesiastical Benefice, to adhere to their Wives, than to serve God Chastly and Canonically.

The Monks being thus setled in most Cathedrals of *England*, gave themselves up to Idleness and Pleasure, which had been long complained of; but now that Learning began to be restored, they being every-where possessed of the best Church-Benefices, were looked upon by all Learned-men with an evil eye, as having in their hands the chief encouragements of Learning, and yet doing nothing towards it; they on the contrary decrying and disparaging it all they could, saying, It would bring in Heresie, and a great deal of mischief. And the Restorers of Learning, such as *Erasmus*, *Vives*, and others, did not spare them, but did expose their Ignorance and ill Manners to the world.

Now the King naturally loved Learning, and therefore the Cardinal, either to do a thing which he knew would be acceptable to the King, or that it was also agreeable to his own Inclinations, resolved to set up some Colledges, in which there should be both great Encouragements for eminent Scholars to prosecute their Studies, and good Schools for teaching and training up of Youth. This he knew would be a great honour to him, to be lookt upon as a Patron of Learning; and therefore he set his heart much on it, to have Two Colledges (the one at *Oxford*, the other at *Ipswich*, the place of his Birth) well constituted, and nobly Endowed. But towards this, it was necessary to suppress some Monasteries, which was thought every-whit as justifiable and lawful, as it had been many Ages before, to change Secular Prebends into Canons Regular; the endowed Goods being still applied to a Religious use. And it was thought hard to say, That if the Pope had the absolute Power of dispensing the Spiritual Treasure of the Church, and to translate the Merits of one man, and apply them to another; that he had not a much more absolute Power over the Temporal Treasure of the Church, to translate Church-Lands from one use, and apply them to another. And indeed the Cardinal was then so much considered at *Rome*, as a Pope of another world; that whatever he desired he easily obtained. Therefore on the 3*d*. of *April* 1524. Pope *Clement* by a Bull gave him Authority to suppress the Monastery of St. *Frediswood* in *Oxford*, and in the Diocess of *Lincoln*, and to carry the Monks elsewhere, with a very full *non obstante*. To this the King gave his assent the 19*th*. of *April* following. After this there followed many other Bulls for other Religious Houses and Rectories that were Impropriated. These Houses being thus suppressed by the Law, they belonged to the King; who thereupon made them over to the Cardinal by new and special Grants, which are all Enrolled. And so he went on with these great Foundations, and brought them to Perfection: That at *Oxford* in the 18*th*. year, and that at *Ipswich* in the 20*th*. year of the Kings Reign, as appears by the Dates of the Kings Patents for Founding them.

The Cardinal's Colledges

The Bull and Royal Assent, 14. *Reg.* 2. *Part. Rot. Pat.*

In the last Place I come to shew the new opinions in Religion, or those that were accounted new then in *England*; and the State and Progress of them till the 19th year of the Kings Reign.

From the days of *Wickliffe*, there were many, that disliked most of the received Doctrines, in several parts of the Nation. The Clergy were at that time very hateful to the people; for as the Pope did exact heavily on them, so they being oppressed took all means possible to make the people repay what the Popes wrested from them. *Wickliffe* being much encouraged and supported by the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Lord *Piercy*, the Bishops could not proceed against him till the Duke of *Lancaster* was put from the King, and then he was condemned at *Oxford*. Many opinions are charged upon him, but whether he held them or not, we know not, but by the Testimonies of his Enemies, who write of him with so much passion, that it discredits all they say; yet he dyed in peace, though his body was afterwards burnt. He translated the Bible out of Latine into *English*, with a long Preface before it, in which he reflected severely on the corruptions of the Clergy, and condemned the Worshipping of Saints and Images, and denyed the corporal Presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament, and exhorted all people to the Study of the Scriptures. His Bible with this Preface was well received by a great many, who were led into these Opinions, rather by the Impressions which common sense and plain Reason made on them, than by any deep Speculation or Study. For the followers of this Doctrine were illiterate and ignorant men: some few Clerks joyned to them, but they formed not themselves into any body or association; and were scattered over the Kingdom, holding these Opinions in private without making any publick Profession of them: Generally they were known by their disparaging the superstitious Clergy, whose Corruptions were then so notorious, and their Cruelty so enraged, that no wonder the people were deeply prejudiced against them. Nor were the methods they used likely to prevail much upon them, being severe and cruel. The First beginning of Reformation in *England*.

In the Primitive Church, though in their Councils they were not backward to pass Anathematisms on every thing that they judged Heresie; yet all Capital proceedings against Hereticks were condemned; and when two Bishops did prosecute *Priscillian*, and his followers before the Emperor *Maximus*, upon which they were put to death, they were generally so blamed for it, that many refused to hold Communion with them. The *Roman* Emperors made many Laws against Hereticks, for the fining and banishing of them, and secluded them from the Priviledges of other Subjects; such as *making Wills*, or *receiving Legacies*; only the *Manichees* (who were a strange mixture between Heathenism and Christianity) were to suffer death for their errors. Yet the Bishops in those days, particularly in *Africk*, doubted much, whether upon the Insolencies of Hereticks, or Schismaticks, they might desire the Emperor to execute those Laws for Fining, Banishing, and other restraints. And St. *Austin* was not easily prevailed on to consent to it. But at length the *Donatists* were so intolerable, that after several Consultations about it, they were forced to consent to those inferiour penalties, but still condemned the taking away of their lives. And even in the Execution of the Imperial Laws in those inferiour punishments, The Cruelties of the Church of *Rome*.

they

they were always interposing, to moderate the severity of the Prefects and Governours. The first Instance of severity on mens bodies that was not censured by the Church, was in the Fifth Century under *Justine* the first, who Ordered the tongue of *Severus*, (who had been Patriarch of *Antioch*, but did daily Anathematise the Council of *Chalcedon*) to be cut out. In the Eighth Century *Justinian* the 2d (called *Rhinotmetus* from his cropt nose) burnt all the *Manichees* in *Armenia*: And in the end of the Eleventh Century the *Bogomili* were condemned to be burnt by the Patriarch and Council of *Constantinople*. But in the end of the 12, and in the beginning of the 13th Century, a Company of Simple and Innocent persons in the Southern parts of *France*, being disgusted with the Corruptions both of the Popish Clergy and of the publick Worship, separated from their Assemblies; and then *Dominick* and his *brethren-Preachers*, who came among them to convince them, finding their Preaching did not prevail, betook themselves to that way, that was sure to silence them. They perswaded the Civil Magistrates to burn all such as were judged Obstinate Hereticks. That they might do this by a Law, the Fourth Council of *Lateran* did Decree, that all Hereticks should be delivered to the *Secular Power* to be *extirpated*; (they thought not fit to speak out, but by the Practise it was known that *Burning* was that which they meant;) and if they did it not, they were to be Excommunicated; and after that, if they still refused to do their duty, (which was upon the matter to be the Inquisitors Hangmen) they were to deny it at their utmost Perils. For not only the Ecclesiastical Censures, but Anathema's were thought too feeble a punishment for this Omission. Therefore a Censure was found out, as severe upon the Prince, as Burning was to the poor Heretick. *He was to be deposed by the Pope, his Subjects to be absolved from their Oaths of Allegiance, and his Dominions to be given away, to any other faithful Son of the Church, such as pleased the Pope best* and all this by the Authority of a Synod, that passed for a *Holy General Council*. This as it was fatal to the Counts of *Tholouse*, who were great Princes in the South of *France*, and first fell under the Censures; so it was terrible to all other Princes, who thereupon, to save themselves delivered up their Subjects to the Mercy of the Ecclesiastical Courts.

Fitz-Herbert, de Nat. Brevium.

Burning was the death they made choice of, because Witches, Vizards, and Sodomites had been so executed. Therefore to make Heresie appear a terrible thing, this was thought the most proper punishment of it. It had also a resemblance of everlasting Burning, to which they adjudged their Souls, as well as their bodies were condemned to the fire; but with this signal difference, that they could find no such effectual way to oblige God to execute their sentence, as they contrived against the Civil Magistrate. But however they confidently gave it out, that by vertue of that Promise of our Saviours, *Whose sins ye bind on Earth, they are bound in Heaven*, their Decrees were ratified in Heaven. And it not being easie to disprove what they said, people believed the one, as they saw the other Sentence executed. So that whatever they condemned as Heresie, was looked on as the worst thing in in the world.

There was no occasion for the execution of this Law in *England*, till

till the days of *Wickliffe*. And the favour he had from ſome great men ſtopt the Proceedings againſt him. But in the 5th year of King *Richard* the Second, a Bill paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, and was aſſented to by the King, and publiſhed for an Act of Parliament, though the Bill was never ſent to the Houſe of Commons. By this pretended Law it appears, *Wickliff's* followers were then very numerous; that they had a certain habit, and did Preach in many places, both in Churches, Church-yards and Markets, without Licence from the Ordinary; and did preach ſeveral Doctrines both againſt the Faith, and the Laws of the Land, as had been proved before the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the other Biſhops, Prelats, Doctors of Divinity, and of the Civil and Canon-Law, and others of the Clergy: That they would not ſubmit to the admonitions, nor Cenſures of the Church; but by their ſubtile ingenious words, did draw the people to follow them and defend them by ſtrong hand, and in great routs. Therefore it was Ordained, that upon the Biſhops certifying into the *Chancery* the names of ſuch Preachers and their Abettors, the Chancellour ſhould iſſue forth Commiſſions to the Sheriffs and others the Kings Miniſters, to hold them in Arreſt and ſtrong Priſon till they ſhould *juſtify them* according to the Law and reaſon of Holy Church. From the gentleneſs of which law it may appear, that *England* was not then ſo tame as to bear the ſeverity of thoſe cruel laws which were ſetled and put in execution in other Kingdoms.

The Laws of *England* againſt Hereticks.

Under *Rich.* the 2d.

The Cuſtome at that time was to engroſs Copies of all the Acts of Parliament, and to ſend them with a Writ under the great Seal to the Sheriffs, to make them be proclaimed within their juriſdictions. And *John Braibrook* Biſhop of *London*, then Lord Chancellour, ſent this with the other Acts of that Parliament to be proclaimed. The Writ bears date the 26th of *May*, 5^to^ *Reg.* But in the next Parliament that was held in the 6th year of that Kings Reign, the Commons preferred a Bill reciting the former Act, and conſtantly affirmed that they had never aſſented to it, and therefore deſired it might be declared to be void; for they Proteſted it was never their intent to be *Juſtified, and to bind themſelves and their Succeſſors to the Prelats, more than their Anceſtors had done in times paſt.* To which the King gave the Royal Aſſent, as it is in the Records of Parliament. But in the Proclamation of the Acts of that Parliament this Act was ſuppreſſed; ſo that the former Act was ſtill looked on as a good law, and is Printed in the Book of Statutes. Such pious frauds were always practiſed by the Popiſh Clergy, and were indeed neceſſary for the ſupporting the Credit of that Church. When *Richard* the 2d was depoſed and the Crown uſurped by *Henry* the 4th, then he in gratitude to the Clergy that aſſiſted him in his coming to the Crown, granted them a law to their hearts content in the 2*d.* year of his Reign. The Preamble bears, *That ſome had a new Faith about the Sacraments of the Church, and the Authority of the ſame; and did Preach without Authority, gathered Conventicles, taught Schools, wrote Books againſt the Catholick Faith; with many other heinous aggravations. Upon which the Prelats and Clergy, and the Commons of the Realm prayed the King to provide a ſufficient remedy to ſo great an evil. Therefore the King by the aſſent of the States, and other diſcreet men of the Realm being in the ſaid Parliament, did Ordain, That none ſhould*

Cook's Inſtitutes 3. part. chap. 5. of Hereſie.

6^to^ *Rich.* 2. 1 *Part. Numb.* 52. *Rot. parl.*

Another Law under King *Henry* the 4th.

Preach

Preach without Licence, except persons Priviledged; That none should Preach any Doctrine contrary to the Catholick Faith, or the Determination of the Holy Church, and that none should favour and abett them, nor keep their Books, but deliver them to the Diocesan of the place within 40 *days after the Proclamation of that Statute. And that if any Persons were defamed, or suspected of doing against that Ordinance, then the Ordinary might Arrest them, and keep them in his Prison, till they were Canonically purged of the Articles laid against them, or did abjure them according to the Laws of the Church. Provided always that the proceedings against them were publickly and judicially done and ended, within three Months after they had been so Arrested; and if they were Convict, the Diocesan, or his Commissaries, might keep them in Prison as long as to his discretion shall seem expedient, and might Fine them as should seem competent to him, certifying the Fine into the Kings Exchequer; and if any being Convict did refuse to abjure, or after Abjuration did fall into Relapse, then he was to be left to the Secular Court according to the Holy Canons. And the Majors, Sheriffs, or Bayliffs were to be personally present at the passing the Sentence, when they should be required by the Diocesan, or his Commissaries, and after the Sentence they were to receive them, and them before the People in a high place do to be Brent.* By this Statute the Sheriffs, or other Officers, were immediatly to proceed to the Burning of Hereticks without any Writ, or Warrant from the King. But it seems the Kings Learned Council advised him to issue out a Writ, *De Hæretico comburendo*, upon what grounds of Law I cannot tell. For in the same year when *William Sartre* (who was the first that was put to death upon the account of Heresie) was judged Relapse by *Thomas Arundel*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, in a Convocation of his Province, and thereupon was degraded from Priesthood, and left to Secular Power; a Writ was issued out to Burn him, which in the Writ is called, *The Customary Punishment* (relating it as like to the Customs that were beyond Sea.) But this Writ was not necessary by the Law, and therefore it seems these Writs were not Enrolled. For in the whole Reign of King *Henry* the 8*th*. I have not been able to find any of these Writs in the Rolls. But by *Warham*'s Register I see the Common course of the Law, was to certifie into the Chancery the Conviction of an Heretick, upon which the Writ was issued out, if the King did not send a Pardon. Thus it went on all the Reign of *Henry* the 4*th*. But in the beginning of his Sons Reign, there was a Conspiracy (as was pretended) by Sir *John Oldcastle*, and some others against the King and the Clergy; upon which many were put in Prison, and 29 were both attainted of *Treason*, and condemned of *Heresie*, so they were both Hanged and Burnt. But as a Writer that lived in the following Age, says, *Certain affirmed that these were but feigned causes, surmised of the Spiritualty more of displeasure than truth.* That Conspiracy, whether real or pretended, produced a severe Act against those Hereticks, who were then best known by the name of *Lollards*. By which Act all Officers of State, Judges, Justices of the Peace, Majors, Sheriffs and Bayliffs, were to be Sworn when they took their Imployments, to use their whole Power and Diligence to destroy all Heresies and Errors, called *Lollardies*, and to assist the Ordinaries and their Commissaries in their proceedings against them; and that the *Lollards* should forfeit all the Lands they held in *Fee-Simple*, and their Goods and Chattels to the King.

Fitz Herbert's Natura Brevium.

Hall.

The

The Clergy, according to the Genius of that Religion, having their Authority fortified with such severe Laws, were now more cruel and insolent than ever. And if any man denied them any part of that respect, or of those advantages to which they pretended, he was presently brought under the suspition of Heresie, and vexed with Imprisonments, and Articles were brought against him.

Upon which great complaints followed. And the Judges to correct this, granted *Habeas Corpus* upon their Imprisonments, and examined the Warrants, and either Bailed, or Discharged the Prisoners as they saw cause: For though the Decrees of the Church had made many things Heresie, so that the Clergy had much matter to work upon; yet when Offenders against them in other things could not be charged with any formal Heresie, then by consequences they studied to fasten it on them, but were sometimes over-ruled by the Judges. Thus, when one *Keyser* (who was Excommunicated by *Thomas Bourchier*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, at the Suit of another) said openly, that *That Sentence was not to be feared*; for though the Arch-Bishop, or his Commissary had Excommunicated him, *yet he was not Excommunicated before God*; he was upon this Committed by the Arch-Bishop's Warrant, as one justly suspected of Heresie: but the Judges upon his moving for an *Habeas Corpus*, granted it; and the Prisoner being brought to the Bar, with the Warrant for his Imprisonment, they found the matter contained in it was not within the Statute, and first Bailed him, and after that they Discharged him. One *Warner* of *London*, having said, *That he was not bound to pay Tithes to his Curate*, was also imprisoned by *Edward Vaughan*, at the command of the Bishop of *London*; but he escaped out of Prison, and brought his Action of false Imprisonment against *Vaughan*. Whereupon *Vaughan* pleading the Statute of *Henry* the 4*th*. and that his Opinion was an Heresie against the Determination of the Catholick Faith; the Court of the Common-Pleas judged, That the words were not within the Statute, and *that his Opinion was an Error, but no Heresie*. So that the Judges looking on themselves as the Interpreters of the Law, thought, That even in the case of Heresie, they had Authority to declare, what was Heresie by the Law, and what not: But what opposition the Clergy made to this, I do not know.

5th. year of Edw. 4th.

I hope the Reader will easily excuse this Digression, it being so material to the History that is to follow. I shall next set down what I find in the Records about the proceedings against Hereticks in the beginning of this Reign.

On the 2*d*. of *May* in the year, 1511. Six Men and Four Women, most of them being of *Tenterden*, appeared before Arch-Bishop *Warham*, in his Mannor of *Knall*, and abjured the following Errors. 1*st*. That in the Sacrament of the Altar is not the Body of Christ, but Material Bread. 2*dly*. That the Sacraments of Baptism, and Confirmation, are not necessary, nor profitable for mens Souls. 3*dly*. That Confession of Sins ought not to be made to a Priest. 4*thly*. That there is no more Power given by God to a Priest than to a Layman. 5*thly*. That the Solemnization of Matrimony is not profitable, nor necessary for the well of mans Soul. 6*thly*. That the Sacrament of Extreme Unction is not profitable, nor necessary for mans Soul. 7*thly*. That Pilgrimages to holy and devout Places be not profitable, neither Meritorious for mans Soul.

Warham's Proceedings against Hereticks.

Regist. Warham, Fol. 154.

8*thly*. That Images of Saints be not to be worshipped. 9*thly*. That a man should pray to no Saint, but only to God. 10*thly*. That holy water and holy bread be not the better after the Benediction made by the Priest, than before. And as they abjured these Opinions, so they were made to Swear, That they should discover all whom they knew to hold these Errors, or who were suspected of them, or that did keep any private Conventicles, or were Fautors, or Comforters of them that published such Doctrins. Two other men of *Tenterden* did that day in the Afternoon abjure most of these Opinions. The Court sate again the 5*th*. of *May*, and the Arch-Bishop enjoyned them Penance, to wear the Badg of a Fagot in Flames on their Cloaths during their lives, or till they were dispensed with for it; and that in the Procession both at the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, and at their own Parish Churches they should carry a Fagot on their shoulders: which was looked on as a publick Confession that they deserved Burning.

That same day another of *Tenterdon* abjured the same Doctrines. On the 15*th*. of *May* the Court sate at *Lambeth*, where 4 Men and one Woman abjured. On the 19*th*. Four Men more abjured. On the 3*d*. of *June* a Man and a Woman abjured. Another Woman the 26*th*. of *July*: Another Man the 29*th*. of *July*: Two Women on the 2*d*. of *August*: A Man on the 3*d*. and a Woman on the 8*th*. of *August*: Three Men on the 16*th*. of *August*: And three Men and a Woman on the 3*d*. of *Sept*. In these Abjurations some were put to abjure more, some fewer of the former Doctrines; and in some of their Abjurations Two Articles more were added, 1*st*. That the Images of the Crucifix, of our Lady and other Saints, ought not to be worshipped, because they were made with mens hands, and were but Stocks and Stones. 2*dly*. That Money and Labour spent in Pilgrimages was all in vain. All these Persons (whether they were unjustly accused, or were overcome with fear, or had but crude conceptions of those Opinions, and so were easily frighted out of them) abjured and performed the Penance that was enjoyned them. Others met with harder measure, for on the 29*th*. of *April*, in the same year, 1511. one *William Carder* of *Tenterdon*, being Endited on the former Articles, he denied them all but one, *That he had said it was enough to pray to Almighty God alone, and therefore we needed not to pray to Saints for any mediation*. Upon which Witnesses were brought against him, who were all such as were then Prisoners, but intended to abjure, and were now made use of to Convict others. They Swore that he had taught them these Opinions. When their Depositions were published, he said, he did repent if he had said any thing against the Faith and the Sacraments; but he did not remember that he had ever said any such thing. Sentence was given upon him as an obstinate Heretick, and he was delivered up to the Secular Power. On the same day a Woman, *Agnes Grevill*, was Endited upon the same Articles: She pleaded *not Guilty*, but by a strange kind of proceeding, her Husband and her Two Sons were brought in Witnesses against her. Her Husband deposed, that in the end of the Reign of King *Edward* the 4*th*. one *John Ive*, had perswaded her into these Opinions, in which she had persisted ever since: Her Sons also deposed, that she had been still infusing these Doctrines into them. One *Robert Harrison* was also Endited, and pleading *not Guilty*, Witnesses did prove the Articles against him. And on the 2*d*. of

May

May Sentence was given against these Two as obstinate Hereticks. And the same day the Arch-Bishop Signed the Writs for certifying these Sentences into the Chancery, which conclude in these words: *Our holy Mother the Church having nothing further that she can do in this matter, we leave the forementioned Hereticks, and every one of them to your Royal Highness, and to your Secular Council.* And on the 8*th.* of *May*, *John Brown* and *Edward Walker*, being also Endited of Heresie on the former Points, they both pleaded *not Guilty*. But the Witnesses deposing against them, they were judged obstinate Hereticks, and the former a Relapse, for he had abjured before Cardinal *Morton*. And on the 19*th.* of *May* Sentence was given. When, or how the Sentences were Executed, I cannot find. Sure I am, there are no Pardons upon Record for any of them, and it was the course of the Law, either to send a Pardon, or to issue out the Writ for Burning them.

Fox mentions none of these proceedings, only he tells that *John Brown* was taken for some words said in Discourse with a Priest, about the saying of Masses for Redeeming Souls out of Purgatory. Upon which he was committed for suspition of Heresie: But *Fox* seems to have been misinformed about the time of his Burning, which he says was, *Anno* 1517. for they would not have kept a condemned Heretick Six years out of the Fire. I never find them guilty of any such clemency. These severe Sentences made the rest so apprehensive of their danger, that all the others who were Endited, abjured. And in the year, 1512. on the 5*th.* of *June*, Two men and two women abjured that Article, That in the Sacrament of the Altar, there was only Material Bread, and not the Body of Christ. And on the 4*th.* and 13*th.* of *September*, Two other women abjured the former Articles; and this is all that is in *Warham's* Register about Hereticks.

Fitz-James Bishop of *London*, his proceeding against Hereticks, *Fol.* 4.

In what remains of *Fitz-James*, Bishop of *London*'s Register, There are but Three Abjurations. In the year 1509. one *Elizabeth Sampson*, of *Aldermanbury*, was Endited for having spoken reproachfully of the Images of our Lady, of *Willsden*, *Crom*, and *Walsingham*, condemning Pilgrimages to them, and saying, It was better to give Alms at home to poor people, than to go on Pilgrimages; and that Images were but Stocks and Stones, and denying the vertue of the Sacrament of the Altar, when the Priest was not in clean life, and saying, It was but Bread, and that Christ could not be both in Heaven and Earth; and for denying Christ's Ascension to Heaven, and saying, That more should not go to Heaven than were already in it. But she, to be free of further trouble, confessed her self Guilty, and abjured all those Opinions. It is generally observed, That in the proceedings against *Lollards*, the Clergy always mixed some Capital Errors, which all Christians rejected, with those for which they accused them; and some particulars being proved, they gave it out that they were Guilty of them all, to represent them the more odious. And in this case the thing is plain, for this woman is charged for denying Christ's Ascension; and yet another of the Articles was, That she said Christ's Body could not be in the Sacrament, because it could not be both in Heaven and on Earth. Which two Opinions are inconsistent. In the year 1511. *William Potier* was Endited for saying, There were Three Gods, and that he knew not for what Christ's Passion, or Baptism availed; and did abjure, Whe-

ther he only spoke these things Impiously, or whether he held them in Opinion, is not clear. But certainly he was no *Lollard*. One *Joan Baker* was also made to abjure some words she had said, That Images were but Idols, and not to be worshipped; and that they were set up by the Priest out of Covetousness, that they might grow rich by them; and that Pilgrimages were not to be made. More is not in that Register. But *Fox* gives an account of Six others, who were Burnt in *Fitz-James* his time. On this I have been the longer, that it may appear, what were the Opinions of the *Lollards* at that time before *Luther* had published any thing against the Indulgences. For these Opinions did very much dispose people to receive the Writings which came afterwards out of *Germany*.

The Progress of *Luther's* Doctrin.

The First beginnings and progress of *Luther's* Doctrine are so well known, that I need not tell how upon the publishing of Indulgences in *Germany*, in so gross a manner, that for a little Money any man might both preserve himself, and deliver his Friends out of Purgatory, many were offended at this merchandise, against which *Luther* wrote. But it concerning the See of *Rome* in so main a Point of their Prerogative, which would also have cut off a great Branch of their Revenue, he was proceeded against with extreme severity: So small a spark as that Collision made, could never have raised so great a fire, if the world had not been strongly disposed to it, by the just prejudices they had conceived against the Popish Clergy, whose Ignorance and lewd Lives had laid them so open to contempt and hatred, that any one that would set himself against them, could not but be kindly looked on by the people. They had engrossed the greatest part both of the Riches and Power of Christendom, and lived at their ease and in much Wealth. And the corruptions of their Worship and Doctrine were such, that a very small proportion of common sense, with but an overly looking on the New Testament, discovered them. Nor had they any other varnish to colour them by, but the Authority and Traditions of the Church. But when some studious men began to read the Ancient Fathers, and Councils (though there was then a great mixture of Sophisticated stuff that went under the Ancient names, and was joyned to their true works, which Criticks have since discovered to be spurious) they found a vast difference between the first Five Ages of the Christian Church, in which Piety and Learning prevailed, and the last Ten Ages in which Ignorance had buried all their former Learning, only a little misguided Devotion was retained for Six of these Ages; and in the last Four, the restless Ambition and Usurpation of the Popes was supported by the seeming holiness of the begging Friers, and the false Counterfeits of Learning, which were among the Canonists, School-men and Casuists. So that it was incredible to see, how men, notwithstanding all the opposition the Princes every-where made to the progress of these reputed new Opinions, and the great advantages by which the Church of *Rome* both held and drew many into their Interests, were generally inclined to these Doctrines. Those of the Clergy, who at first Preached them, were of the begging Orders of Friers, who having fewer engagements on them from their Interests, were freer to discover and follow the truth. And the austere Discipline they had been trained under, did prepare them to encounter those difficulties that lay in their way. And the Laity that had long

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lookt on their Pastors with an evil eye, did receive these Opinions very easily; which did both discover the Impostures with which the world had been abused, and shewed a plain and simple way to the Kingdom of Heaven, by putting the Scriptures into their hands, and such other Instructions about Religion, as were sincere and genuine. The Clergy who at first despised these new Preachers, were at length much Allarmed when they saw all people running after them, and receiving their Doctrines.

As these things did spread much in *Germany*, *Switzerland*, and the *Netherlands*, so their Books came over into *England*, where there was much matter already prepared to be wrought on, not only by the prejudices they had conceived against the corrupt Clergy, but by the Opinions of the *Lollards* which had been now in *England* since the days of *Wickliff*, for about 150. years. Between which Opinions, and the Doctrines of the Reformers, there was great Affinity; and therefore, to give the better vent to the Books that came out of *Germany*, many of them were translated into the *English*-Tongue, and were very much read and applauded. This quickned the proceedings against the *Lollards*, and the enquiry became so severe, that great numbers were brought into the Toils of the Bishops and their Commissaries. If a man had spoken but a light word against any of the Constitutions of the Church, he was seized on by the Bishop's Officers; and if any taught their Children the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostle's Creed in the Vulgar Tongue, that was crime enough to bring them to the Stake: As it did Six men and a woman at *Coventry*, in the *Passion-week*, 1519. being the 4*th*. of *April*. *Longland*, Bishop of *Lincoln* was very cruel to all that were suspected of Heresie in his Diocess; several of them abjured, and some were Burnt. Fox.

But all that did not produce what they designed by it. The Clergy did not correct their own faults, and their cruelty was looked on as an evidence of Guilt, and of a weak Cause; so that the method they took, wrought only on peoples fears, and made them more cautious and reserved, but did not at all remove the Cause, nor work either on their reasons or affections.

The King writes against *Luther*. 1522.

Upon all this, the King to get himself a name, and to have a lasting Interest with the Clergy, thought it not enough to assist them with his Authority, but would needs turn their Champion, and write against *Luther* in defence of the Seven Sacraments. This Book was magnified by the Clergy as the most Learned Work that ever the Sun saw; and he was compared to King *Solomon*, and to all the Christian Emperours that had ever been: And it was the chief subject of flattery for many years, besides the glorious Title of *Defender of the Faith*, which the Pope bestowed on him for it. And it must be acknowledged, that considering the Age, and that it was the Work of a King, it did deserve some Commendation. But *Luther* was not at all daunted at it, but rather valued himself upon it; that so great a King had entred the lists with him, and answered his Book. And he replied, not without a large mixture of Acrimony, for which he was generally blamed, as forgetting that great respect, that is due to the Persons of Soveraign Princes.

But all would not do. These Opinions still gained more footing, and *William Tindal* made a Translation of the New Testament in *English*, to

October 23. Reg. Tonstall, Vol. 45. with which that in Fox agrees exactly.

to which he added some short Glosses. This was printed in *Antwerp*, and sent over into *England* in the year 1526. Against which there was a Prohibition published by every Bishop in his Diocess. Bearing that some of *Luthers* followers had erroneously Translated the New Testament, and had corrupted the Word of God, both by a false Translation, and by Heretical Glosses: Therefore they required all Incumbents to charge all within their Parishes, that had any of these, to bring them in to the Vicar-General within 30 days after that premonition, under the pains of Excommunication and incurring the suspition of Heresie. There were also many other Books Prohibited at that time, most of them written by *Tindal*. And Sir *Thomas More*, who was a man celebrated for Vertue and Learning, undertook the answering of some of those; but before he went about it, he would needs have the Bishops Licence for keeping and reading them. He wrote according to the way of the Age with much bitterness: and though he had been no Friend to the Monks, and a great declaimer against the Ignorance of the Clergy, and had been ill used by the Cardinal; yet he was one of the bitterest Enemies of the new Preachers, not without great cruelty when he came into Power, though he was otherwise a very good-natured man. So violently did the *Roman* Clergy hurry all their Friends into those excesses of Fire and Sword.

Collect. numb. 6th.

When the Party became so considerable, that it was known there were Societies of them, not only in *London*, but in both the Universities, then the Cardinal was constrained to act. His contempt of the Clergy was looked on as that which gave encouragement to the Hereticks. When reports were brought to Court of a company that were in *Cambridge*, *Bilney*, *Latimer*, and others that read and propagated *Luther's* Book and Opinions; some Bishops moved, in the year 1523. that there might be a Visitation appointed to go to *Cambridge*, for trying who were the Fautors of Heresie there. But he, as *Legate*, did inhibite it (upon what grounds I cannot imagine.) Which was brought against him afterwards in Parliament (Art.43. of his Impeachment.) Yet when these Doctrines were spread every-where, he called a meeting of all the Bishops and Divines, and Canonists about *London*; where *Thomas Bilney* and *Thomas Arthur* were brought before them, and Articles were brought in against them. The whole process is set down at length by *Fox* in all Points according to *Tonstall's* Register, except one fault in the Translation. When the Cardinal asked *Bilney* whether he had not taken an Oath before, not to preach, or defend any of *Luthers* Doctrines; he confessed he had done it, but not *judicially*, (*judicialiter* in the Register) This *Fox* Translates, *not lawfully*. In all the other particulars there is an exact agreement between the Register and his Acts. The sum of the proceedings of the Court, was, That after examination of Witnesses, and several other steps in the Process, which the Cardinal left to the Bishop of *London*, and the other Bishops to manage; *Bilney* stood out long, and seemed resolved to suffer for a good Conscience. In the end, what through human infirmity, what through the great importunity of the Bishop of *London*, who set all his Friends on him, he did abjure on the 7th. of *December*, as *Arthur* had done on the 2d. of that Month. And though *Bilney* was relapst, and so was to expect no mercy by the Law, yet the Bishop of *London* enjoyned him Penance, and let him go. For *Tonstall*

being

being a man both of good Learning and an unblemisht life, these Vertues produced one of their ordinary effects in him, *great moderation*, that was so eminent in him, that at no time did he dip his hands in Blood. *Geoffrey Loni*, and *Thomas Gerard*, also abjured for having had *Luther's* Books, and defending his Opinions.

These were the proceedings against Hereticks, in the first half of this Reign. And thus far I have opened the State of Affairs, both as to Religious and Civil concerns for the first 18 years of this Kings time, with what Observations I could gather of the dispositions and tempers of the Nation at that time, which prepared them for the Changes that followed afterwards.

The End of the First Book.

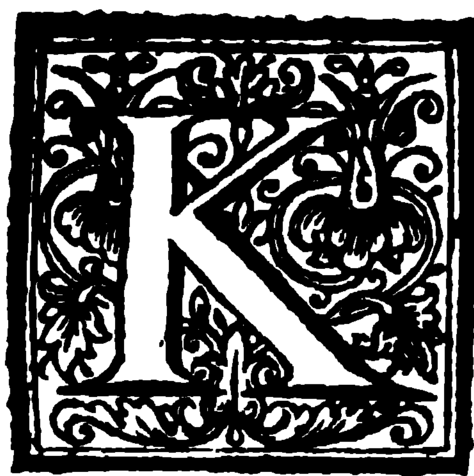
THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of England.

BOOK II.

Of the Process of Divorce between King Henry, *and Queen* Katharine, *and of what passed from the Nineteenth to the Twenty fifth year of his Reign, in which he was declared Supreme Head of the Church of* England.

The beginning of the Suit of Divorce.



KING *Henry* hitherto lived at ease, and enjoyed his pleasures; he made War with much honour, and that always produced a just and advantageous Peace. He had no trouble upon him in all his affairs, except about the getting of Money, and even in that, the Cardinal eased him. But now a Domestick trouble arose, which perplexed all the rest of his Government, and drew after it Consequences of a high nature.

The Marriage of Prince *Arthur* to the *Infanta* of *Spain*.

Henry the 7*th*. upon wise and good considerations, resolved to link himself in a close Confederacy with *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, Kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*, and with the House of *Burgundy* against *France*, which was looked on as the lasting and dangerous Enemy of *England*. And therefore a Match was agreed on between his Son, Prince *Arthur*, and *Katharine* the *Infanta* of *Spain*, whose eldest Sister *Joan* was Married to *Philip*, that was then Duke of *Burgundy*, and Earl of *Flanders*; out of which arose a triple Alliance between *England*, *Spain*, and *Burgundy*, against the King of *France*, who was then become formidable to all about him. There was given with her 200000 Duckats, the greatest Portion that had been given for many Ages with any Princess, which made it not the less acceptable to King *Henry* the Seventh.

The

CATHARINÆ PRINCIPIS ARTHURI VXORIS & HENRICO REGI NUPTÆ EFFIGIES

H. Holben Pinxit — R. White Sculp.



1486. Nata.

1501. Nov. 14. Arthuro nupsit.

1509. Iun. 3. Henrico Regi nupsit.

1526. toro exclusa.

1533. May. 23 incesti damnata.

1536. Ian. 8. obiit.

Printed for Rich: Chiswell at the Rose & Crown in St Pauls Church yar[d]

The *Infanta* was brought into *England*, and on the 14th of *Nov.* 1501. was Married at St. *Pauls* to the Prince of *Wales*. They lived together as man and wife, till the 2d of *April* following; and not only had their Bed solemnly blest when they were put in it, on the night of their Marriage, but also were seen publickly in Bed for several days after, and went down to live at *Ludlow-Castle* in *Wales*, where they still Bedded together. But Prince *Arthur*, though a strong and healthful youth when he Married her, yet died soon after, which some thought was hastened by his too early Marriage. The *Spanish* Ambassador had by his Masters order taken proofs of the Consummation of the Marriage, and sent them into Spain; the young Prince also himself had by many expressions given his Servants cause to believe that his Marriage was consummated the first night, which in a youth of Sixteen years of Age, that was vigorous and healthful, was not at all judged strange. It was so constantly believed that when he dyed, his younger Brother *Henry* Duke of *York* was not called Prince of *Wales*, for some considerable time. Some say for one Month, some for 6 Months. And he was not created Prince of *Wales* till 10 Months were elapsed, *viz.* in the *February* following, when it was apparent that his Brothers wife was not with Child by him. These things were afterwards looked on as a full Demonstration (being as much as the thing was capable of) that the Princess was not a Virgin after Prince *Arthur's* Death.

See the Depositions of Witnesses in L. *Herbert*.

Prince *Arth.* his Death. *Apr.* 2. 1502.

Bacons Henry the 7th.

But the reason of State still standing for keeping up the Alliance against *France*, and King *Henry* the 7th having no mind to let so great a Revenue as she had in Jointure be carried out of the Kingdom, it was proposed That she should be married to the younger Brother *Henry* now Prince of *Wales*. The two Prelats that were then in greatest esteem with King *Henry* the 7th, were *Warham* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and *Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*. The former delivered his opinion against it, and told the King that he thought it was neither honourable nor well-pleasing to God. The Bishop of *Winchester* perswaded it, and for the Objections that were against it, and the Murmuring of the people who did not like a Marriage that was disputable, lest out of it new Wars should afterwards arise about the Right of the Crown, the Popes Dispensation was thought sufficient to answer all; and his Authority was then so undisputed that it did it effectually. So a Bull was obtained on the 26 of *Decemb.* 1503 to this effect, *that the Pope according to the greatness of his Authority, having received a Petition from Prince* Henry *and the Princess* Katharine, *Bearing, That whereas the Princess was Lawfully Married to Prince* Arthur *(which was perhaps consummated by the* Carnalis Copula*) who was dead without any issue, but they being desirous to Marry for preserving the Peace between the Crowns of* England *and* Spain, *did Petition his Holiness for his Dispensation; therefore the Pope, out of his care to maintain peace among all Catholick Kings, did absolve them from all Censures under which they might be, and Dispensed with the Impediment of their Affinity, notwithstanding any Apostolical Constitutions or Ordinances to the contrary, and gave them leave to Marry, or if they were already Married, he Confirming it, required their Confessor to enjoyn them some healthful penance for their having Married before the Dispensation was obtained.*

Consultations about a second Marriage of the *Infanta* to his Brother.

Warham's Deposition in L. *Herbert*.

It is allowed by the Pope Collections *Numb.* first.

Upon political reasons. L. *Herbert.* It was not much to be wondred at, that the Pope did readily grant this, for though very many both Cardinals and Divines did then oppose it, yet the Interest of the Papacy, which was preferred to all other Considerations, required it. For as that Pope being a great Enemy to *Lewis* the 12th. the *French* King, would have done any thing to make an Alliance against him firmer; so he was a War-like Pope who considered Religion very little, and therefore might be easily perswaded to Confirm a thing that must needs oblige the succeeding Kings of *England* to maintain the Papal Authority, since from it they deriv'd their Title to the Crown; little thinking that by a secret Direction of an over-ruling Providence, that Deed of his would occasion the extirpation of the Papal Power in *England.* So strangely doth God make the Devices of Men become of no effect, and turn them to a contrary end to that which is intended.

Upon this Bull they were Married, the Prince of *Wales* being yet under Age. But *Warham* had so possessed the King with an aversion to this Marriage, that on the same day that the Prince was of Age, he by his Fathers command, laid on him in the presence of many of the Nobility and others, made a Protestation in the hands of *Fox* Bishop of *Winchester* before a publick Notary, and read it himself, by which he Declared, That whereas he being under Age was Married to the "Princess *Katharine*, yet now coming to be of Age, he did not con-"firm that Marriage but retracted and Annulled it, and would not pro-"ceed in it, but intended in full form of Law to void it and break it "off; which he declared he did freely and of his own accord.

Henry Protests against it. *Jun.*27.1505. Collect.*Num.* 2d *Morison.*

His Father also disswaded it. Thus it stood during his Fathers life, who continued to the last to be against it; and when he was just dying, he charged his Son to break it off, though it is possible that no consideration of Religion might work so much on him, as the apprehension he had of the troubles that might follow on a controverted Title to the Crown; of which the Wars between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* had given a fresh and sad Demonstration. The King being dead, one of the first things that came under Consultation, was, that the young King must either break his Marriage totally, or conclude it. Arguments were brought on both hands. but those for it prevailed most with the King: So six weeks after he came to the Crown, he was Married again publickly, and soon after they were both Crowned. On the first day of the year she made him a very acceptable new-years gift of a Son, but he dyed in the *Februvry* thereafter: She miscarried often, and an other Son dyed soon after he was born; only the Lady *Mary* lived to a perfect Age.

*Apr.*22.1509 K. *Henry* VII. dies.

Henry being come to the Crown Marries her. *Jun.*3 They are Crowned *June* 24. Son born *Jan.* 1. 1511. dies *Feb.* 22. another born and dies *Nov.* 1514. Lady *Mary* born *Feb.* 19. 1516.

In this state was the Kings Family when the Queen left bearing more Children, and contracted some diseases, that made her person unacceptable to him; but was, as to her other Qualities, a vertuous and grave Princess, much esteemed and beloved both of the King and the whole Nation. The King being out of hopes of more Children declared his Daughter Princess of *Wales*, and sent her to *Ludlow* to hold her Court there, and projected divers Matches for her. The first was with the *Dolphin*, which was agreed to between the King of *France* and him the 9th of *Novemb.*1518. as appears by the Treaty yet extant. But this was broken afterwards upon the Kings Confederating with

with the Emperor against *France*, and a new Match agreed and sworn to between the Emperor and the King at *Windsor* the 22 of *June* 1522. the Emperor being present in person. This being afterwards neglected and broken by the Emperor, by the advice of his *Cortes* and States, as was formerly related, there followed some Overtures of a Marriage with *Scotland*. But those also vanished, and there was a second Treaty begun with *France*, the King offering his Daughter to *Francis* himself, which he gladly accepting, a Match was Treated: and on the last of *April*, it was agreed that the Lady *Mary* should be given in Marriage either to *Francis* himself, or to his second Son the Duke of *Orleance*; and that Alternative was to be determined by the two Kings, at an Enterview that was to be between them, soon after at *Calais*, with forfeitures on both sides if the Match went not on.

1527. 1518. *Treaty Rolls* 10. Reg. His Daughter *Mary* Contracted to the *Dolphin*, *October* 11. Afterwards to the Emperor. *Jun.* 22. 1522. Offer'd to *Scotland*. *Sept.* 1524. again to *France*. *April* 30. 1527. For K. *Francis* himself, or for his Son the Duke of *Orleance*.

But while this was in agitation the Bishop of *Tarbe* the *French* Ambassador made a a great demur about the Princess *Mary's* being illegitimate, as begotten in a Marriage that was contracted against a Divine precept, with which no humane Authority could Dispense. How far this was secretly concerted between the *French* Court and ours, or between the Cardinal and the Ambassador, is not known. It is surmised that the King or the Cardinal set on the *French* to make this exception publickly, that so the King might have a better Colour to justifie his suit of Divorce, since other Princes were already questioning it. For if upon a Marriage proposed of such infinite advantage to *France*, as that would be with the Heir of the Crown of *England*, they nevertheless made Exceptions and proceeded but coldly in it, it was very reasonable to expect that after the Kings Death, other Pretenders would have disputed her Title in another manner.

The Kings Marriage questioned by Forreigners

To some it seemed strange that the King did offer his Daughter to such great Princes as the Emperor and the King of *France*, to whom if *England* had fallen in her Right, it must have been a Province: for though in the last Treaty with *France*, she was offered either to the King, or his second Son; by which either the Children which the King might have by her, or the Children of the Duke of *Orleance*, should have been Heirs to the Crown of *England*, and thereby it would still have continued divided from *France*; yet this was full of hazard, for if the Duke of *Orleance* by his Brothers Death should become King of *France*, as it afterwards fell out, or if the King of *France* had been once possessed of *England*, then according to the maxime of the *French* Government, that whatever their King acquires he holds it in the Right of his Crown, *England* was still to be a Province to *France*, unless they freed themselves by Arms. Others judged that the King intended to Marry her to *France*, the more effectually to seclude her from the Succession, considering the aversion his Subjects had to a *French* Government, that so he might more easily settle his Bastard Son the Duke of *Richmond* in the Succession of the Crown.

While this Treaty went on, the Kings scruples about his Marriage began to take vent. It is said that the Cardinal did first infuse them into him, and made *Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, that was the Kings Confessor, possess the Kings mind with them in Confession. If it was so, the King had, according to the Religion of that time, very just

The King himself Scruples it. *Sanderus de Schism. Angl.*

 cause

1527. cause of Scruple, when his Confessor judged his Marriage sinful, and the Popes Legate was of the same mind. It is also said that the Cardinal being alienated from the Emperor, that he might irreparably embroil the King and him, and unite the King to the *French* Interests, designed this out of Spite; and that he was also dissatisfied toward the Queen, who hated him for his lewd and dissolute Life, and had oft admonished and check't him for it: And that he therefore, designing to engage the King to Marry the *French* Kings Sister the Dutchess of *Alenoon*, did (to make way for that) set this Matter on foot: but as I see no good Authority for all this, except the Queens suspitions, who did afterwards charge the Cardinal as the cause of all her trouble; so I am inclined to think the Kings Scruples were much ancienter, for the King declared to *Simon Grineus* four years after this, that for seven years he had abstained from the Queen upon these Scruples, so that by that it seems they had been received into the Kings mind three years before this time.

In his Letter to *Bucer*, *Sept.* 10. 1531. in MSS. R. *Smith.*

The grounds of his Scruples.

What were the Kings secret motives and the true grounds of his Aversion to the Queen, is only known to God, and till the discovery of all Secrets at the day of Judgment, must lye hid. But the reasons which he always owned, of which all Humane Judicatories must only take notice, shall be now fully opened. He found by the Law of *Moses*, *if a man took his Brothers Wife they should die childless*: This made him reflect on the death of his Children, which he now looked on as a Curse from God for that unlawful Marriage. Upon this he set himself to Study the case, and called for the judgments of the best Divines and Canonists. For his own Enquiry, *Thomas Aquinas* being the Writer in whose works he took most pleasure, and to whose judgment he submitted most, did decide it clearly against him. For he both Concluded, that the Laws in *Leviticus* about the forbidden degrees of Marriage were Moral and Eternal, such as obliged all Christians; and that the Pope could only Dispense with the Laws of the Church, but could not Dispense with the Laws of God. Upon this reason, that no Law can be Dispenced with, by any Authority, but that which is equal to the Authority that enacted it. Therefore he infers that the Pope can indeed Dispence with all the Laws of the Church, but not with the Laws of God, to whose Authority he could not pretend to be equal. But as the King found this from his own private Study, so having commanded the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* to require the Opinions of the Bishops of *England*, they all in a Writing under their hands and Seals, declared they judged it an unlawful Marriage. Only the Bishop of *Rochester* refused to set his hand to it, and though the Arch-Bishop pressed him most earnestly to it, yet he persisted in his refusal, saying, that it was against his Conscience. Upon which the Arch-Bishop made another write down his Name, and set his Seal to the Resolution of the rest of the Bishops. But this being afterwards questioned, the Bishop of *Rochester* denied it was his hand, and the Arch-Bishop pretended that he had leave given him by the Bishop to put his hand to it, which the other denied. Nor was it likely that *Fisher* who scrupled in Conscience to Subscribe it himself, would have consented to such a weak Artifice. But all the other Bishops did declare against the Marriage, and as the

All his Bishops, except *Fisher*, declare it unlawful.

Cavendish his life of *Wolsey*.

King

1527.

King himself said afterwards in the *Legantine* Court, neither the Cardinal nor the Bishop of *Lincoln* did first suggest these scruples, but the King being possessed with them, did in Confession propose them to that Bishop: and added that the Cardinal was so far from cherishing them, that he did all he could to stiffle them.

The dangers that were like to follow from it.

The King was now convinced that his Marriage was unlawful, both by his own study, and the resolution of his Divines. And as the point of Conscience wrought on him, so the Interest of the Kingdom required, that there should be no doubting about the Succession to the Crown: lest as the long Civil-War between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* had been buried with his Father, so a new one should rise up at his death. The King of *Scotland* was the next Heir to the Crown after his Daughter. And if he Married his Daughter to any out of *France*, then he had reason to judge, that the *French* upon their Ancient Alliance with *Scotland*, and that they might divide and distract *England*, would be ready to assist the King of *Scotland* in his pretensions: Or if he Married her in *France*, then all those in *England* to whom the *French* Government was hateful, and the Emperour and other Princes to whom the *French* Power grew formidable, would have been as ready to support the pretensions of *Scotland*. Or if he should either set up his Bastard Son, or the Children which his Sister bore to *Charles Brandon*, there was still cause to fear a Bloody decision of a Title that was so doubtful. And though this may seem a consideration too Politick and Forreign to a matter of that nature; yet the obligation that lies on a Prince to provide for the happiness and quiet of his Subjects, was so weighty a thing, that it might well come in among other Motives, to incline the King much to have this matter determined. At this time the Cardinal went over into *France* under colour to conclude a League between the Two Crowns, and to Treat about the means of setting the Pope at liberty, who was then the Emperours Prisoner at *Rome*; and also for a project of Peace between *Francis*, and the Emperour. But his chief business was to require *Francis* to declare his Resolutions concerning that alternative about the Lady *Mary*. To which it was answered, That the Duke of *Orleance* as a fitter Match in years, was the *French* King's Choice: but this matter fell to the ground upon the Process that followed soon after.

[illegible] went into *France* 1527. *July* 11.

The Kings fears & hopes about it.

The King did much apprehend the opposition the Emperour was like to make to his designs; either out of a principle of nature and honour to protect his Aunt, or out of a Maxime of State, to raise his Enemy all the trouble he could at home. But on the other hand he had some cause to hope well even in that particular. For the Question of the unlawfulness of the Match had been first debated in the *Cortes*, or Assembly of the States at *Madrid*; and the Emperour had then shewed himself so favourable to it, that he broke the Match, (to which he had bound himself) with the Princess. Therefore the King had reason to think that this at least would mitigate his opposition. The Emperour had also used the Pope so hardly, that it could not be doubted that the Pope hated him. And it was believed that he would find the protection of the King of *England* most necessary to secure him, either from the greatness of *France* or *Spain*, who were Fighting for the best part of *Italy*, which must needs fall into one of their hands. Therefore the King did not doubt but the Pope would be compliant to his desires. And in this

1527. he was much confirmed by the hopes, or rather assurance, which the Cardinal gave him of the Popes favour; who either calculating what was to be expected from that Court on the account of their own Interest, or upon some promises made him, had undertaken to the King to bring that matter about to his hearts content. It is certain that the L. Herbert. Cardinal had carried over with him out of the Kings Treasure 240000 *l.* to be employed about the Popes Liberty. But whether he had made a bargain for the Divorce, or had fancied that nothing could be denied him at *Rome*, it does not appear. It is clear by many of his Letters that he had undertaken to the King, that the business should be done; and it is not like that a man of his wisdom would have adventured to do that without some good warrant.

The Arguments against the Bull. But now that the Suit was to be moved in the Court of *Rome*, they were to devise such Arguments as were like to be well heard there. It would have been unacceptable to have insisted on the nullity of the Bull on this account, because the matter of it was unlawful, and fell not within the Popes Power. For Popes, like others Princes, do not love to hear the extent of their Prerogative disputed, or defined. And to condemn the Bull of a former Pope as unlawful, was a dangerous Precedent at a time when the Popes Authority was rejected by so many in *Germany*. Therefore the Canonists as well as Divines, were consulted to find such Nullities in the Bull of Dispensation, as according to the Canon-Law, and the proceedings of the *Rota*, might serve to invalidate it without any diminution of the Papal Power. Which being once done, the Marriage that followed upon it, must needs be annulled. When the Canonists examined the Bull, they found much matter to proceed upon. It is a Maxime in Law, that if the Pope be surprized in any thing, and Bulls be procured upon false suggestions and untrue premises, they may be annulled afterwards. Upon which foundation most of all the Processes against Popes Bulls were grounded. Now they found by the preamble of this Bull that it was said, The King had desired that he might be dispensed with to Marry the Princess. This was false; for the King had made no such desire, being of an Age that was below such considerations, but Twelve years old. Then it appeared by the preamble that this Bull was desired by the King to preserve the Peace between the King of *England*, and *Ferdinand*, and *Isabella* (called *Elizabetha* in the Bull) the Kings of *Spain*. To which they excepted, That it was plain this was false, since the King being then but Twelve years old, could not be supposed to have such deep speculations, and so large a prospect as to desire a Match upon a politick account. Then it being also in the Bull, that the Popes Dispensation was granted to keep Peace between the Crowns, if there was no hazard of any Breach or War between them, this was a false suggestion, by which the Pope had been made believe, That this Match was necessary for averting some great mischief. And it was known that there was no danger at all of that, and so this Bull was obtained by a surprise. Besides, both King *Henry* of *England*, and *Isabella* of *Spain* were dead before the King Married his Queen; so the Marriage could not be valid by vertue of a Bull that was granted to maintain Amity between Princes that were dead before the Marriage was consummated: And they also judged that the Protestation which the King made, when he came of Age, did retract any such pretended desire, that might have been preferred to the Pope

in his name; and that from that time forward, the Bull could have no further operation, since the ground upon which it was granted, which was the King's desire, did then cease, any pretended desire before he was of Age being clearly annulled and determined by that Protestation after he was of Age, so that a subsequent Marriage founded upon the Bull must needs be void. 1527.

These were the grounds upon which the Canonists advised the Process at *Rome* to be carried on. But first to amuse or over-reach the *Spaniard*, the King sent word to his Ambassadour in *Spain* to silence the noise that was made about it in that Court. Whether the King had then resolved on the Person that should Succeed the Queen, when he had obtained what he desired, or not, is much questioned. Some suggest that from the beginning he was taken with the charmes of *Anne Boleyn*, and that all this Process was moved by the unseen spring of that secret affection. Others will have this Amour to have been later in the King's thoughts. How early it came there, at this distance it is not easie to determine. But before I say more of it, she being so considerable a Person in the following Relation, I shall give some account of her. "*Sanders* has assured "the world, That the King had a liking to her Mother, who was Daugh-"ter to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and to the end that he might enjoy her "with the less disturbance, he sent her Husband Sir *Thomas Boleyn* to "be Ambassadour in *France*: And that after Two years absence his Wife "being with Child, he came over, and sued a Divorce against her in the "Arch-Bishop of *Canterburies* Court, but the King sent the Marques of "*Dorchester* to let him know, that she was with Child by him, and that "therefore the King desired he would pass the matter over, and be re-"conciled to his Wife: to which he consented. And so *Anne Boleyn*, "though she went under the name of his Daughter, yet was of the King's "begetting. As he describes her, she was ill-shaped and ugly, had Six "Fingers, a Gag-tooth, and a Tumor under her Chin, with many other "unseemly things in her Person. At the 15*th*. year of her Age, he says, "both her Father's Butler and Chaplain lay with her: Afterwards she "was sent to *France*, where she was at first kept privatly in the house of "a Person of Quality, then she went to the *French* Court, where she "led such a dissolute life, that she was called, *the English Hackney*. That "the *French* King liked her, and from the freedoms he took with her, "she was called, *the King's Mule*. But returning to *England*, she was "admitted to the Court, where she quickly perceived how weary the "King was of the Queen, and what the Cardinal was designing; and "having gained the King's affection, she governed it so, that by all inno-"cent freedoms she drew him into her Toiles, and by the appearances "of a severe virtue, with which she disguised her self, so encreased "his affection and esteem, that he resolved to put her in his Queens "*place as soon as the Divorce was granted.* The same Author adds, *That* "*the King had likewise enjoyed her Sister*, with a great deal more, to the "disgrace of this Lady and her Family.

Wolsey's advice to the King, 1527. *Aug.* 1.

Sanders his story about *Anne Boleyn* examined.

For this he cites *Rastal's* life of Sir *Tho. Moor*, a Book that was never seen by any body else.

I know it is not the work of an Historian to refute the Lies of others, but rather to deliver such a plain account as will be a more effectual confutation, than any thing can be that is said by way of Argument, which belongs to other Writers. And at the end of this King's Reign, I intend to set down a Collection of the most Notorious False-hoods of that Writer:

ter, together with the evidences of their being so. But all this of *Anne Boleyn* is so palpable a lie, or rather a complicated heap of lies, and so much depends on it, that I presume it will not offend the Reader to be detained a few minutes in the refutation of it. For if it were true, very much might be drawn from it, both to disparage King *Henry*, who pretended Conscience to annul his Marriage for the nearness of Affinity, and yet would after that Marry his own Daughter. It leaves also a foul and lasting stain both on the Memory of *Anne Boleyn*, and of her incomparable Daughter Queen *Elizabeth*. It also derogates so much from the first Reformers, who had some kind of dependence on Queen *Anne Boleyn*, that it seems to be of great importance for directing the Reader in the judgment he is to make of persons and things, to lay open the falshood of this account. It were sufficient for blasting it, that there is no proof pretended to be brought for any part of it, but a Book of one *Rastall* a Judg, that was never seen by any other person than that Writer. The Title of the Book is The Life of Sir *Thomas More*: there is great reason to think that *Rastall* never writ any such Book, for it is most common for the Lives of great Authors to be prefixed to their Works. Now this *Rastall* published all *More's* Works in Queens *Maries* Reign, to which if he had written his Life, it is likely he would have prefixt it. No evidence therefore being given for his Relation, either from Record, Letters, or the Testimony of any person who was privy to the matter, the whole is to be looked upon as a black Forgery, devised on purpose to defame Queen *Elizabeth*. For upon her Mothers death, who can doubt but that some, either to flatter the King, or to defame her, would have published these things, which if they had been true, could be no secrets? For a Lady of her Mothers condition to bear a Child, two years after her Husband was sent out of *England* on such a publick Employment, and a Process thereupon to be entred in the Arch-Bishops Courts, are things that are not so soon to be forgotten. And that she her self was under so ill a Reputation, both in her Father's Family, and in *France*, for common lewdness, and for being the Kings Concubin, are things that could not lie hid. And yet when the Books of the Arch-Bishops Courts (which are now burnt) were extant, it was published to the world, and satisfaction offered to every one that would take the pains to inform themselves, that there was no such thing on Record. Nor did any of the Writers of that time, either of the Imperial or Papal side, once mention these things, notwithstanding their great occasion to do it. But 80 years after, this Fable was invented, or at least it was then first published, when it was safer to lie, because none who had lived in the time could disprove it.

Anti-Sanderus.

But it has not only no foundation, but *Sanders* through the vulgar errors of Liars, has strained his wit to make so ill a story of the Lady, that some things in his own relation, make it plainly appear to be impossible. For to pass by those many improbable things that he relates, as namely, That both the King of *England* and the *French* King, could be so taken with so ugly and monstrous a Woman, of so notorious and lewd manners; and that this King, for the space of Seven years, that is, during the Suit of the Divorce, should continue enamoured of her, and never discover this, or having discovered it, should yet resolve at all hazards to make her his Wife; which are things that would require no common testimony to make them seem credible: There is beside in that story, an heap

heap of things ſo inconſiſtent with one another, that none but ſuch an one as *Sanders* could have had either blindneſs or brow enough to have made or publiſht it. For firſt, if the King, that he might the more freely enjoy Sir *Thomas Boleyn's* Lady, ſent him over into *France*, as *Sanders* ſays, I ſhall allow it as ſoon as may be, that it was in the very beginning of his Reign 1509. Then the time when *Anne Boleyn* was born, being according to *Sanders* his account two years after, that muſt be *Anno* 1511. and being, as he ſays, deflowred when ſhe was 15. that muſt be *Anno* 1526. Then ſome time muſt be allowed for her going to *France*, for her living privately there for ſome time, and afterwards for her coming to Court, and meriting thoſe Characters that he ſays went upon her; and after all that, for her return into *England*, and inſinuating her ſelf into the Kings favour: yet by *Sanders* his own Relation theſe things muſt have happened in the ſame year 1526. for in that year he makes the King think of putting away his Wife in order to Marry *Anne Boleyn*, when according to his account ſhe could be but 15. years old, though this King had ſent Sir *Thomas Boleyn* into *France* the firſt day of his coming to the Crown. But that he was not ſent ſo early appears by ſeveral Grants, that I have ſeen in the Rolls, which were made to him in the firſt 4 years of the Kings Reign: They ſufficiently ſhew that he was all that while about the Kings perſon, and mention no ſervices beyond Sea, but about the Kings perſon, as the ground upon which they were made. Beſides, I find in the *Treaty-Rolls* no mention of his being Ambaſſador the firſt 8 years of the Kings Reign. In the firſt year the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Dureſme*, and the Earl of *Surrey*, are named in the Treaty between the two Crowns, as the Kings Ambaſſadors in *France*. After this, none could be Ambaſſadors there for two years together, for before two years elapſed there was a War proclaimed againſt *France*, and when overtures were made for a Peace, it appears by the *Treaty-Rolls* that the Earl of *Worceſter* was ſent over Ambaſſador. And when the Kings ſiſter was ſent over to *Lewis* the *French* King, though Sir *Thomas Boleyn* went over with her, he was not then ſo much conſidered as to be made an Ambaſſador. For in the Commiſſion that was given to many perſons of Quality, to deliver her to her Husband King *Lewis* the 12, Sir *Thomas Boleyn* is not named. The perſons in the Commiſſion are the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marqueſs of *Dorcheſter*, the Biſhop of *Dureſm*, the Earls of *Surrey* and *Worceſter*, the Prior of St. *Johns*, and Doctor *Weſt* Dean of *Windſor*. A year after that, Sir *Thomas Boleyn* was made Ambaſſador; but then it was too late for *Anne Boleyn* to be yet unborn, much leſs could it be, as *Sanders* ſays, that ſhe was born two years after it.

[Margin notes: 1501. — *March.* 10. 1509. — *Feb.* 12. 1511 1514. — *Septemb.* 23. 6to *Regn.* — 1515.]

But the Learned *Camden*, whoſe Study and Profeſſion led him to a more particular knowledg of theſe things, gives us another account of her birth. He ſays that ſhe was born in the year 1507. which was two years before the King came to the Crown. And if it be ſuggeſted, that then the Prince, to enjoy her Mother, prevailed with his Father to ſend her Husband beyond Sea, that muſt be done when the Prince himſelf was not 14 years of Age: ſo they muſt make him to have corrupted other mens wives at that Age, when yet they will not allow his Brother (no not when he was 2 years older) to have known his own wife.

[Margin note: *Cambd. In apparatu ad Hiſt. Eliz. Reg.*]

1528. But now I leave this foul Fiction, and go to deliver certain Truths. *Anne Boleyn's* Mother was Daughter to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Sister to the Duke that was at the time of the Divorce Lord Treasurer. Her Fathers Mother was one of the Daughters and heirs to the Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond*, and her great Grand-Father Sir *Geofry Boleyn*, who had been Lord Major of *London*, Married one of the Daughters and Heirs of the Lord *Hastings*; and their Family as they had mixed with so much great Blood, so had Married their Daughters to very Noble Families. She being but seven years old was carried over to *France* with the Kings Sister, which shews she could have none of those deformities in her person, since such are not brought into the Courts and Families of Queens. And though upon the *French* Kings Death the Queen Dowager came soon back to *England*, yet she was so liked in the *French* Court, that the next King *Francis* his Queen kept her about her self for some years: and after her death the Kings Sister the Dutchess of *Alenson*, kept her in her Court all the while she was in *France*; which as it shews there was somewhat extraordinary in her person, so those Princesses being much celebrated for their vertues, it is not to be imagined that any person so notoriously defamed as *Sanders* would represent her, was entertained in their Courts.

Her Birth.

1514.

and Breeding.

When she came into *England* is not so clear: it is said that in the year 1522. when War was made on *France*, her Father who was then Ambassador was recalled, and brought her over with him, which is not improbable; but if she came then, she did not stay long in *England*, for *Camden* says, that she served Queen *Claudia* of *France* till her death (which was in *July* 1524) and after that she was taken into service by K *Francis* his Sister. How long she continued in that service I do not find, but it is probable that she returned out of *France* with her Father from his Embassy in the year 1527. when, as *Stow* says, he brought with him the Picture of her Mistress, who was offered in Marriage to this King. If she came out of *France* before, as those Authors before-mentioned say it appears that the King had no design upon her then, because he suffered her to return, and when one Mistress died to take another in *France*; but if she stayed there all this while, then it is probable he had not seen her till now at last, when she came out of the Princess of *Alenson's* service: but whensoever it was that she came to the Court of *England*, it is certain that she was much considered in it. And though the Queen, who had taken her to be one of her Maids of Honour, had afterwards just cause to be displeased with her as her Rival; yet she carried her self so, that in the whole Progress of the Sute, I never find the Queen her self, or any of her Agents, fix the least ill Character on her, which would most certainly have been done had there been any just cause or good colour for it.

Her coming to *England*. *L. Herbert.* Title and Duplex. *Cavendish* says she was very young. *Camden.*

And so far was this Lady at least for some time from any thoughts of Marrying the King, that she had consented to Marry the Lord *Piercy* the Earl of *Northumberland's* eldest Son, whom his Father, by a strange compliance with the Cardinals vanity, had placed in his Court and made him one of his servants. The thing is considerable, and clears many things that belong to this History; and the Relator of it was an Ear-witness of the Discourse upon it as himself informs us. The Cardinal hearing that the Lord *Piercy* was making addresses

She is contracted to the Lord *Piercy*.

Cavendish Life of *Wolsey*.

to *Anne Boleyn*, one day as he came from the Court called for him 1527.
before his servants (*before us all* says the Relator *including himself*) and
"chid him for it, pretending at first that it was unworthy of him to
"match so meanly; but he justified his choice, and reckoned up her
"birth and Quality, which he said was not inferior to his own. And
"the Cardinal insisting fiercely, to make him lay down his pretensions,
"he told him, he would willingly submit to the King and him; but
"that he had gone so far before many witnesses, that he could not
"forsake it, and knew not how to discharge his conscience: and there-
"fore he entreated the Cardinal would procure him the Kings favour
"in it. Upon that the Cardinal in great rage said, why? thinkest
"thou that the King and I know not what we have to do in so weigh-
"ty a matter? yes I warrant you, but I can see in thee no submis-
"sion at all to the purpose: and said, you have matched your self with
"such a one, as neither the King, nor yet your Father will agree to
"it; and therefore I will send for thy Father, who at his coming shall
"either make thee break this unadvised bargain, or disinherit thee for
"ever. To which the Lord *Piercy* replyed, That he would submit
"himself to him, if his Conscience were discharged of the weighty
"burden that lay upon it, and soon after, his Father coming to Court
"he was diverted another way.

Had that Writer told us in what year this was done, it had given a great light to direct us, but by this relation we see that she was so far from thinking of the King at that time, that she had engaged her self another way; but how far this went on her side, or whether it was afterwards made use of, when she was divorced from the King, shall be considered in its proper place. It also appears that there was a Design about her then formed between the King and the Cardinal, yet how far that went, whether to make her Queen, or only to Corrupt her, is not evident. It is said, that upon this she ever after hated the Cardinal, and that he never designed the Divorce after he saw on whom the King had fixed his thoughts: but all that is a mistake, as will afterwards appear. *L. Herbert.*

1527. And now having made way through these things that were previous to the first motion of the Divorce, my narration leads me next to the Motion it self. The King resolving to put the matter home to the Pope, sent Doctor *Knight* Secretary of State to *Rome*, with some Instructions to prepare the Pope for it, and to observe what might be the best Method, and who the fittest tools to work by. At that time the Family of the *Cassali* being three Brothers, were entertained by the King as his Agents in *Italy*, both in *Rome*, *Venice*, and other places. Sir *Gregory Cassali*, was then his ordinary Ambassador at *Rome*: To him was the first full dispatch about this business directed by the Cardinal, the Original whereof is yet extant dated the 5th of *Decemb.* 1527. which the Reader will find in the Collection: but here I shall give the Heads of it.

The King moved for his Divorce at *Rome*.

"After great and high Complements, and Assurances of Rewards
"to engage him to follow the Business very vigorously, and with great
"Diligence, he writes that he had before opened the Kings case to
"him, and that partly by his own study, partly by the opinion of
"many Divines, and other Learned men of all sorts, he found that

The first dispatch about it. Collect. *Numb.* 3d.

1527. "he could no longer with a good Conſcience continue in that Mar-
"riage with the Queen : having God and the Quiet and Salvation of "his Soul chiefly before his eyes. And that he had conſulted both "the moſt Learned Divines and Canoniſts, as well in his own Domi-"nions as elſewhere, to know whether the Popes Diſpenſation could "make it good, and that many of them thought the Pope could not "Diſpence in this caſe of the firſt degree of Affinity, which they "eſteemed forbidden by a Divine, Moral, and Natural Law; and all "the reſt concluded, that the Pope could not do it, but upon very "weighty reaſons : and they found not any ſuch in the Bull. Then "he lays out the reaſons for Annulling the Bull which were touched "before, upon which they all concluded the Diſpenſation to be of "no force; that the King looked on the death of his Sons as a "Curſe from God : and to avoid further Judgments, he now deſired "help of the Apoſtolick See, to conſider his caſe, to reflect on what "he had merited by theſe Services he had done the Papacy, and to "find a way that he being divorced from his Queen may Marry ano-"ther Wife, of whom by the bleſſing of God he might hope for iſ-"ſue Male. Therefore the Ambaſſador was to uſe all means poſſi-"ble to be admitted to ſpeak to the Pope in Private, and then to "deliver him theſe Letters of Credence, in which there was a moſt "earneſt Clauſe added with the Kings own hand. He was alſo to "make a Condoleance of the Miſeries the Pope and Cardinals were "in, both in the Kings name and the Cardinals, and to aſſure the "Pope they would uſe all the moſt effectual means that were poſſi-"ble for ſetting him at Liberty, in which the Cardinal would Em-"ploy as much Induſtry, as if there were no other way to come to "the Kingdom of Heaven but by doing it. Then he was to open "the Kings buſineſs to the Pope, the Scruples of his Conſcience, the "great danger of cruel Wars upon ſo diſputable a Succeſſion, the En-"treaties of all the Nobility and the whole Kingdom, with many "other urgent reaſons, to obtain what was deſired. He was alſo to "lay before the Pope the preſent condition of Chriſtendome and of "*Italy*, that he might conſider of what Importance it was to his own "affairs, and to the Apoſtolick See, to engage the King ſo firmly to "his Intereſts as this would certainly do. And to move that the Pope "without communicating the Matter to any perſon, would freely "grant it, and Sign the Commiſſion which was therewith ſent en-"groſſed in due form, and ready to be Signed, by which the Cardi-"nal was Authorized with the Aſſiſtance of ſuch as he ſhould chooſe, "to proceed in the Matter, according to ſome Inſtructions which "were alſo ſent fairly written out for the Pope to Sign. A Diſpen-"ſation was alſo ſent in due form : and if theſe were expeded, he "might aſſure the Pope that as the King had ſent over a vaſt ſum "to the *French* King, for paying his Army in *Italy*, ſo he would "ſpare no Travel nor Treaſure, but make War upon the Emperor in "*Flanders*, with his whole ſtrength, till he forced him to ſet the "Pope at Liberty, and reſtore the State of the Church to its former "Power and Dignity. And if the Pope were already at Liberty, and "had made an Agreement with the Emperor, he was to repreſent to "him how little cauſe he had to truſt much to the Emperor, who

"had so oft broke his faith, and designed to do all he could towards "the Depressing the Ecclesiastical State. And the Pope was to be re-"membred, that he had dispenced with the Emperors Oath, for Mar-"rying the Kings Daughter without communicating the Matter to "the King. And if he had done so much for one that had been his "Enemy, how much more might the King expect the like favour, "who had always payed him a most filial Duty? Or if the Pope would "not grant the Commission to the Cardinal to try the Matter, as a "Person that being the Kings chief Minister, was not indifferent e-"nough to judge in any of the Kings Concerns; he was by all means "to overcome that, and assure the Pope that he would proceed in it "as a Judge ought to do. But if the Pope stood upon it, and would "by no means be perswaded to sign the Commission for the Cardi-"nal, then he was to propose *Staphileus*, Dean of the *Rota*, who was "then in *England*; and was to except against all other Forreigners, "if the Pope chanced to propose any other. He was also to repre-"sent to the Pope, that the King would look upon a delay as a De-"nial, and if the Pope inclined to consult with any of the Cardinals "about it, he was to divert him from it all that was possible: but if "the Pope would needs do it, then he was to Address himself to them, "and partly by informing them of the reasons of the Kings Cause, "partly by rewarding the good Offices they should do, he was to "engage them for the King. And with this Dispatch Letters were "sent to Cardinal *Puccy*, *Sanctorum Quatuor*, and the other Cardinals, "to be made use of as there should be occasion for it. And because "Money was like to be the most powerful Argument, especially to "men impoverished by a Captivity, 10000 Ducats were remitted "to *Venice*, to be distributed as the Kings Affairs required; and he was "empowered to make farther promises, as he saw cause for it, which "the King would faithfully make good; and in particular, they were "to be wanting in nothing, that might absolutely engage the Cardi-"nal Datary to favour the Kings Business. 1527.

The same things had been committed to the Secretary's care, and they were both to proceed by concert, each of them doing all that was possible to promote the business. But before this reached *Rome*, Secretary *Knight* was come thither, and finding it impossible to be admitted to the Popes presence, he had by corrupting some of his Guards sent him the Sum of the Kings Demands. Upon which the Pope sent him word, that the Dispensation should be sent fully exped-ed. So gracious was a Pope in Captivity. But at that time the Ge-neral of the *Observants in Spain* being at *Rome*, required a Promise of the Pope not to grant any thing that might prejudice the Queens Cause till it were first communicated to the *Imperialists* there. But when the Pope made his Escape, the Secretary and the Ambassador went to him to *Orvieto* about the end of *December*, and first did in the Kings and Cardinals name congratulate his freedom. Then the Se-cretary discoursed the Business. The Pope owned that he had receiv-ed the Message which he had sent to him at *Rome*, but in respect of his Promise, and that yet in a manner he was in Captivity, he beg-ed the King would have a little Patience, and he should before long have not only that Dispensation, but any thing else that lay in his Power.

The Pope grants it when he was in Prison.

Collect. Numb. 4th.

Pope escaped *Decemb.* 9.

1527. Power. But the Secretary not being satisfied with that excuse, the Pope in the end said, he should have it; but with this condition, That he would beseech the King not to proceed upon it, till the Pope were fully at Liberty, and the *Germans* and *Spaniards* were driven out of *Italy*. And upon the Kings promising this, the Dispensation was to be put in his hands. So the Secretary, who had a great mind once to have the Bull in his possession, made no scruple to engage his promise for that. The Pope also told them he was not expert in those things, but he easily apprehended the danger that might arise from any Dispute about the Succession to the Crown, and that therefore he would communicate the business to the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*; upon which they resolved to prevent that Cardinals being with the Pope, and went and delivered the Letters they had for him, and promised him a good reward if he were favourable to their Requests in the Kings behalf. Then they shewed him the Commissions that were sent from *England*; but he upon the perusal of them, said, They could not pass without a perpetual dishonour on the Pope and the King too, and excepted to several Clauses that were in them. So they desired him to draw one that might both be sufficient for the Kings purpose, and such as the Pope might with honour grant. Which being done, the Pope told them, That though he apprehended great danger to himself, if the Emperour should know what he had done; yet he would rather expose himself to utter ruine, than give the King, or the Cardinal cause to think him Ingrate; but with many sighs and tears, he begged that the King would not precipitate things, or expose him to be undone, by beginning any Process upon the Bull. And so he delivered the Commission and Dispensation Signed to *Knight*. But the means that the Pope proposed for his publishing and owning what he now granted, was, That *Lautrech* with the *French* Army should march, and coming where the Pope was, should require him to grant the Commission: So that the Pope should excuse himself to the Emperour, that he had refused to grant it upon the desire of the *English* Ambassadour, but that he could not deny the General of the *French* Army, to do an act of publick justice: And by this means he would save his honour, and not seem guilty of breach of promise; and then he would dispatch the Commission about the time of *Lautrech*'s being near him, and therefore he entreated the King to accept of what was then granted for the present. The Commission and Dispensation was given to the Secretary: and they promised to send the Bull after him, of the same form that was desired from *England*, and the Pope engaged to reform it as should be found needful. And it seems by these Letters, that a Dispensation and Commission had been Signed by the Pope when he was a Prisoner; but they thought not fit to make any use of them, lest they should be thought null, as being granted when the Pope was in Captivity.

And being at liberty, gives a Bull for it.

The Pope's craft & policy

Thus the Pope expressed all the readiness that could be expected from him, in the circumstances he was then in; being over-aw'd by the *Imperialists*, who were harassing the Country, and taking Castles very near the place where he was. *Lautrech* with the *French* Army lay still fast about *Bononia*, and as the season of the year was not favourable, so he did not express any inclinations to enter into action. The Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor* got 4000 Crowns as the reward of his pains, and in earnest

And the measures that governed them.

earnest of what he was to expect when the matter should be brought to a final conclusion. In this whole matter the Pope carried himself as a wise and politick Prince, that considered his Interest, and provided against dangers with great fore-sight. But as for Apostolical wisdom, and the Simplicity of the Gospel, that was not to be expected from him. For now, though the high-sounding names of *Christs Vicar*, and St. *Peters Successor*, were still retained to keep up the Popes Dignity and Authority, yet they had for many Ages governed themselves as Secular Princes; so that the Maximes of that Court were no more to keep a good Conscience, and to proceed according to the Rules of the Gospel, and the Practice of the Primitive Church, committing the event to God, and submitting to his Will in all things: but the keeping a ballance, the maintaining their Interest in the Courts of Princes, the securing their Dominions, and the raising their Families, being that which they chiefly looked at, It is not to be wondered at, that the Pope governed himself by these measures, though Religion was to be made use of to help him out of straits. All this I set down the more particularly, both because I take my information from Original Letters, and that it may chiefly appear how matters went at that time in the Court of *Rome*. 1528.

Secretary *Knight* being Infirme, could not travel with that haste that was required in this business, and therefore he sent the Proto-Notary *Gambara* with the Commission and Dispensation to *England*, and followed in easie journies. The Cardinals that had been consulted with, did all express great readiness in granting the Kings desire. The Cardinal *Datary* had forsaken the Court, and betaken himself to serve God and his Cure; and other Cardinals were Hostages, so that now there were but Five about the Pope, *Monte*, *Sanctorum Quatuor*, *Ridolphi*, *Ravennate* and *Perusino*. But a motion being made of sending over a Legate, the Pope would by no means hearken to it, for that would draw new troubles on him from the Emperor. That had been desired from *England* by a dispatch of the 27th. of *December*, which pressed a speedy conclusion of the business; upon which the Pope on the 12th. of *January*, did communicate the matter under the Seal of Confession to the Cardinals *Sanctorum Quatuor* and *Simoneta*, (who was then come to the Court) and upon conference with them, he proposed to Sir *Gregory Cassali*, that he thought the safer way was, "That either by vertue of the Commission "that the Secretary had obtained, or by the Legantine Power that was "lodged with the Cardinal of *York*, he should proceed in the business. "And if the King found the matter clear in his own Conscience, (in "which the Pope said, No doctor in the whole world could resolve the "matter beter than the King himself) he should without more noise, "make judgment be given; and presently Marry another Wife, and "then send for a Legate to Confirm the matter. And it would be easier "to ratifie all when it was once done, than to go on in a Process from "*Rome*. For the Queen would protest, that both the Place and the "Judges were suspected and not free, upon which, in the course of Law, "the Pope must grant an Inhibition for the Kings not Marrying another "while the Suit depended, and must avocate the business to be heard in "the Court of *Rome*; which, with other prejudices, were unavoidable "in a publick Process by Bulls from *Rome*. But if the thing went on in

Collect. Numb. 5th.

The method proposed by the Pope.

Collect. Numb. 6th.

"*England*,

1528. " *England*, and the King had once Married another Wife, the Pope then " would find very good reasons to justifie the confirming a thing that was " gone so far, and promised to send any Cardinal whom they should name. This the Pope desired the Ambassadour would signifie to the King, as the advice of the two Cardinals, and take no notice of him in it. But the dispatch shews he was a more faithful Minister than to do so.

The Ambassadour found all the earnestness in the Pope that was possible, to comply with the King; and that he was jealous both of the Emperour and *Francis*, and depended wholly on the King; so that he found, if the terror of the *Imperial* Forces were over, the Court of *England* would dispose of the Apostolical See as they pleased. And indeed this advice, how little soever it had of the Simplicity of the Gospel, was certainly prudent and subtile, and that which of all things the *Spaniards* apprehended most. And therefore the *General of the Observants* moved Cardinal *Campegius*, then at *Rome*, for an Inhibition, lest the Process should be carried on and determined in *England*. But that being signified to the Pope, he said, It could not be granted, since there was no Suit depending, in which case only an Inhibition can be granted.

Staphileus sent from *England*.

But now I must look over again to *England*, to open the Counsels there. At that time *Staphileus* Dean of the *Rota* was there; and he either to make his Court the better, or that he was so perswaded in opinion, seemed fully satisfied about the Justice of the King's Cause. So they sent him to *Rome* with Instructions both publick and secret. The publick Instructions related to the Popes Affairs, in which all possible Assistance was promised by the King. But one Proposition in them flowed from the Cardinals Ambition, " That the Kings of *England* and *France* " thought it would advance the Popes Interests, if he should command the " Cardinals that were under no restraint, to meet in some secure place, " to consider of the Affairs of the Church, that they might suffer no " prejudice by the Popes Captivity: And for that end, and to conserve " the Dignity of the Apostolick See, that they should choose such a Vi- " car or President, as partly by his Prudence and Courage, partly by the " assistance of the two Kings, upon whom depended all their hopes, " might do such Services to the Apostolick See, as were most necessary " in that distracted time, by which the Popes Liberty would be hast- " ned.

His Instructions.

Cotton. Libr. *Vitel*. B. 10. *Jan*. 8.

Duplicates corrected by the Cardinal's Hand.

It cannot be imagined but the Pope would be offended with this Proposition, and apprehend that the Cardinal of *York* was not satisfied to be intriguing for the Popedom after his death, but was aspiring to it while he was alive. For as it was plain, he was the Person that must be chosen for that trust; so if the Pope were used hardly by the Emperour, and forced to ill conditions, the Vicar so chosen and his Cardinals would disown those Conditions, which might end in a Schism or his Deposition. But *Staphileus* his secret Instructions, related wholly to the Kings business, which were these: " That the King had opened to him the error of his " Marriage, and that the said Bishop out of his great Learning, did now " clearly perceive how invalid and insufficient it was: Therefore the " King recommended it to his care, that he would convince the Pope and " the Cardinals, with the Arguments that had been laid before him, and " of which a Breviate was given him. He was also to represent the great " mischiefs that might follow, if Princes got not justice and ease from

" the

"the Apostolick See. Therefore if the Pope were yet in Captivity "he was to propose a meeting of the Cardinals, for choosing the Cardinal of *York* to be their head, during the Popes Imprisonment, or "that a full Commission might be sent to him for the Kings matter. And "in particular he was to take care that the Business might be tryed in "*England*. And for his pains in promoting the Kings Concerns, the "King promised to procure a Bishoprick for him in *France*; and to "help him to a Cardinals hat. By him the King wrote to the Pope. The rude draught of it remains under the Cardinals hand, earnestly desiring a speedy and favourable dispatch of his business with a Credence to the Bearer. 1528.

The Cardinal also wrote to the Pope by him; and after a long Congratulating his Liberty with many sharp reflections on the Emperor, he pressed a Dispatch of the Kings Business, in which he would not use many words: this only I will add, *says he*, That that which is "desired is holy and just, and very much for the safety and quiet of "this Kingdom, which is most devoted to the Apostolical See. He "also wrote by the same hand to the Ambassador, that the King would "have things so carryed, that all occasion of discontent or cavilling, "whether at home or abroad, might be removed; and therefore desired that another Cardinal might be sent Legate to *England*, and "joyned in Commission with himself for judging the Matter. He "named either *Campegius*, *Tranus*, or *Farnese*: Or if that could not be "obtained, that a fuller Commission might be sent to himself, with "all possible haste, since delays might produce great inconveniences. If "a Legate were named, then care must be taken that he should be "one who were Learned, Indifferent, and *Tractable*; and if *Campegius* "could be the man, he was the fittest person. And when one was "named he should make him a decent present, and assure him that the "King would most liberally recompence all his labour and expence. "He also required him to press his speedy Dispatch, and that the "Commission should be full to try and determine, without any re-"servation of the Sentence to be given by the Pope. This Dispatch is interlined, and amended with the Cardinals own hand.

The Cardinals Letters by him.

But upon the Arrival of the Messenger whom the Secretary had sent, with the Commission and Dispensation, and the other Packets before mentioned; It was debated in the Kings Council, whether he should go on in his Process, or continue to solicite new Bulls from *Rome*. On the one hand, they saw how tedious, dangerous and expensive a Process at *Rome* was like to prove: and therefore it seemed the easiest and most expedite way to proceed before the Cardinal in his Legantine Court, who should *ex officio*, and in the Summary way of their Court, bring it to a speedy Conclusion. But on the other hand, if the Cardinal gave Sentence, and the King should Marry, then they were not sure, but before that time the Pope might either change his mind, or his Interest might turn him another way. And the Popes Power was so absolute by the Canon Law, that no general Clauses in Commissions to Legates, could bind him to confirm their Sentences: and if upon the Kings Marrying another Wife, the Pope should refuse to confirm it, then the King would be in a worse case than he was now in, and his Marriage and Issue by it should be still

A Larger Bull desired by the King.

1528. disputable: Therefore they thought this was by no means to be adventured on, but they should make new Addresses to the Court of *Rome*. In the debate, some sharp words fell either from the King, or some of his Secular Counsellors; Intimating that if the Pope continued under such fears, the King must find some other way to set him at ease. So it was resolved that *Stephen Gardiner*, commonly called Doctor *Stevens*, the Cardinals chief Secretary, and *Edward Fox* the Kings Almoner, should be sent to *Rome*; the one being esteemed the ablest Canonist in *England*, the other one of the best Divines, they were Dispatched the 10th of *February*. "By them the King wrote to the Pope thanking him, that he had expressed such forward and earnest willingness "to give him ease: and had so kindly promised to gratifie his desires, "of which he expected now to see the effects. He wrote also to the "Cardinals, his thanks for the chearfulness with which they had in "Consistory promised to promote his Sute; for which he assured them "they should never have cause to Repent. But the Cardinal wrote in "a strain, that shews he was in some fear that if he could not bring about the Kings desires, he was like to lose his favour. "He besought "the Pope as lying at his feet, that if he thought him a Christian, "a good Cardinal, and not unworthy of that Dignity, an useful member of the Apostolick See, a Promoter of Justice and Equity, or "thought him his faithful Creature, or that he desired his own eternal Salvation, that he would now so far consider his Intercession, as "to grant kindly and speedily that which the King earnestly desired; "which if he did not know to be Holy, Right, and Just, he would "undergo any hazard or punishment whatsoever, rather than promote it; but he did aprehend if the King found that the Pope was "so overawed by the Emperor, as not to grant that which all Christendom judged was grounded both on the Divine and Human Laws, "both he and other Christian Princes would from thence take occasion to provide themselves of other Remedies, and lessen and despise "the Authority of the Apostolick See. In his Letters to *Cassali* he expressed a great sense of the Services which the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor* had done the King; and bid him enquire what were the things in which he delighted most, whether Furniture, Gold plate, or Horses, that they might make him acceptable presents; and assure him that the King would contribute largely towards the carrying on the building of St. *Peters* in the *Vatican*.

Gardiner and Fox sent to Rome.

With Letters from the King,

Collect. Numb. 7th.

and the Cardinal. Collect. Numb. 8th.

Collect. Numb. 9th.

The most Important thing about which they were employed, was to procure the expediting of a Bull which was formed in *England*, with all the strongest Clauses that could be imagined. In the Preamble of which all the Reasons against the validity of the Bull of *P. Julius* the 2d, were recited: and it was also hinted *that it was against* "*the Law of God*; but to lessen that, it was added, *at least where there* "*was not a sufficient Dispensation obtained*: therefore the Pope, to reward the great Services by which the King had obliged the Apostolick See, and having regard to the Distractions that might follow "on a Disputable Title; upon a full Consultation with the Cardinals, having also heard the Opinions of Divines and Canonists, "Deputed— for his Legate, to concur with the Cardinal of *York*, either together, or (the one being hindred, or unwilling) severally.

The substance of the Bull desired by them. Collect. Numb. 10th.

And

"And if they found those things that were suggested against the Bull 1527.
"of *P. Julius*, or any of them, well or sufficiently proved, then to "declare it void and null, as surreptitiously procured, upon false "grounds*; and thereupon to Annul the Marriage that had followed "upon it; And to give both Parties full leave to Marry again, not-"withstanding any Appellation or Protestation, the Pope making "them his Vicars, with full and absolute Power and Authority: "empowering them also to declare the Issue begotten in the former "Marriage good and legitimate, if they saw cause for it. The Pope "binding himself to confirm whatever they should do in that process, "and never to revoke or repeal what they should Pronounce. De-"claring also that this Bull should remain in force till the Process "were ended, and that by no Revocation or Inhibition it should be "recalled; and if any such were obtained, these are all declared void "and null, and the Legats were to proceed notwithstanding: and all "ended with a full *Non obstante.*

This was judged the uttermost force that could be in a Bull: Though the Civilians would scarce allow any validity at all in these extravagant Clauses: but the most material thing in this Bull, is, that it seems the King was not fully resolved to declare his Daughter illegitimate. Whether he pretended this, to mitigate the Queens, or the Emperors opposition, or did really intend it, is not clear. But what he did afterwards in Parliament, shews, he had this deep in his thoughts, though the Queens Carriage did soon after provoke him to pursue his resentments against her Daughter. The French King did also joyn a most earnest Letter of his to the Pope, which they were also to deliver. They had likewise a secret Instruction by all means to endeavour that Cardinal *Campegio* should be the Legate, he had the reputation of a Learned Canonist, and they knew he was a *tractable man*: and besides that, he was Bishop of *Salisbury*, the King had obliged him by the grant of a Palace, which the King was building in *Burgo* at *Rome* for his Ambassadors, which before it was finished, he had by a Patent given to him and his heirs: so they had better hopes of him than of any other. *Rot. Pat. 2da Pars. Regn. 10.*

By these Ambassadors the Cardinal wrote a long and most earnest Letter to *John Cassali* the Proto-Notarie, that was the Ambassadors Brother. In which all the Arguments that a most anxious mind could invent or dictate, are laid together to perswade the Pope to grant the Kings desires. Among other things he tells him, "How he had "engaged to the King, that the Pope would not deny it; That the King "both out of scruple of Conscience, and because of some Diseases in "the Queen, that were incurable, had resolved never to come near "her more; and that if the Pope continued, out of his partial respects "to the Emperor, to be inexorable, the King would proceed another "way. He offers to take all the blame of it upon his own Soul, if it were amiss; with many other particulars in which he is so pressing, that I cannot imagine what moved the Lord *Herbert*, who saw those Letters, to think that the Cardinal did not really intend the Divorce. He (it seems) saw another Paper of their Instructions, by which they were ordered to say to the Pope, that the Cardinal was not the Author of the Counsel. But all that was intended by that, was only

The Cardinals Earnestness in this matter.

Collect. Numb. 11th.

 to

1527. to excuse him so far, that he might not be thought too partial, and an incompetent Judge. For as he was far from disowning the justice of the Kings Sute, so he would not have trusted a Secret of that Importance to paper, which when it should be known to the King, would have lost him his favour. But undoubtedly it was concerted between the King and him to remove an Exception, which otherwise the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction would have made, to his being the Judg in that matter.

Collect. Numb. 12. With those Letters and Instructions were *Gardiner* and *Fox* sent to *Rome*, where both the *Cassalies* and *Staphileus* were promoting the Kings business all they could. And being strengthned with the Accession of those other two they made a greater progress; so that in *April* the Pope did in Consistory, Declare Cardinal *Campegio* Legate to go to *England*, that he with the Cardinal of *York* might try the validity of the Kings Marriage: But that Cardinal made great excuses, he was then Legate at *Rome*, in which he had such advantages, that he had no mind to enter in a business which must for ever engage either the Emperor or the King against him. He also pretended an Inability to travel so great a journey, being much subject to the Gout. But when this was known in *England*, the Cardinal wrote him a most earnest Letter, to hasten over, and bring with him all such things as were necessary for making their Sentence firm and irreversible, so that it might never again be Questioned.

Campegio declared Legate. Collect. Numb. 10.

Wolsey writes to him to haste over. *May* 7.

But here I shall add a Remark, which though it is of no great importance, yet will be diverting to the Reader. The draught of the Letter is in *Wolsey's* Secretaries hand, amended in some places by his own; and concluded thus, *I hope all things shall be done according to the Will of God, the desire of the King, the Quiet of the Kingdom, and to our honour with a good Conscience.* But the Cardinal dasht out this last word *with a good Conscience.* Perhaps judging that was a thing fit for meaner persons, but that it was below the Dignity of two Cardinals to consider it much. He wrote also to *Cassali* high complements for his diligence in the Step that was made, but desired him with all possible means to get the Bull granted and trusted to his keeping, with the deepest Protestations, that no use should be made of it, but that the King only should see it; by which his mind would be at ease, and he being put in good hopes, would employ his Power in the service of the Pope and Apostolick See: but the Pope was not a man to be cozen'd so easily.

May 23. When the Cardinal heard by the next Dispatch what excuses and delays *Campegio* made, he wrote to him again, and pressed his coming over in haste. "For his being Legate of *Rome* he desired him to name "a Vice-Legate. For his want of Money and Horses, *Gardiner* would "furnish him as he desired, and he should find an equipage ready for "him in *France*; and he might certainly expect great rewards from "the King. But if he did not make more haste, the King would in-"cline to believe an advertisement that was sent him, of his turning "over to the Emperors Party. Therefore if he either valued the "Kings kindness, or were grateful for the favours he had received "from him; if he valued the Cardinals Friendship or safety, or if he "would hinder the diminution of the Authority of the Roman Church, "all excuses set aside, he must make what haste in his Journey was possible.

ſible. Yet the Legate made no great haſte, for till *October* following he came not into *England*. The Bull that was deſired could not be obtained, but another was granted, which perhaps was of more force becauſe it had not thoſe extraordinary Clauſes in it. There is the Copy of a Bull to this purpoſe in the *Cottonian* Library, which has been printed more than once by ſome that have taken it for a Copy of the ſame Bull that was ſent by *Campegio* : but I take it to be rather, a Copy of that Bull which the Pope Signed at *Rome* while he was there a Priſoner, and probably afterward at *Orvieto* he might give it the date that it bears 1527. *Decemb.* 17. But that there was a Decretal Bull ſent by *Campegio* will appear evidently in the ſequel of this Relation. About this time I meet with the firſt evidence of the progreſs of the Kings love to *Anne Boleyn*, in two Original Letters of hers to the Cardinal, from which it appears, not only that the King had then reſolved to Marry her, but that the Cardinal was privy to it. They bear no date, but the matter of them ſhews they were written after the end of *May*, when the Sweating-ſickneſs began, and about the time that the Legate was expected. They give ſuch a light to the Hiſtory, that I ſhall not caſt them over to the Collection at the end, but ſet them down here.

1527.

The Pope grants a Decretal Bull *Anti-Sanders. L. iber.*

Two Letters of *Anne Boleyn's* to *Wolſey*.

MY Lord, in my moſt humbleſt wiſe that my heart can think, I deſire you to pardon me that I am ſo bold to trouble you with my ſimple and rude writing, eſteeming it to proceed from her, that is much deſirous to know that your Grace does well, as I perceive by this Bearer that you do. The which I pray God long to continue, as I am moſt bound to pray; for I do know the great pains and troubles that you have taken for me both day and night, is never like to be recompenced on my part, but alonly in loving you next, unto the Kings Grace, above all creatures living. And I do not doubt but the daily proofs of my deeds, ſhall manifeſtly declare and affirm my writing to be true, and I do truſt you do think the ſame. My Lord, I do aſſure you I do long to hear from you news of the Legate : for I do hope and they come from you they ſhall be very good, and I am ſure you deſire it as much as I, and more, and it were poſſible, as I know it is not : and thus remaining in a ſtedfaſt hope, I make an end of my Letter written with the hand of her that is moſt bound to be.

A Poſtſcript of the Kings to him.

THe writer of this Letter would not ceaſe till ſhe had cauſed me likewiſe to ſet to my hand; deſiring you, though it be ſhort to take it in good part. I enſure you there is neither of us, but that greatly deſireth to ſee you, and much more joyous to hear that you have ſcaped this Plague ſo well, truſting the fury thereof to be paſſed, ſpecially with them that keepeth good diet as I truſt you do. The not hearing of the Legates Arrival in France, *cauſeth us ſomewhat to muſe; notwithſtanding we truſt by your diligence and vigilancy (with the aſſiſtance of Almighty God) ſhortly to be eaſed out of that trouble. No more to you at this time; but that I pray God ſend you as good health and proſperity as the Writer would.*

By Your
Loving Soveraign and Friend
Henry K.
Your Humble Servant
Anne Boleyn.

My

1528. *MY Lord, In my most humblest wise that my poor heart can think, I do thank your Grace for your kind Letter, and for your rich and goodly Present, the which I shall never be able to deserve without your help: of the which I have hitherto had so great plenty, that all the days of my life I am most bound of all Creatures, next the King's Grace, to love and serve your Grace: of the which I beseech you never to doubt, that ever I shall vary from this thought as long as any breath is in my body. And as touching your Graces trouble with the sweat, I thank our Lord, that them that I desired and prayed for, are scaped, and that is the King and you; not doubting but that God has preserved you both for great causes known alonly of his high wisdom. And as for the coming of the Legate, I desire that much, and if it be God's pleasure, I pray him to send this matter shortly to a good end, and then I trust, My Lord, to recompence part of your great pains. In the which I must require you in the mean time to accept my good-will in the stead of the power, the which must proceed partly from you, as our Lord knoweth; to whom I beseech to send you long life, with continuance in honour. Written with the hand of her that is most bound to be,*

Your Humble and

Obedient Servant,

Anne Boleyn.

Collect. *Numb.* 14th. The Cardinal hearing that *Campegius* had the Decretal Bull committed to his Trust, to be shewed only to the King and himself, wrote to the Ambassador that it was necessary it should be also shewed to some of the Kings Council; not to make any use of it, but that thereby they might understand how to manage the Process better by it. This he begged might be trusted to his care and fidelity, and he undertook to manage it so, that no kind of danger could arise out of it.

The Cardinal's Colledges finished. At this time the Cardinal having Finished his Foundations at *Oxford* and *Ipswich*, and finding they were very acceptable, both to the King and to the Clergy, resolved to go on, and suppress more Monasteries, and erect new Bishopricks, turning some Abbies to Cathedrals. This was proposed in the Consistory, and granted, as appears by a dispatch of *Cassali's*. *Octob.* 30. He also spoke to the Pope about a general Visitation of all Monasteries. And on the 4th of *November*, the Bull for suppressing some was expected, a Copy whereof is yet extant, but written in such a hand, that I could not read three words together in any place of it; and though I tried others that were good at reading all hands, yet they could not do it. But I find by the dispatch that the Pope did it with some aversion: and when *Gardiner* told him plainly, *it was necessary and it must be done*, he paused a little, and seemed unwilling to give any further offence to Religious Orders: But since he found it so uneasie to gratifie the King in so great a Point, as the matter of his Divorce, he judged it the more necessary to mollifie him by a compliance in all other things. So there was a power given to the Two Legates to examine the state of the Monasteries, and to suppress such as they thought fit, and convert them into Bishopricks and Cathedrals.

More Monasteries were to be suppressed.

While

While matters went thus between *Rome* and *England*, the Queen was as active as she could be, to engage her Two Nephews, the Emperor, and his Brother, to appear for her. She complained to them much of the King, but more of the Cardinal: She also gave them notice of all the Exceptions that were made to the Bull, and desired both their advice and assistance: They having a mind to perplex the Kings Affairs, advised her by no means to yield, nor to be induced to enter into a Religious life; and gave her assurance, that by their Interest at *Rome*, they would support her, and maintain her Daughters Title, if it went to extremities. And as they employed all their agents at *Rome* to serve her concerns, so they consulted with the Canonists about the force of the Exceptions to the Bull. The issue of which was, that a *Breve* was found out, or forged, that supplied some of the most material defects in the Bull. For whereas in the Bull, the Preamble bore, that the King and Queen had desired the Popes Dispensation to Marry, that the Peace might continue between the Two Crowns without any other cause given: In the preamble of this *Breve*, mention is made of their desire to Marry, "because otherwise it was not likely that the Peace would be "continued between the Two Crowns. And for that, and divers other "reasons they asked the Dispensation. Which in the body of the *Breve* is granted, bearing date the 26th of *December*, 1503. Upon this they pretended that the Dispensation was granted upon good Reasons; since by this Petition it appeared, that there were fears of a Breach between the Crowns: And that there were also other reasons made use of, though they were not named. But there was one Fatal thing in it. In the Bull it is only said, That the Queens Petition bore, *That perhaps she had Consummated her Marriage with Prince* Arthur, *by the Carnalis Copula*. But in this *perhaps* is left out, and 'tis plainly said, *That they had Consummated their Marriage*. This the King's Council, who suspected that the *Breve* was forged, made great use of when the Question was argued, whether Prince *Arthur* knew her or not? Though at this time 'twas said, the *Spaniards* did put it in on design, knowing it was like to be proved, that the former Marriage was Consummated: which they intended to throw out of the debate, since by this it appeared that the Pope did certainly know that, and yet granted the *Breve*; and that therefore there was to be no more enquiry to be made into that, which was already confessed: so that all that was now to be debated, was the Popes power of granting such a Dispensation, in which they had good reason to expect a favourable Decision at *Rome*.

1528.

The Emperor opposes the Kings Suit

A *Breve* found out in *Spain*.

Collect. *Numb.* 15th.

But there appeared great grounds to reject this *Breve* as a forged writing. It was neither in the Records of *England*, nor *Spain*, but said to be found among the Papers of *D. de Puebla*, that had been the *Spanish* Ambassador in *England* at the time of concluding the Match. So that if he only had it, it must have been cassated, otherwise the Parties concerned would have got it into their hands: Or else it was forged since. Many of the names were written false, which was a presumption that it was lately made by some *Spaniards*, who knew not how to write the names true. For *Sigismund*, who was Secretary, when it was pretended to have been Signed, was an exact man, and no such errors were found in *Breves* at that time. But that which shewed it a manifest Forgery, was, that it bore date the 26th of *December*, *Anno* 1503. on the same day that the

Presumptions of its being forged.

Bull

1528. Bull was granted. It was not to be imagined that in the same day a *Bull*, and a *Breve*, should have been expedited in the same business, with such material differences in them. And the stile of the Court of *Rome* had this singularity in it; That in all their *Breves*, they reckon the beginning of the year from *Christmas*-day, which being the Nativity of our Lord, they count the year to begin then. But in their Bulls they reckon the year to begin at the Feast of the *Annunciation*. So that a *Breve* dated the 26th. of *December*, 1503. was in the vulgar account in the year, 1502. therefore it must be false; for neither was *Julius* the 2d. who granted it, then Pope, nor was the Treaty of the Marriage so far advanced at that time, as to admit of a *Breve* so soon. But allowing the *Breve* to be true, they had many of the same Exceptions to it, that they had to the *Bull*, since it bore that the King desired the Marriage, to avoid a Breach between the Crowns, which was false. It likewise bore that the Marriage had been Consummated between the Queen and Prince *Arthur*, which the Queen denied was ever done; so that the suggestion in her name being as she said, false, it could have no force, though it were granted to be a true *Breve*: And they said, it was plain, the *Imperialists* were convinced the *Bull* was of no force, since they betook themselves to such arts to fortifie their Cause.

Campegio comes into *England*. When Cardinal *Campegio* came to *England*, he was received with the publick Solemnities ordinary in such a case, and in his speech at his first Audience, he called the King *the Deliverer of the Pope, and of the City of Rome*, with the highest complements that the occasion did require. But when he was admitted to a private Conference with the King, and the Cardinal, he used many arguments to diswade the King from prosecuting the matter any further. This the King took very ill, as if his errand had been rather to confirm than annul his Marriage; and complained that the Pope had broken his word to him. But the Legate studied to qualifie him, and shewed the Decretal Bull, by which he might see, that though the Pope wished rather that the business might come to a more friendly conclusion; yet if the King could not be brought to that, he was empowered to grant him all that he desired. But he could not be brought to part with the DecretalBull out of his hands, or to leave it for a minute, either with the King or the Cardinal: saying, That it was demanded on these terms, that no other person should see it; and that *Gardiner* and the Ambassador had only moved to have it expedited, and sent by the Legate, to let the King see how well the Pope was affected to him. With all this the King was much dissatisfied; but to encourage him again, the Legate told him, he was to speak to the Queen in the Popes name, to induce her to enter into a Religious life, and to make the Vows. But when he proposed that to her, she answered him modestly, that she could not dispose of her self, but by the advice of her Nephews.

And showes the King the Bull,

But refuses to let it be seen to the Council.

Wolsey's endeavour at *Rome* that it might be showed. Of all this the Cardinal of *York* advertised the *Cassalies*, and * ordered them to use all possible endeavours, that the Bull might be showen to some of the Kings Council. Upon that (Sir *Gregory* being then out of *Rome*) the Proto-Notary went to the Pope, and complained that *Campegio* had disswaded the Divorce. The Pope justified him in it, and said, He did as he had ordered him. He next complained that the Legate would not proceed to execute the Legantine Commission. The Pope denied that

* Collect. *Numb.* 16th.
' Collect. *Numb.* 17th.

he

he had any order from him to delay his proceedings, but that by vertue of his Commission they might go on and pass Sentence. Then the Proto-Notary pressed him for leave to shew the Bull to some of the Kings Council, complaining of *Campegio's* stiffness in refusing it, and that he would not trust it to the Cardinal of *York*, who was his equal in the Commission. To this the Pope answered in passion, That he could shew the Cardinals Letter, in which he assures him, that the Bull should only be shewed to the King and himself; and that if it were not granted he was ruined, therefore to preserve him he had sent it, but had ordered it to be burnt when it was once shewed. He wished he had never sent it, saying, he would gladly lose a Finger to recover it again, and expressed great grief for granting it: and said, They had got him to send it, and now would have it showed, to which he would never consent, for then he was undone for ever. Upon this, the Proto-Notary laid before him the danger of losing the King, and the Kingdom of *England*; of ruining the Cardinal of *York*, and of the undoing of their Family, whose hopes depended on the Cardinal; and that by these means Heresie would prevail in *England*, which if it once had great footing there, would not be so easily rooted out: That all persons judged the Kings Cause right; but though it were not so, some things that were not good, must be born with to avoid greater evils. And at last he fell down at his feet, and in most passionate expressions begged him to be more compliant to the Kings desires, and at least not to deny that small favour of showing the Decretal to some few Counsellors, upon the assurance of absolute secrecy: But the Pope interrupted him, and with great signs of an unusual grief, told him, these sad effects could not be charged on him, he had kept his word, and done what he had promised, but upon no consideration would he do any thing that might wound his Conscience, or blemish his Integrity. Therefore let them proceed as they would in *England*, he should be free of all blame, but should confirm their Sentence. And he protested he had given *Campegio* no commands to make any delays, but only to give him notice of their proceedings. If the King, who had maintained the Apostolick See, had written for the Faith, and was the Defender of it, would over-turn it, it would end in his own disgrace. But at last the secret came out, for the Pope confessed there was a League in Treaty between the Emperor and himself; but denied that he had bound himself up by it, as to the Kings business.

1528.

But all in vain.

The Pope consulted with the Cardinals, *Sanctorum Quatuor* and *Simonetta*, (not mentioning the *Decretal* to them, which he had granted without communicating it to any body, or entring it in any Register) and they were of opinion that the Process should be carried on in *England*, without demanding any thing further from *Rome*. But the Imperial Cardinals spake against it, and were moving presently for an Inhibition, and an Avocation of the Cause, to be tried at the Court of *Rome*. The Pope also took notice, that the Intercession of *England* and *France* had not prevailed with the *Venetians* to restore *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, which they had taken from him; and that he could not think that Republick durst do so, if these Kings were in earnest. It had been promised that they should be restored as soon as his Legate was sent to *England*; but it was not yet done. The Proto-Notary told him it should most certainly be done. Thus ended that Conversation. But the more earnest

1528. the Cardinal was to have the Bull seen by some of the Privy-Council, the Pope was the more confirmed in his resolutions never to consent to it. For he could not imagine the desire of seeing it was a bare curiosity, or only to direct the Kings Counsellors; since the King and the Cardinal could inform them of all the material Clauses that were in it. Therefore he judged the desire of seeing it was only that they might have so many witnesses to prove that it was once granted, whereby they had the Pope in their power; and this he judged too dangerous for him to submit to.

The Pope sends *Campana* to *England*. Collect. *Numb.* 18th.

But the Pope finding the King and the Cardinal so ill satisfied with him, resolved to send *Francisco Campana*, one of his Bed-chamber, to *England*, to remove all mistakes, and to feed the King with fresh hopes. In *England*, *Campegio* found still means by new delays to put off the business, and amused the King with new and subtle motions for ending the matter more dextrously. Upon which, in the beginning of *December*, Sir *Francis Brian* and *Peter Vannes*, the Kings Secretary for the Latine Tongue were sent to *Rome*. They had it in Commission to search all the Records there, for the *Breve* that was now so much talked of in *Spain*. They were to propose several overtures. "Whether if the Queen vowed Religion, the Pope would not dispence with the Kings second Marriage? "or if the Queen would not vow Religion, unless the King also did it, "Whether in that case would the Pope dispence with his vow? Or whether if the Queen would hear of no such proposition, would not the "Pope dispence with the Kings having two Wives? For which there "were diverss presidents vouched from the Old Testament. They were to represent to the Pope that the King had laid out much of his best Treasure in his Service, and therefore he expected the highest favours out of the deepest Treasure of the Church. And *Peter Vannes* was commanded to tell the Pope as of himself, that if he did for partial respects and fears, refuse the Kings desires, he perceived it would not only alienate the King from him, but that many other Princes his Confederates, with their Realms, would withdraw their Devotion and Obedience from the Apostolick See.

New Ambassadors sent to *Rome*, With other overtures.

Collect. *Numb.* 19th.

A Guard of 2000 men offered to the Pope.

By a dispatch that followed them, the Cardinal tried a new project, which was an offer of 2000 men for a Guard to the Pope, to be maintained at the cost of the King and his Confederates. And also proposed an enterview of the Pope, the Emperor, the *French* King, and the Ambassadors of other Princes, to be either at *Nice*, *Avignon*, or in *Savoy*, and that himself would come thither from the King of *England*. But the Pope resolved stedfastly to keep his ground, and not to engage himself too much to any Prince; therefore the motion of a Guard did not at all work upon him. To have Guards about him upon another Princes pay, was to be their Prisoner; and he was so weary of his late Imprisonment, that he would not put himself in hazard of it a second time. Besides, such a Guard would give the Emperor just cause of jealousie, and yet not secure him against his power. He had been also so unsuccesful in his contests with the Emperor, that he had no mind to give him any new provocation: And though the Kings of *England* and *France* gave him good words, yet they did nothing, nor did the King make War upon the Emperor, so that his Armies lying in *Italy*, he was still under his power. Therefore the Pope resolved to unite himself firmly to the Emperor;

The Pope resolved to unite himself to the Emperor.

and

and all the use he made of the Kings earnestness in his Divorce, was only 1528.
to bring the Emperor to better terms. The *Lutherans* in *Germany* were like to make great use of any decision he might make against any of his Predecessors Bulls. The Cardinal Elector of *Mentz*, had written to him to consider well what he did in the Kings Divorce, for if it went on, nothing had ever fallen out since the beginning of *Luthers* Sect, that would so much strenghen it as that Sentence. He was also threatned on the other side from *Rome*, that the Emperor would have a General Council called, and whatsoever he did in this Process should be examined there, and he proceeded against accordingly. Nor did they forget to put him in mind of his Birth, that he was a *Bastard*, and so by the Canon incapable of that Dignity, and that thereupon they would depose him. He having all these things in his prospect, and being naturally of a fearful temper, which was at this time more prevalent in him by reason of his late Captivity, resolved not to run these hazards, which seemed unavoidable, if he proceeded further in the Kings business. But his constant Maxime, being to promise and swear deepest, when he intended least, he sent *Campana* to *England*, with a Letter of Credence to the Cardinal the effects of which message will appear afterwards. And thus ended this year, in which it was believed that if the King had employed that Money, which was spent in a fruitless Negotiation at *Rome*, on a War in *Flanders*, it had so distracted the Emperors Forces, and encouraged the Pope, that he had sooner granted that, which in a more fruitless way was sought of him.

Being frighted with the threats of the Imperialists.

In the beginning of the next year, *Cassali* wrote to the Cardinal, that 1529. *Jan.* 3.
the Pope was much inclined to unite himself with the Emperor, and proposed to go in Person to *Spain*, to solicite a general Peace; but intended to go privately, and desired the Cardinal would go with him thither, as his Friend and Counsellor, and that they two should go as Legates. But *Cassali*, by *Salviati's* means, who was in great favour with the Pope, understood that the Pope was never in greater fear of the Emperor than at that time; for his Ambassador had threatned the Pope severely, if he would not recal the Commission that he had sent to *England*; so that the Pope spoke oft to *Salviati* of the *great Repentance that he had inwardly in his heart, for granting the Decretal*: and said, *He was undone for ever, if it came to the Emperors knowledge*. He also resolved, that though the Legates gave Sentence in *England*, it should never take effect, for he would not confirm it: Of which *Gregory Cassali* gave Advertisement by an express Messenger, who as he passed through *Paris*, met Secretary *Knight* and Doctor *Bennet*, whom the King had dispatched to *Rome*, to assist his other Ambassadors there, and gave them an account of his message: and that it was the Advice of the Kings Friends at *Rome*, That he and his Confederates should follow the War more vigorously, and press the Emperor harder, without which all their applications to the Pope would signifie nothing. Of this they gave the Cardinal an account, and went on but faintly in their Journey, judging that upon these Advertisements they would be recalled, and other Counsels taken.

Repents his granting the Decretal.

Kings Letter to the Cardinal, *Jan.* 8th.

At the same time the Pope was with his usual Arts cajoling the Kings *Jan.* 5.
Agents in *Italy*: For when Sir *Francis Brian* and *Peter Vannes* came to *Bononia*, the Proto-Notary *Cassali* was surprized, to hear that the business was not already ended in *England*: since (he said) he knew there were

1529. sufficient Powers sent about it, and that the Pope assured him he would confirm their Sentence; but that he made a great difference between the confirming their judgment, by which he had the Legates between him and the *Envy* or *Odium* of it, and the granting a Bull, by which the Judgment should arise immediately from himself. This his best Friends dissuaded, and he seemed apprehensive, that in case he should do it, a Council would be called, and he should be deposed for it. And any such distraction in the Papacy, considering the footing which Heresie had already gotten, would ruin the Ecclesiastical State, and the Church: So dextrously did the Pope govern himself between such contrary tides. But all this Dissimulation was short of what he acted by *Campana* in *England*, whose true errand thither was to order *Campegio* to destroy the Bull; but he did so perswade the King and the Cardinal of the Popes sincerity, that by a dispatch to Sir *Francis Brian*, and *Peter Vannes*, and Sir *Gregory Cassali*, he chid the two former for not making more haste to *Rome*; for he believed it might have been a great advantage to the Kings Affairs, if they had got thither before the *General of the Observants* (then Cardinal *Angell*.) He ordered them to setle the business of the Guard about the Pope presently, and tells them that the Secretary was recalled, and *Dr. Stephens* again sent to *Rome*: And in a Letter to Secretary *Knight*, who went no further than *Lions*, he writ to him; "That *Campana* "had assured the King and him, in the Popes name, that the Pope was "ready to do, not only all that of Law, Equity, or Justice, could be de-"sired of him, but whatever of the *fulness of his Power* he could do or "devise, for giving the King content: And that although there were "three things, which the Pope had great reason to take care of; The "calling a General Council, The Emperors descent into *Italy*, and the "Restitution of his Towns, which were offered to be put in his hands "by the Emperors means; yet neither these, nor any other considerati-"on, should divert him from doing all that lay within his Authority, or "Power, for the King: And that he had so deep a sense of the Kings "merits, and the obligations that he had laid on him, that if his resig-"nation of the Popedom might do him any Service, he would readily "consent to it: And therefore in the Popes name he encouraged the Le-"gates to proceed and end the business.

Jan. 15.

But feeds the King with high promises.

Upon these assurances the Cardinal ordered the Secretary to haste forward to *Rome*, and to thank the Pope for that kind message, to setle the Guard about him, and to tell him, that for a Council, none could be called but by himself, with the consent of the Kings of *England* and *France*. And for any pretended Council or meeting of Bishops, which the Emperor by the Cardinals of his Party might call, he needed not fear that. For his Towns, they should be most certainly restored. Nor was the Emperors offering to put them in his hand to be much regarded; for though he restored them, if the Pope had not a better Guaranty for them, it would be easie for him, to take them from him when he pleased. He was also to propose a firmer League between the Pope, *England*, and *France*, in order to which, he was to move the Pope most earnestly to go to *Nice*; and if the Pope proposed the Kings taking a second Wife, with a Legitimation of the Issue, which she might have, so the Queen might be induced to enter into a state of Religion, to which the Pope inclined most, he was not to accept of that; both because the thing would

take up much time, and they found the Queen resolved to do nothing, but as she was advised by her Nephews. Yet if the Pope offered a *Decretal* about it, he might take it, to be made use of as the Occasion might require. But by a Postscript he is recalled, and it is signified to him, that *Gardiner* was sent to Rome, to negotiate these affairs, who had returned to *England* with the Legate, and his being so successful in his former Message, made them think him the fittest Minister they could imploy in that Court; and to send him with the greater Advantage, he was made a Privy Councellour. 1529.

But an unlooked-for Accident put a stop to all Proceedings in the Court of *Rome*. For on *Epiphany*-day the Pope was taken extreme ill at Mass, and a great sickness followed, of which it was generally believed he could not recover; and though his distemper did soon abate so much, that it was thought to be over, yet it returned again upon him, insomuch that the Physicians did suspect he was poisoned. Then followed all the secret Caballings and Intrigues, which are ordinary in that Court upon such an occasion. The *Collonna's* and the other Imperialists were very busie, but the Cardinal of *Mantua* opposed them; and *Farnese* who was then at his house in the Countrey, came to *Rome* and joyned with *Mantua*; and these of that Faction, resolved that if the *Spanish* Army marched from *Naples* toward them, they would dispence with that Bull, which provides that the Succeeding Pope should be chosen in the same place where the former died, and would retire to some safe place. Some of the Cardinals spoke highly in favour of Cardinal *Wolsey*, whom (if the Ambassadors did not flatter and lie grosly in their Letters, from which I draw these Informations) they reverenced *as a Deity*. And the Cardinal of *Mantua*, it seems, proposing him as a Pattern, would needs have a Particular account of his whole Course of Life, and expressed great esteem for him. When *Gardiner* was come as far as *Lions* he wrote the Cardinal word, that there went a Prophecy that an Angel should be the next Pope, but should die soon after. He also gave Advice that if the Pope died, the Commission for the Legates must needs expire with him, unless they made some Step in their Business, by a Citation of Parties, which would keep it alive; but whether this was done or not I cannot find. The Cardinals Ambition was now fermenting strongly, and he resolved to lay his Project for the Popedom better than he had done before. His Letter about it to *Gardiner*, and the Kings Instructions to his Ambassadors, are Printed by *Fox*, and the Originals from which they are taken are yet extant. He wrote also another Letter to the Ambassadors, which the Reader will find in the Collection. But because the Instructions show what were the methods in choosing Popes in those days, by which it may be easily gathered, how such an Election must needs recommend a man to Infallibility, Supremacy, and all the other Appendages of *Christs Vicar on Earth*, I shall give a short Summary of them.

The Pope sickens.

Jan. 27.

Cardinal *Wolsey's* intrigues for the Papacy.

Feb. 6th.

Collect. *Numb.* 20.

"By his Letter to his Confident *Gardiner*, he commits the thing "chiefly to his care, and orders him to employ all his parts, to bring "it to the desired issue; sparing neither Presents, nor Promises; and that "as he saw mens Inclinations or affections led them, whether to pub-"lick or private Concerns, so he should govern himself towards them "accordingly.

1529. "accordingly. *The Instructions bear*, that the King thought the Cardinal the fittest person to succeed to the Papacy; (they being advertised that the Pope was dead;) that the *French* King did also of his own Motion offer his Assistance to him in it, and that both for publick and private ends, the Cardinal was the fittest. Therefore the Ambassadors are required with all possible earnestness and vigour, to promote his Election. A Schedule of the Cardinals names is sent them with marks to every one, whether he was like to be present or absent, favourable, indifferent, or opposite to them. It was reckoned there could be but 39 present, of which 26 were necessary to choose the Pope. Of these the two Kings thought themselves sure of 20. So 6 was all the number that the Ambassadors were to gain, and to that number, they were first to offer them good reasons, to convince them of the Cardinals fitness for the Papacy. But because humane frailty was such, that reason did not always take place, they were to promise Promotions, and Sums of Money, with other good Rewards, which the King gave them Commission to offer, and would certainly make them good: besides all the great Preferments which the Cardinal had, that should be shared among those who did procure his Election. The Cardinals of their Party were first to enter into a firm bond, to exclude all others. They were also to have some Creatures of theirs to go into the Conclave, to manage the Business. Sir *Gregory Cassali*, was thought fittest for that Service. And if they saw the adverse party too strong in the Conclave, so that they could carry nothing, then *Gardiner* was to draw a Protestation, which should be made in name of the two Crowns; and that being made, all the Cardinals of their Faction were to leave the Conclave. And if the fear of the Emperors Forces overawed them, the Ambassadors were to offer a Guard of 2 or 3000. men to secure the Cardinals: and the *French* King Ordered his Armies to move, if the *Spanish* Troops did move either from *Naples*, or *Millan*. They were also to assure them, that the Cardinal would presently upon his Election come and live at *Rome*, and were to use all endeavours to gain the Cardinal *de Medici* to their Faction; but at the same time to assure the *Florentines*, that *Wolsey* would assist them to exclude the *Medici* out of the Government of their Town and State. They were also to have a strict eye upon the motions of the *French* Faction, lest if the Cardinal were excluded, they should consent to any other, and refuse to make the Protestation as it was desired. But to oblige *Campegio* the more, it was added, that if they found all hopes of raising the Cardinal of *York* to vanish, then they should try if *Campegio* could be Elected; and in that case the Cardinals of their Faction were to make no Protestation.

The Kings Instructions for the Election.

Numb.

These were the Apostolical Methods, then used for choosing a Successour to St. *Peter*; for though a Successour had been chosen to *Judas* by lot, yet more Caution was to be used in choosing one for the Prince of the Apostles. But when the Cardinal heard that the Pope was not dead, and that there was hope of his recovery, he wrote another long Letter to the Ambassadors (the Original of which is yet extant) "to keep all their Instructions about a new Pope very secret, to be gaining as many Cardinals as they could, and to take care that the Car-

"dinals

"dinals should not go into the Conclave, unless they were free, and "safe from any fears of the Imperial Forces. But if the Pope recovered, they were to press him to give such orders about the Kings "Business, that it might be speedily ended: and then the Cardinal "would come and wait on the Pope over to *Spain*, as he had proposed. And for the Apprehensions the Pope had of the Emperors being highly offended with him, if he granted the Kings desire, or of "his coming into *Italy*, he needed not fear him. They knew whatever the Emperor pretended about his obligation to protect his Aunt, "it was only for reason of State: but if he were satisfied in other "things, that would be soon passed over. They knew also that his "design of going into *Italy* was laid aside for that year; because he "apprehended that *France* and *England* would make War on him in "other places. There were also many Precedents found, of Dispensations granted by Popes in like cases: And lately there had been "one granted by Pope *Alexander* the 6th, to the King of *Hungary*, against the Opinion of his Cardinals, which had never been questioned: and yet he could not pretend to such Merits as the King had. And all that had ever been said in the Kings Cause, was Sum'd up in a short Breviate by *Cassali*, and offered to the Pope; a Copy whereof taken from an Original under his own hand, the Reader will find in the Collection.

1529. Feb. 20. New propositions about the Divorce.

Collect. Numb. 21.

The King ordered his Ambassadors to make as many Cardinals sure for his cause, as they could, who might bring the Pope to consent to it, if he were still averse. But the Pope was at this time possessed with a new jealousie, of which the *French* King was not free, as if the King had been tampering with the Emperor, and had made him great offers, so he would consent to the Divorce; about which *Francis* wrote an anxious Letter to *Rome*, the Original of which I have seen. The Pope was also surprized at it, and questioned the Ambassadors about it; but they denyed it, and said the union between *England* and *France* was inseparable, and that these were only the Practices of the Emperors Agents to create distrust. The Pope seemed satisfied with what they said, "and added that in the present conjuncture a firm union "between them was necessary. Of all this Sir *Francis Brian* wrote a long account in cipher.

But the Popes relapse put a new stop to business, of which the Cardinal being informed, as he ordered the Kings Agents to continue their care about his Promotion, so he charged them to see if it were "possible to get Access to the Pope, and though he were in the very "Agony of Death, to propose two things to him: the one, that he "would presently command all the Princes of Christendom to agree "to a Cessation of Arms, under pain of the Censures of the Church, "as Pope *Leo* and other Popes had done; and if he should die, he "could not do a thing that would be more meritorious, and for the "good of his Soul, than to make that the last Act of his Life. The "other thing was concerning the Kings business, which he presseth as "a thing necessary to be done, for the clearing and ease of the Popes "Conscience, towards God: And withal he orders them to gain as "many about the Pope, and as many Cardinals and Officers in the "*Rota* as they could, to promote the Kings desires, whether in the

The Popes relapse. April. 6.

another Dispatch to Rome. Collect. Numb. 2. 2.

"Popes

1528. "Popes sickness or health. The Bishop of *Verona* had a great Interest "with the Pope, so by that, and another Dispatch of the same Date, "(sent another way) they were ordered to gain him, promising him "great Rewards, pressing him to remain still about the Popes person: "to ballance the ill Offices which Cardinal *Angell*, and the Arch-Bi-"shop of *Capua* did, who never stirred from the Pope: And to assure "that Bishop, that the King laid this Matter more to heart, than any "thing that ever befel him; and that it would trouble him as much "to be overcome in this Matter by these two Friers, as to loose both "his Crowns: and for my part (*writes the Cardinal*) I would expose "any thing to my life, yea life it self, rather than see the Inconveni-"encies that may ensue upon disappointing of the Kings desire. For promoting the Business, the *French* King sent the Bishop of *Bayon*, to assist the *English* Ambassadors in his name, who was first sent over to *England*, to be well Instructed there. They were either to procure a Decretal for the Kings Divorce, or a new Commission to the two Legates, with ampler Clauses in it, than the former had; to judge as "if the Pope were in person, and to emit compulsorie Letters against "any, whether Emperor, King, or of what degree soever, to produce "all manner of Evidences or Records, which might tend towards the "clearing the Matter, and to bring them before them. This was sought because the Emperor would not send over the pretended Original *Breve*, to *England*, and gave only an Attested Copy of it to the Kings Ambassadors: least therefore from that *Breve*, a new Suit might be afterwards raised, for Annulling any Sentence which the Legates should give, they thought it needful to have the Original brought before them. In the penning of that new Commission, Dr. *Gardiner* was ordered to have special care that it should be done, by the best advice he could get in *Rome*. It appears also from this Dispatch, that the Popes *Pollicitation* to Confirm the Sentence which the Legates should give, was then in *Gardiner's* hands, for he was ordered to take care that there might be no disagreement between the date of it, and of the new Commission. And when that was obtained, Sr. *Francis Brian* was commanded to bring them with him to *England*. Or if neither a Decretal, nor a new Commission could be obtained, then if any other expedient were proposed, that upon good advice should be found sufficient and effectual, they were to accept of it, and send it away with all possible diligence. And the Cardinal conjured them " by " the Reverence of Almighty God, to bring them out of their Perplexity, "that this Virtuous Prince may have this thing sped, which would be "the most joyous thing that could befal his heart upon Earth. But "if all things should be denyed, then they were to make their Prote-"stations, not only to the Pope, but to the Cardinals, of the Injustice "that was done the King, and in the Cardinals name to let them know "that not only the King and his Realm would be lost, but also the "*French* King and his Realm, with their other Confederates, would al-"so withdraw their Obedience from the See of *Rome*, which was more "to be regarded, than either the Emperors Displeasure, or the Recove-"ry of two Cities. They were also to try what might be done in Law by the Cardinals in a Vacancy, and they were to take good Counsel upon some Chapters of the Canon-Law, which related to that: and

Govern

Govern themſelves accordingly, either to hinder an Avocation, or Inhibition, or if it could be done to obtain ſuch things as they could grant, towards the Concluſion of the Kings Buſineſs. At this time alſo the Cardinals Bulls for the Biſhoprick of *Winchester* were expedited: they were rated high at 15000 Ducats, for though the Cardinal pleaded his great Merits, to bring the compoſition lower, yet the Cardinals at *Rome*, ſaid the Apoſtolick Chamber was very poor, and other Bulls were then coming from *France*, to which the favour they ſhould ſhow the Cardinal would be a Precedent. But the Cardinal ſent word that he would not give paſt 5, or 6000 Ducats, becauſe he was exchanging *Winchester* for *Dureſm*, and by the other they were to get a great Compoſition. And if they held his Bulls ſo high, he would not have them; for he needed them not, ſince he enjoyed already by the Kings Grant the Temporalities of *Winchester*; which it is very likely was all that he conſidered in a Biſhoprick. They were at laſt expedited, at what Rates I cannot tell; but this I ſet down to ſhow, how ſevere the Exactions of the Court of *Rome* were.

1529.

The Cardinals Bulls for the Biſhoprick of *Winchester*.

As the Pope recovered his health, ſo he inclined more to joyn himſelf to the Emperor than ever, and was more alienated than formerly from the King and the Cardinal; which perhaps was increaſed by the diſtaſte he took at the Cardinals aſpiring to the Popedom. The firſt thing that the Emperor did in the Kings Cauſe, was to proteſt in the Queen of *Englands* name, that ſhe refuſed to ſubmit to the Legates. The one was the Kings chief Miniſter and her mortal enemy: The other was alſo juſtly ſuſpected, ſince he had a Biſhoprick in *England*. The Kings Ambaſſador preſſed the Pope much, not to admit the Proteſtation; but it was pretended that it could not be denyed, either in Law or Juſtice. But that this might not offend the King, *Salviati* that was the Popes Favourite, wrote to *Campegio*, that the Proteſtation could not be hindred, but that the Pope did ſtill moſt earneſtly deſire to ſatisfie the King, and that the Ambaſſadors were much miſtaken, who were ſo diſtruſtful of the Popes good mind to the Kings Cauſe. But now good words could deceive the King no longer, who clearly diſcovered the Popes mind, and being out of all hopes of any thing more from *Rome*, reſolved to proceed in *England* before the Legates: and therefore *Gardiner* was recalled, who was thought the fitteſt perſon, to manage the Proceſs in *England*, being eſteemed the greateſt Canoniſt they had; and was ſo valued by the King, that he would not begin the Proceſs till he came. Sr. *Francis Brian* was alſo recalled, and when they took leave of the Pope, they were ordered to Expoſtulate in the Kings name: „Upon the Partiality he expreſſed for "the Emperor, notwithſtanding the many aſſurances, that both the "Legates had given the King, that the Pope would do all he could to- "ward his Satisfaction; which was now ſo ill performed that he ex- "pected no more juſtice from him. They were alſo to ſay, as much "as they could deviſe in the Cardinals name, to the ſame purpoſe, up- "on which they were to try, if it were poſſible to obtain any Enlarge- "ment of the Commiſſion with fuller Power to the Legates; for they ſaw it was in vain to move for any new Bulls, or Orders from the Pope about it. And though *Gardiner* had obtained a Pollicitation from the Pope, by which he both bound himſelf not to recal the cauſe from the Legates,

The Pope inclines to joyn with the Emperor.

Who proteſts againſt the Legates Commiſſion. *May* 15.

Collect. *Numb.* 23.

The Pope promiſed not to recal, but not confirm it.

1529. gates, and also to confirm their Sentence, and had sent it over; they found it was so conceived, that the Pope could go back from it when he pleased. So there was a new Draught of a Pollicitation formed with more binding Clauses in it, which *Gardiner* was to try if he could obtain by the following Pretence. "He was to tell the Pope, "that the Courier to whom he trusted it, had been so little careful "of it, that it was all wet and defaced, and of no more use; so "that he durst not deliver it. And this might turn much to *Gardiners* "prejudice, that a matter of such Concern was through his neglect "spoiled: upon which he was to see if the Pope would renew it. "If that could be obtained, he was to use all his Industry to get as "many pregnant and material words added, as might make it more "binding. He was also to assure the Pope, that though the Empe-"ror was gone to *Barcellona*, to give reputation to his affairs in *Italy*; "yet he had neither Army, nor Fleet ready, so that they needed not "fear him. And he was to inform the Pope of the Arts he was u-"sing both in the *English* and *French* Court to make a separated Trea-"ty: But that all was to no prrpose, the two Kings being so firmly "linked together. But the Pope was so great a Master in all the Arts of Dissimulation, and Policy, that he was not to be overreached easily; and when he understood that his Pollicitation was defaced, he was in his heart glad at it, and could not be prevailed with, to renew it. So they returned to *England*, and Dr. *Bennet* came in their place.

The Legates write to the Pope.

He carryed with him one of the fullest and most important Dispatches that I find in this whole matter, from the two Legates to the Pope, and the Consistory, who wrote to them, "that they had in vain en-

Collect. *Numb.* 24.

"deavoured to perswade either party to yield to the other; That the "*Breve* being shewed to them by the Queen, they found great and e-"vident Presumptions of it's being a meer forgery; and that they "thought it was too much for them to sit and try the Validity, or "Authenticalness of the Popes Bulls, or Breves, or to hear his Pow-"er of Dispencing in such cases disputed: therefore it was more ex-"pedient to Avocate the cause, to which the King would consent, if "the Pope obliged himself under his hand, to pass Sentence speedily "in his favour; but they rather advised the Granting a Decretal Bull "which would put an end to the whole matter, in order to which "the Bearer was Instructed to show very good Precedents. But in "the mean while, they advised the Pope to press the Queen most ef-"fectually, to enter into a Religious life, as that which would com-"pose all these differences in the softest and easiest way. It pitied them "to see the rack and torments of Conscience, under which the King "had smarted so many years: and that the Disputes of Divines, and "the Decrees of Fathers, had so disquieted him, that for clearing a "matter thus perplexed, there was not only need of Learning, but of "a more singular Piety and Illumination. To this were to be added "the desire of Issue, the Settlement of the Kingdom, with many other "pressing reasons: that as the matter did admit of no further delays, "so there was not any thing in the opposite scale to ballance these "Considerations. There were false Suggestions surmised abroad, as "if the hatred of the Queen, or the desire of another wife (who was "not perhaps yet known, much less designed) were the true causes of "this

"this Suit. But though the Queen was of a rough Temper, and an 1529.
"unpleasant Conversation, and was passed all hopes of Children; yet
"who could imagine that the King who had spent his most youthful
"days with her, so kindly, would now in the decline of his Age, be
"at all this trouble to be rid of her, if he had no other Motives?
"But they by searching his sore, found there was rooted in his heart,
"both an awe of God, and a respect to Law and Order; so that though
"all his people pressed him to drive the Matter to an issue, yet he
"would still wait for the decision of the Apostolick See. Therefore
"they most pressingly desire the Pope to grant the Cure which his di-
"stemper required, and to consider that it was not fit to insist too
"much on the Rigour of the Law; but since the Soul and Life of all
"the Laws of the Church was in the Popes breast; in doubtful cases,
"where there was great hazard, he ought to mollifie the severity of
"the Laws, which if it were not done, other Remedies would be found
"out, to the vast prejudice of the Ecclesiastical Authority, to which
"many about the King advised him: There was reason to fear they
"should not only lose a King of *England*, but a *Defender of the Faith.*
"The Nobility and Gentry were already enraged at the delay of a Mat-
"ter, in which all their Lives and Interests were so nearly concerned:
"and said many things against the Popes Proceedings, which they
"could not relate without horror. And they plainly complained, that
"whereas Popes had made no scruple to make and change divine Laws,
"at their pleasure; yet one Pope sticks so much at the Repealing what
"his Prodecessor did, as if that were more sacred, and not to be med-
"led with. The King betook himself to no ill Arts, neither to the
"charms of Magitians, nor the Forgeries of Impostours, therefore they
"expected such an Answer as should put an end to the whole mat-
"ter.

But all these things were to no purpose: the Pope had taken his measures, ard was not to be moved by all the reasons, or Remonstrances, the Ambassador could lay before him. The King had absolutely gained *Campegio* to do all he could for him without losing the Popes favour. He led at this time a very dissolute life in *England*, hunting and gaming all the day long, and following whores all the night: and brought a Bastard of his own over to *England* with him, whom the King Knighted, so that if the King sought his pleasure, it was no strange thing: since he had such a Copy set him by two Legates, who representing his Holiness so lively in their manners, it was no unusual thing, if a King had a slight sense of such disorders. The King wrote to his Ambassadors, that he was satisfied of *Campegio's* love and affection to him, and if ever he was gained by the Emperors Agents, he had said something to him which did totally change that Inclination.

Campegio's ill life. Pelerin In glese.

April 6.

The Imperialists being Alarm'd at the recalling of some of the *English* Ambassadors, and being Informed by the Queens means, that they were forming the Process in *England*, put in a Memorial for an Avocation of the cause to *Rome*. The Ambassadors answered, that there was no Colour for asking it, since there was nothing yet done by the Legates. For they had strict orders to deny that there was any Process forming in *England*, even to the Pope himself in private, unless he had a mind it should go on; but were to use all their En-

The Emperor presses for an Avocation.

1529. deavours to hinder an Avocation; and plainly in the Kings name, to tell the Pope, that if he granted that, the King would look on it as a Formal decision against him. And it would also be an high affront to the two Cardinals: and they were thereupon to Protest, that the King would not obey, nor consider the Pope any more, if he did an Act of such high Injustice; as after he had granted a Commission, upon no complaint of any Illegality, or Injust Proceedings of the Legates, but only upon surmises and suspitions, to take it out of their hands. But the Pope had not yet brought the Emperor to his Terms in other things, therefore to draw him on the faster, he continued to give the *English* Ambassador good words; and in discourse with *Peter Vannes*, did insinuate as if he had found a means to bring the whole matter to a good Conclusion, and spoke it with an Artificial smile, adding, *In the name of the Father*, &c. But would not speak it out, and seemed to keep it up as a secret, not yet ripe. But all this did afterwards appear to be the deepest Dissimulation that ever was practised. And in the whole Process, though the Cardinal studied to make tricks pass upon him, yet he was always too hard for them all at it; and seemed as Infallible in his Arts of Jugling, as he pretended to be in his Decisions. He wrote a Cajoling Letter to the Cardinal, but words went for nothing.

Which the Kings Ambassadors oppose much.

The Popes deep dissimulation.

Collect. *Numb.* 25th.

Collect. *Numb.* 26th.

The Pope complains of the *Florentines*

June 5.

June 13.

Soon after this, the Pope complained much to Sr. *Gregory Cassali*, of the ill usage he received from the *French* Ambassador, and that their Confederates, the *Florentines*, and the Duke of *Ferrara* used him so ill, that they would force him to throw himself into the Emperors hands: and he seemed inclined to grant an Avocation of the cause, and complained that there was a Treaty of peace going on at *Cambray*, in which he had no share. But the Ambassador undertook that nothing should be done to give him just offence; yet the *Florentines* continued to put great affronts on him, and his Family: and the Abbot of *Farfa* their General, made excursions to the gates of *Rome*; so that the "Pope with great signs of fear said that the *Florentines* would some "day seize on him, and carry him with his hands bound behind his "back in Procession to *Florence*: and that all this while the Kings of "*England* and *France* did only entertain him with good words, and "did not so much as restrain the Insolencies of their Confederates. "And whereas they used to say, that if he joyned himself to the Em-"peror, he would treat him as his Chaplain, he said with great Com-"motion, that he would not only choose rather to be his Chaplain, "but his horse-Groom, than suffer such injuries from his own Rebel-"lious Vassals and Subjects. This was perhaps set on by the Cardinals Arts, to let the Pope feel the weight of offending the King, and to oblige him to use him better: but it wrought a contrary effect, for the Treaty between the Emperor and him, was the more advanced by it. And the Pope reckoned that the Emperor being (as he was informed) ashamed and grieved for the taking and Sacking of *Rome*, would study to repair that by better usage for the future.

Great Contests about the Avocation.

June 23. Collect. *Numb.* 27.

The Motion for the Avocation was still driven on, and pressed the more earnestly, because they heard the Legates were proceeding in the cause. But the Ambassadors were instructed by a Dispatch from the King, to obviate that carefully; for as it would reflect on the Legates, and

and defeat the Commission, and be a gross violation of the Popes Promise, which they had in writing; so it was more for the Popes Interest, to leave it in the Legates hands, than to bring it before himself; for then, whatever Sentence passed, the ill effects of it would ly on the Pope without any Interposition. And as the King had very just exceptions to *Rome*, where the Emperors forces lay so near, that no safety could be expected there; so they were to tell the Pope that by the Laws of *England, the Prerogative of the Crown Royal was such*, that the Pope could do nothing that was prejudicial to it: To which the citing the King to *Rome*, to have his cause decided there, was contrary in a high degree. And if the Pope went on, notwithstanding all the diligence they could use to the contrary, they were by an other Dispatch which *Gardiner* sent, ordered to *Protest* and *Appeal* from the Pope as *not the true Vicar of Christ, to a true Vicar*. But the King upon second thoughts, judged it not fit to proceed to this Extremity so soon. They were also ordered to advertise the Pope, that all the Nobility had assured the King, they would adhere to him, in case he were so ill used by the Pope, that he were constrained to withdraw his obedience from the Apostolick See; and that the Cardinals ruine was unavoidable, if the Pope granted the Avocation. The Emperors Agents had pretended they could not send the original *Breve* into *England*, and said their Master would send it to *Rome*, upon which the Ambassadors had solicited for Letters Compulsory, to require him to send it to *England*; yet lest that might now be made an Argument by the *Imperialists* for an Avocation, they were ordered to speak no more of it, for the Legates would proceed to Sentence, upon the attested Copy that was sent from *Spain*. 1529.

The Ambassadors had also orders to take the best Counsel in *Rome*, about the Legal ways of hindring an Avocation. But they found it was not fit to rely much on the Lawyers in that matter. For as on the one hand, there was no secrecy to be expected from any of them, they having such expectations of preferments from the Pope, (which were beyond all the Fees that could be given them,) that they discovered all secrets to him: So none of them would be earnest to hinder an Avocation, it being their Interest to bring all Matters to *Rome*, by which they might hope for much greater Fees. And *Salviati* whom the Ambassadors had gained, told them, that *Campana* brought word out of *England*, that the Process was then in a good forwardness. They with many Oaths denyed there was any such thing, and *Silvester Darius* who was sent express to *Rome*, for opposing the Avocation, confirmed all that they swore. But nothing was believed, for by a secret conveyance, *Campana* had Letters to the contrary. And when they objected to *Salviati*, what was promised by *Campana*, in the Popes name, that he would do every thing for the King, *that he could do out of the fulness of his Power*; He answered, that *Campana* swore he had "never said any such thing. So hard is the case of Ministers in such "ticklish negotiations, that they must say, and unsay, swear, and forswear, as they are Instructed, which goes of Course, as a part of "their Business. *June 28.*

But now the Legates were proceeding in *England*: Of the steps in which they went, though a great deal be already published, yet considerable *The Legates sit in England*

1529. siderable things are passed over. On the 31th of *May*, the King by a Warrant under the Great Seal, gave the Legates leave to execute their Commission, upon which they Sate that same day. The Commission was presented by *Longland*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, which was given to the Proto-Notary of the Court, and he read it publickly; then the Legates took it in their hands, and said, They were resolved to Execute it: And first gave the usual Oaths to the Clerks of the Court, and ordered a peremtory Citation of the King and Queen to appear on the 18th of *June*, between 9 and 10 a Clock; and so the Court Adjourned. The next Session was on the 18th of *June*, where the Citations being returned duely Executed; *Richard Simpson*, Dean of the Chappel, and Mr. *John Bell*, appeared as the Kings Proxies. But the Queen appeared in Person, and did protest against the Legates as incompetent Judges, alledging that the cause was already Avocated by the Pope, and desired a competent time in which she might prove it. The Legates assigned her the 21th, and so Adjourned the Court till then.

Orig. Journ Cott. Libr. Vitel. B. 12.

A severe charge against the Queen.

About this time there was a severe Complaint exhibited against the Queen in Council, of which there is an account given in a paper, that has somewhat written at the conclusion of it, with the Cardinals own hand. "The substance of it is, That they were informed some designed "to kill the King, or the Cardinal; in which, if she had any hand, she "must not expect to be spared. That she had not shewed such love to "the King, neither in Bed, nor out of Bed, as she ought. And now that "the King was very pensive, and in much grief, she showed great signs "of joy, setting on all people to Dancings, and other Diversions. This "it seemed she did out of spite to the King, since it was contrary to her "temper and ordinary behaviour. And whereas she ought rather to pray "to God to bring this matter to a good conclusion, she seemed not at all "serious; and that she might corrupt the peoples affections to the King, "she showed her self much abroad, and by civilities, and gracious bow- "ing her head, which had not been her custom formerly, did study to "work upon the people: And that having the pretended *Breve* in her "hands, she would not show it sooner. From all which the King con- "cluded that she hated him, Therefore his Council did not think it ad- "visable for him to be any more conversant with her, either in Bed or "at Board. They also in their Consciences thought his life was in such "danger, that he ought to withdraw himself from her company, and not "suffer the Princess to be with her. These things were to be told her, "to induce her to enter into a Religious Order, and to perswade her to "submit to the King. To which paper, the Cardinal added in Latine, *That she played the fool, if she contended with the King, that her Children had not been blessed, and somewhat of the evident suspitions that were of the Forgery of the Breve.* But she had a constant mind, and was not to be threatned to any thing. On the 21th of *June*, the Court Sate, The King and Queen were present in Person. *Campegio* made a long Speech of the errand they were come about: * "That it was a new, unheard-of, vile, "and intolerable thing, for the King and Queen to live in Adultery, or "rather Incest; which they must now try, and proceed as they saw just "cause. And both the Legates made deep protestations of the sincerity of their minds, and that they would proceed justly and fairly without any favour or partiality.

Quod stulte facit, si contendit cum Rege, quod male illi successit in foetibus: de Brevi ac suspicione falsitatis.

The King and Queen appear in Court.

* *Fidelis servi infideli subdito Responsio.*

As for the formal Speeches which the King and Queen made, *Hall*, who never failed in trifles, sets them down, which I incline to believe they really spoke; for with the Journals of the Court, I find those Speeches written down, though not as a part of the Journal. 1529.

But here the Lord *Herbert's* usual diligence fails him; for he fancies the Queen never appeared after the 18th. upon which, because the Journal of the next Sessions are lost, he infers against all the Histories of that time, That the King and the Queen were not in Court together. And he seems to conclude that the 25th of *June*, was the next Session after the 18th, but in that he was mistaken: For by an original Letter of the Kings to his Ambassadors, it is plain that both the King and Queen came in Person into the Court; where they both sate, with their Council standing about them: The Bishops of *Rochester*, and St. *Asaph*, and Doctor *Ridley* being the Queens Council. When the King and Queen were called on, the King answered, *Here*; but the Queen left her seat and went and kneeled down before him, and made a Speech, that had all the Insinuations in it to raise pity and compassion in the Court. She said, "She "was a poor woman, and a stranger in his Dominions, where she could "neither expect good Council, nor indifferent Judges; she had been "long his Wife, and desired to know wherein she had offended him: "she had been his Wife twenty years and more, and had born him several Children, and had ever studied to please him; and protested he "had found her a true Maid, about which she appealed to his own Conscience. If she had done any thing amiss, she was willing to be put away with shame. Their Parents were esteemed very wise Princes, "and no doubt had good Counsellors, and Learned men about them, "when the Match was agreed: Therefore she would not submit to the "Court, nor durst her Lawyers, who were his Subjects, and assigned "by him, speak freely for her. So she desired to be excused till she "heard from *Spain*. That said, she rose up, and made the King a low Reverence, and went out of the Court. And though they called after her, she made no answer, but went away and would never again appear in Court.

Collect. Numb. 28.

The Queen's Speech.

She being gone, the King did publickly Declare, what a true and obedient Wife she had always been, and commended her much for her excellent Qualities. Then the Cardinal of *York* desired the King would witness, whether he had been the first or chief mover of that matter to him, since he was suspected to have done it. In which the King did vindicate him, and said, That he had always rather opposed it, and protested it arose meerly out of a scruple in his Conscience, which was occasioned by the Discourse of the *French* Ambassador; who during the Treaty of a Match between his Daughter, and the Duke of *Orleance*, did except to her being Legitimate, as begotten in an unlawful Marriage: upon which he resolved to try the lawfulness of it, both for the quiet of his Conscience, and for clearing the Succession of the Crown: And if it were found lawful, he was very well satisfied to live still with the Queen. But upon that, he had first moved it in Confession to the Bishop of *Lincoln*; then he had desired the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* to gather the Opinions of the Bishops, who did all under their Hands and Seals Declare against the Marriage. This the Arch-Bishop confirmed, but the Bishop of *Rochester* denied his Hand was at it. And the Arch-Bishop pretended

The King gives the account of his Scruples.

1529. tended he had his consent to make another write his name to the Judgment of the rest, which he positively denied.

The Court Adjourned to the 25th, ordering Letters Monitory to be Issued out for Citing the Queen to appear under pain of Contumacy. But on the 25th, was brought in her Appeal to the Pope, the Original of which is extant, every page being both Subscribed, and Superscribed by her. She excepted both to the Place, to the Judges, and to her Council, in whom she could not confide; and therefore appealed and desired her Cause might be heard by the Pope, with many things out of the Canon-Law, on which she grounded it. This being read, and she not appearing, was Declared *Contumax*. Then the Legates being to proceed, *ex officio*, drew up Twelve Articles, upon which they were to examine witnesses. The substance of them was, "That Prince *Arthur* and the King "were Brothers; that Prince *Arthur* did Marry the Queen, and Con-"summated the Marriage; that upon his death the King by vertue of a "Dispensation had Married her; that this Marrying his Brothers Wife "was forbidden both by Humane and Divine Law; and that upon the "complaints which the Pope had received, he had sent them now to try "and judge in it. The Kings Council insisted most on Prince *Arthur's* having Consummated the Marriage, and that led them to say many things that seemed indecent; of which the Bishop of *Rochester* complained, and said they were things detestable to be heard: but Cardinal *Wolsey* checkt him, and there passed some sharp words between them.

The Queens Appeal.

Articles drawn by the Legates.

Upon which witnesses are examined.

The Legates proceeded to the Examination of Witnesses, of which I shall say little, the substance of their Depositions, being fully set down with all their names by the Lord *Herbert*. The sum of what was most material in them, was, that many violent presumptions appeared by their Testimonies, that Prince *Arthur* did carnally know the Queen. And it cannot be imagined how greater proofs could be made 27 years after their Marriage. Thus the Court went on several days Examining Witnesses; but as the matter was going on to a conclusion, there came an Avocation from *Rome*. Of which I shall now give an Account

The proceedings at *Rome* about an Avoartion.

All this is drawn from the orginal Letters, *June* 28, and 30. *July* 8, and 9.

The Queen wrote most earnestly to her Nephews to procure an Avocation; protesting she would suffer any thing, and even death it self, rather than depart from her Marriage: that she expected no justice from the Legates, and therefore lookt for their assistance, that her appeal being admitted by the Pope, the Cause might be taken out of the Legates hands. *Campegio* did also give the Pope an account of their Progress, and by all means advised an Avocation; for by this he thought to excuse himself to the King, to oblige the Emperor much, and to have the reputation of a man of Conscience.

The Emperor, and his Brother *Ferdinand*, sent their Ambassadors at *Rome* orders, to give the Pope no rest till it were procured; and the Emperor said, He would look on a Sentence against his Aunt, as a dishonour to his Family, and would lose all his Kingdoms sooner than endure it. And they plied the Pope so warmly, that between them and the *English* Ambassadors, he had for some days very little rest. To the one he was kind, and to the other he resolved to be civil. The *English* Ambassadors met oft with *Salviati*, and studied to perswade him, that the Process went not on in *England*; but he told them their Intelligence was so good, that whatever they said on that head would not be believed.

They

They next suggested, that it was visible *Campegio's* advising an Avocation was only done to preserve himself from the envy of the Sentence, and to throw it wholly on the Pope: for were the matter once called to *Rome*, the Pope must give Sentence one way or another, and so bear the whole burden of it. There were also secret surmises of Deposing the Pope, if he went so far; for seeing that the Emperor prevailed so much by the terrors of that, the Cardinal resolved to try what operation such threatnings in the Kings name might have. But they had no Armies near the Pope, so that big words did only provoke and alienate him the more. 1529.

The matter was such, that by the Canon-Law it could not be denied. For to grant an Avocation of a Cause upon good reason, from the Delegated to the Supreme Court, was a thing which by the course of Law was very usual: And it was no less apparent that the Reasons of the Queens appeal were just and good. But the secret and most convincing Motives that wrought more on the Pope than all other things, were, that the Treaty between him and the Emperor was now concerted: Therefore this being to be published very speedily, the Pope thought it necessary to avocate the matter to *Rome*, before the publication of the Peace, lest if he did it after, it should be thought that it had been one of the secret Articles of the Treaty, which would have cast a foul blot upon him. Yet on the other hand he was not a little perplexed with the fears he had of losing the King of *England*; he knew he was a man of an high Spirit, and would resent what he did severely. "And the Cardinal now again order- "ed Dr. *Bennet* in his name, and as with tears in his eyes, lying at the "Popes feet, to assure him, that the King and Kingdom of *England* were "certainly lost, if the Cause were Avocated: Therefore he besought "him to leave it still in their hands, and assured him, that for himself, "he should rather be torn in pieces joynt by joynt, than do any thing in "that matter contrary to his Conscience or to Justice. These things had been oft said, and the Pope did apprehend that ill effects would follow; for if the King fell from his Obedience to the Apostolick See, no doubt all the *Lutheran* Princes, who were already bandying against the Emperor, would joyn themselves with him; and the Interests of *France* would most certainly engage that King also into the Union, which would distract the Church, give encouragement to Heresie, and end in the utter ruin of the Popedom. But in all this the crafty Pope comforted himself, that many times threatnings are not intended to be made good, but are used to terrifie; and that the King who had written for the Faith against *Luther*, and had been so ill used by him, would never do a thing that would sound so ill, as because he could not obtain what he had a mind to, therefore to turn Heretick: he also resolved to caress the *French* King much, and was in hopes of making Peace between the Emperor and him.

The Pope agrees with the Emperor.

Collect. Numb. 29th.

Yet is in great perplexities.

But that which went nearest the Popes heart of all other things, was the setting up of his Family at *Florence*: and the Emperor having given him assurance of that, it weighed down all other considerations. Therefore he resolved he would please the Emperor, but do all he could not to lose the King: So on the 9th of *July* he sent for the Kings Ambassadors, and told them, the Process was now so far set on in *England*, and the Avocation so earnestly pressed, that he could deny it no longer; for all the Lawyers in *Rome* had told him, the thing could not be denied in the com-

1529. mon course of Justice. Upon this the Ambassadors told him what they had in Commission to say against it, both from the King and the Cardinal, and pressed it with great vehemence: So that the Pope by many sighs and tears showed how deep an impression that which they said made upon him; he wished himself dead, that he might be delivered out of that Martyrdom: and added these words, which because of their savouring so much of an Apostolical Spirit, I set down: *Wo is me, no body apprehends all those evils better than I do. But I am so between the Hammer and the Forge, that when I would comply with the Kings desires, the whole storm then must fall on my head; and which is worse, on the Church of Christ.* They did object the many promises he had made them, both by word of mouth, and under his hand. He answered, *He desired to do more for the King than he had promised; but it was impossible to refuse what the Emperor now demanded, whose Forces did so surround him, that he could not only force him to grant him Justice, but could dispose of him and all his Concerns at his pleasure.*

The Ambassadors seeing the Pope was resolved to grant the Avocation, pressed against it no further, but studied to put it off for some time. And therefore proposed that the Pope would himself write about it to the King, and not grant it till he received his answer. Of all this they gave Advertisement to the King, and wrote to him, that he must either drive the matter to a Sentence in great haste, or to prevent the affront of an Avocation, suspend the Process for some time. They also advised the searching all the Packets that went or came by the way of *Flanders*; and to keep up all *Campegio's* Letters, and to take care that no Bull might come to *England*; for they did much apprehend that the Avocation would be granted within very few days. Their next Dispatch bore, that the Pope had sent for them to let them know, that he had Signed the Avocation the day before. But they understood another way, that the Treaty between the Emperor and him was finished, and the Peace was to be proclaimed on the 18th of *July*; and that the Pope did not only fear the Emperor more than all other Princes, but that he also trusted him more now. On the 19th of *July*, the Pope sent a Messenger with the Avocation to *England*, with a Letter to the Cardinal. To the King he wrote afterwards.

July 26.

The Avocation is granted.

Collect. *Numb.* 30th.

All this while *Campegio*, as he had Orders from the Pope to draw out the matter by delays, so did it very dextrously: And in this he pretended a fair excuse, that it would not be for the Kings honour to precipitate the matter too much, lest great advantages might be taken from that by the Queens Party. That therefore it was fit to proceed slowly, that the world might see with what Moderation as well as Justice, the matter was handled. From the 25th of *June*, the Court Adjourned to the 28th, ordering a second Citation, for the Queen under the pains of Contumacy, and of their proceeding to examine Witnesses. And on the 28th they declared the Queen Contumacious the second time; and examined several Witnesses upon the Articles, and Adjourned to the 5th of *July*. on that day the *Bull* and *Breve* were read in Court, and the Kings Council argued long against the validity of the one, and the truth of the other, Upon the grounds that have been already mentioned, in which *Campegio* was much disgusted to hear them argue against the Popes Power, of granting such a Dispensation in a matter that was against a Divine

The proceedings of the Legates.

Precept,

Precept, alledging that his Power did not exend ſo far. This the Legates over-ruled, and ſaid, that that was too high a point for them to judg in, or ſo much as to hear argued; and that the Pope himſelf was the only proper judge in that: "And it was odds but he would judge favour-"ably for himſelf. The Court Adjourned to the 12th, and from that to the 14th. On theſe days the Depoſitions of the reſt of the Witneſſes were taken, and ſome that were ancient Perſons were examined by a Commiſſion from the Legates; and all the Depoſitions were publiſhed on the 17th; other inſtruments relating to the Proceſs, were alſo read and verified in Court. On the 21th the Court ſate to conclude the matter as was expected, and the Inſtrument that the King had Signed when he came of Age, proteſting that he would not ſtand to the Contract made when he was under Age, was then read and verified. Upon which, the Kings Council (of whom *Gardiner* was the chief,) cloſed their Evidence, and ſummed up all that had been brought: and in the Kings name, deſired Sentence might be given. But *Campegio* pretending that it was fit ſome interval ſhould be between that and the Sentence, put it off till the 23th, being *Friday*; and in the whole Proceſs he preſided, both being the ancienter Cardinal, and chiefly to ſhow great equity; ſince exceptions might have been taken, if the other had appeared much in it; ſo that he only ſate by him for form: But all the Orders of the Court were ſtill directed by *Campegio*. On *Friday* there was a great appearance, and a general expectation; but by a ſtrange ſurprize *Campegio* Adjourned the Court to the 1ſt. of *October*, for which he pretended that they ſate there as a part of the Conſiſtory of *Rome*, and therefore muſt follow the Rules of that Court, which from that time till *October* was in a Vacation, and heard no Cauſes: And this he averred to be true on the word of a true Prelate.

1529.

All things are ready for a Sentence.

Campegio Adjourned the Court.

The King was in a Chamber very near where he heard what paſſed, and was inexpreſſibly ſurprized at it. The Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* were in Court, and complained much of this delay; and preſſed the Legates to give Sentence. *Campegio* anſwered, that, what they might then pronounce would be of no force, as being in Vacation-time; but gave great hopes of a favourable Sentence in the beginning of *October*. Upon which the Lords ſpake very high. And the Duke of *Suffolk* with great Commotion, Swore *by the Maſs, that, he ſaw it was true which had been commonly ſaid, That never Cardinal yet did good in England*; and ſo all the Temporal Lords went away in a fury, leaving the Legates, (*Wolſey* eſpecially) in no ſmall perplexity. *Wolſey* knew it would be ſuſpected that he underſtood this before-hand, and that it would be to no purpoſe for him, either to ſay he did not know, or could not help it, all Apologies being ill heard by an enraged Prince. *Campegio* had not much to loſe in *England* but his Biſhoprick of *Salisbury*, and the reward he expected from the King, which he knew the Emperor and the Pope would plentifully make up to him. But his Collegue was in a worſe condition, he had much to fear, becauſe he had much to loſe: For as the King had ſeverely chid him for the delays of the buſineſs, ſo he was now to expect a heavy ſtorm from him; and after ſo long an Adminiſtration of Affairs by ſo inſolent a Favourite, it was not to be doubted, but as many of his Enemies were joyning againſt him, ſo matter muſt needs be found to work his ruin with a Prince that was Alienated from him:

Which gives great offence.

Wolſey's danger.

1529. Therefore he was under all the disorders, which a fear that was heightned by Ambition and Covetousness could produce.

But the King govern'd himself upon this occasion, with more temper than could have been expected from a man of his humour: Therefore as he made no great show of disturbance, so to divert his uneasie thoughts he went his Progress. Soon after, he received his Agents Letter from *Rome*, and made *Gardiner* (who was then Secretary of State) write to the Cardinal, to put *Campegio* to his Oath, whether he had revealed the Kings Secrets to the Pope, or not? And if he Swore he had not done it, to make him Swear he should never do it. A little after that, the Messenger came from *Rome* with a *Breve* to the Legates, requiring them to proceed no further, and with an Avocation of the Cause to *Rome*; together
Aug. 4. with Letters Citatory to the King and Queen to appear there in Person, or by their Proxies. Of which when the King was advertised, *Gardiner* wrote to the Cardinal by his order, That the King would not have the Letters Citatory executed, or the Commission discharged by vertue of them; but that upon the Popes *Breve* to them, they should declare their Commission void: For he would not suffer a thing so much to the prejudice of his Crown, as a Citation be made to appear in another Court, nor would he let his Subjects imagine that he was to be Cited out of his Kingdom. This was the first step that he made for the lessening of the Popes Power: Upon which the two Cardinals (for they were Legates no longer) went to the King at *Grafton*. It was generally expected that *Wolsey* should have been disgraced then, for not only the King was offended with him, but he received new Informations of his having juggled in the business, and that he secretly advised the Pope to do what was done. This was set about by some of the Queens Agents, as if there was certain knowledge had of it at *Rome*; and it was said, that some Letters of his to the Pope were by a trick found and brought over to *England*. The Emperor lookt on the Cardinal as his inveterate Enemy, and designed to ruin him if it was possible; nor was it hard to perswade the Queen to concur with him to pull him down. But all this seems an artifice of theirs only to destroy him. For the earnestness the Cardinal expressed in this matter, was such, that either he was sincere in it, or he was the best at dessembling that ever was. But these suggestions were easily infused in the Kings angry mind, so strangely are men turned by their affections, that sometimes they will believe nothing, and at other times they believe every thing. Yet when the Cardinal with his Colleague came to Court, they were received by the King with very hearty expressions of kindness; and *Wolsey* was often in private with him, sometimes in presence of the Council, and sometimes alone: once he was many hours with the King alone, and when they took leave he sent them away very obligingly. But that which gave Cardinal *Wolsey* the most assurance, was that all those who were admitted to the Kings privacies, did carry themselves towards him as they were wont to do; both the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Thomas Boleyn* then made Vis-count of *Rochford*, Sir *Brian Tuke* and *Gardiner*: concluding that from the motions of such Weather-cocks the air of the Princes affections was best gathered.

Sept. 23, in a Letter from the Cardinal, the Secretary to *Cromwell*.

Anne Boleyn returns to Court.

Anne Boleyn was now brought to the Court again, out of which she had been dismissed for some time, for silencing the noise, that her being at Court, during the Process, would have occasioned. It is said,

ſaid, that ſhe took her diſmiſſion ſo ill, that ſhe reſolved never again to return; and that ſhe was very hardly brought to it afterwards, not without Threatnings from her Father. But of that nothing appears to me; only this I find, that all her former kindneſs to the Cardinal, was now turned to enmity, ſo that ſhe was not wanting in her endeavours to pull him down. 1529.

But the King being reconciled to her, and as it is ordinary after ſome intermiſſion and diſorder between Lovers, his affection encreaſing, he was caſting about for overtures, how to compaſs what he ſo earneſtly deſired. Sometimes he thought of procuring a new Commiſſion; but that was not adviſable, for after a long dependance it might end as the former had done. Then he thought of breaking off with the Pope; but there was great danger in that, for beſides that in his own perſwaſion he adhered to all the moſt Important parts of the *Roman* Religion, his ſubjects were ſo addicted to it, that any ſuch a Change could not but ſeem full of hazard. Sometime he inclined to Confederate himſelf with the Pope and Emperor, for now there was no dividing of them, till he ſhould thereby bring the Emperor to yield to his deſires. But that was againſt the Intereſts of his Kingdom, and the Emperor had already proceeded ſo far in his Oppoſition, that he could not be eaſily brought about.

Cranmers propoſition about the Kings Divorce.

While his thoughts were thus divided, a new Propoſition was made to him that ſeemed the moſt reaſonable and feaſible of them all. There was one Dr. *Cranmer*, who had been a Fellow of *Jeſus* Colledge in *Cambridge*; but having Married, forfeited his fellowſhip, yet continued his Studies, and was a Reader of Divinity in *Buckingham* Colledge. His wife dying, he was again choſen Fellow of *Jeſus* Colledge; and was much eſteemed in the Univerſity for his Learning, which appeared very eminently on all publick occaſions. But he was a man that neither courted Preferment, nor did willingly accept of it, when offered. And therefore though he was invited to be a Reader of Divinity in the Cardinals Colledge at *Oxford*, he declined it. He was at this time forced to fly out of *Cambridge*, from a Plague that was there, and having the Sons of one Mr. *Creſſy* of *Waltham*-Croſs committed to his Charge, he went with his Pupils to their Fathers houſe at *Waltham*. There he was when the King returned from his Progreſs, who took *Waltham* in his way, and lay a night there. The Harbingers having appointed *Gardiner* and *Fox*, the Kings Secretary, and Almoner, to ly at Mr. *Creſſies* houſe; it ſo happen'd that *Cranmer* was with them at Supper. The whole diſcourſe of *England* being then about the Divorce, theſe two Courtiers, knowing *Cranmer's* Learning and ſolid Judgment, entertained him with it, and deſired to hear his opinion concerning it. He modeſtly declined it; but told them, that he judged it would be a ſhorter and ſafer way once to clear it well, if the Marriage was unlawful in it ſelf, by vertue of any divine Precept: For if that were proved, then it was certain, that the Popes Diſpenſation could be of no force to make that lawful, which God had declared to be unlawful. Therefore he thought that inſtead of a long fruitleſs Negotiation at *Rome*, it were better to conſult all the Learned men, and the Univerſities of Chriſtendome; for if they once declared it in the Kings favours, then the Pope muſt needs give judgment, or otherwiſe

1529. wise the Bull being of it self, null and void, the Marriage would be found sinful, notwithstanding the Popes Dispensation. This seemed a very good Motion, which they resolved to offer to the King; so next night when he came to *Greenwich*, they proposed it to him; but with this difference, that *Gardiner* had a mind to make it pass for their own Contrivance, but *Fox*, who was of a more ingenuous Nature, told the King from whom they had it. He was much affected with it, so soon as he heard it, and said, had he known it sooner, it would have saved him a vast expence, and much trouble; and would needs have *Cranmer* sent for to Court, saying in his coarse way of speaking, *That he had the Sow by the right ear.* So he was sent for to Court, and being brought before the King, he carryed himself so, that the King conceived an high opinion of his Judgment, and Candour, which he preserved to his death, and still payed a respect to him, beyond all the other Churchmen that were about him: and though he made more use of *Gardiner* in his Business, whom he found a man of great dexterity and Cunning; yet he never had any respect for him. But for *Cranmer*, though the King knew that in many things he differed from him, yet for all his being so impatient of Contradiction, he always Reverenced him.

Approved by the King.

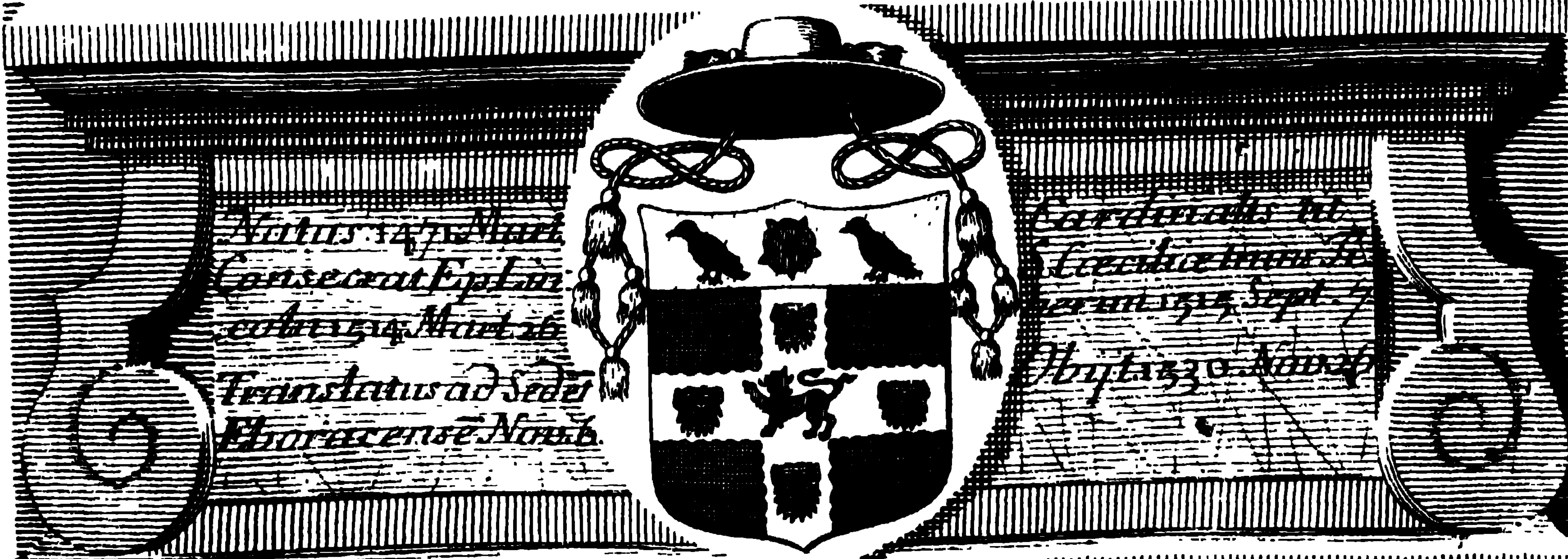
And he much esteemed by him.

He was soon looked on as a Rising Churchman, and the rather because the Cardinal was now declining; for in the following *Michaelmas-Term*, the King sent for the great Seal, which the Cardinal at first was not willing to part with. But the next day the King wrote to him, and he presently delivered it to the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. It was offered back again to *Warham*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; but he being very old, and foreseeing great difficulties in the keeping of it, excused himself. So it was given to Sr. *Thomas More*, who was not only eminent in his own Profession, but in all other Learning: and was much esteemed for the strictness of his life, and his Contempt of Money. He was also the more fit to be made use of, having been in ill terms with the Cardinal. Soon after, *Hales* the Attourney-General, put in an Information against the Cardinal, in the Kings Bench; bearing, *that notwithstanding the Statute of* Richard the 2d, *against the Procuring Bulls from* Rome, *under the pains of* Premunire, *yet he had procured Bulls for his Legantine Power, which he had for many years executed; and some particulars, for form, were named out of a great many more.* To this he put in his answer, by his Attorney, and confessed the Indictment, but pleaded his ignorance of the Statute, and submitted himself to the Kings mercy. Upon this it was declared, that he was out of the Kings protection, and that he had forfeited his Goods and Chattells to the King, and that his Person might be seized on. Then was his rich Palace of *York-house* (now *Whitehall*) with all that vast wealth, and Royal furniture that he had heaped together, (which was beyond any thing that had ever been seen in *England* before,) seized on for the King. But it seems the King had not a mind to destroy him out right, but only to bring him lower, and to try if the terror of that would have any influence on the Pope: Therefore on the 21st of *November*, the King granted him first his Protection, and then his Pardon, and restored him to the Arch-Bishoprick of *York*, and the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, and gave him back in Money,

The Cardinals fall.

Rol. Pat. 2da. pars vicesprin. Regni. Feb. 12.

EFFIGIES THOMÆ WOLSEI CARDINALIS



Printed for Ric: Chiswell at the Rose and Crowne in S^t Pauls Church yard.

ney, Goods, and Plate, that which amounted to 6374 *l.* 3 *s.* 7 *d.* and many kind Messages were sent him, both by the King, and *Anne Boleyn.* 1529.

But as he had carryed his Greatness with most extravagant pride, so he was no less basely cast down with his misfortune; and having no ballast within himself, but being wholly guided by things without him, he was lifted up, or cast down, as the Scales of Fortune turned: yet his Enemies had gone too far, ever to suffer a man of his parts or temper, to return to favour. And therefore they so ordered it, that an high Charge of many Articles was brought against him, into the House of Lords, in the Parliament that sate in *November* following, and it passed there, where he had but few friends, and many and great enemies. But when the charge was sent down to the House of Commons, it was so managed by the industry of *Cromwell*, who had been his servant, that it came to nothing. The heads of it have been oft printed, therefore I shall not repeat them; they related chiefly to his Legantine Power, contrary to Law, to his Insolence and Ambition, his lewd life, and other things that were brought to defame, as well as destroy him.

The meanness of his Temper.

All these things did so sink his proud mind, that a deep melancholy overcame his Spirits. The King sent him frequent assurances of his favour, which he received with extravagant transports of joy, falling down on his knees in the dirt, before the messenger that brought one of them, and holding up his hands for joy, which shewed how mean a Soul he had, and that as himself afterwards acknowledged, *he preferred the Kings favour, to God Almighties.* But the King found they took little notice of him at *Rome*; the Emperor hated him, and the Pope did not love him, looking on him as one that was almost equal to himself in Power: and though they did not love the Precedent to have a Cardinal so used, yet they were not much troubled at *Rome*, to see it fall on him. So in Easter-week, he was ordered to go North, though he had a great mind to have stayed at *Richmond*, which the King had given him in Exchange for *Hampton-Court*, that he had also built. But that was too near the Court, and his enemies had a mind to send him further from it. Accordingly he went to *Cawood* in *York-shire*, in which journey it appears, that the ruins of his state were considerable, for he travelled thither with an 160 horse in his train, and 72 Carts following him, with his houshold stuff.

The King still favoured him.

To Conclude his story all at once, he was in *November* the next year, seized on by the Earl of *Northumberland*, who attached him for high Treason, and committed him to the keeping of the Lieutenant of the Tower, who was ordered to bring him up to *London*. And even then he had gracious messages from the King; but these did not work much on him, for whether it was that he knew himself guilty of some secret Practises with the Pope, or with the Emperor, which yet he denyed to the last; or whether he could no longer stand under the Kings displeasure, and that change of condition; he was so cast down, that on his way to *London*, he sickened at *Sheffield* Park, in the Earl of *Shrewsburies* house, from whence by slow journeys he went as far as *Leicester*, where after some days languishing he dyed; and at the last made great Protestations *of his having served the King faithfully, and*

He is afterwards attached for Treason.

1529. *that he had little regarded the service of God, to do him pleasure; but if he had served God as he had done him, he would not have given him over so, as he did in his gray hairs. And he desired the King to reflect on all his past services, and in particular, in his weighty matter* (for by that phrase, they usually spoke of the Kings Divorce) *and then he would find in his Conscience whether he had offended him or not.* He dyed the 28 of *November* 1530. and was the greatest Instance that several Ages had shown of the Variety and Inconstancy of Humane things, both in his rise and fall; and by his temper in both, it appears he was unworthy of his greatness, and deserved what he suffered. But to conclude all that is to be said of him, I shall add what the writer of his life ends it with. *Here is the end and fall of Pride and Arrogance, for I assure you, in his time he was the haughtiest man in all his proceedings alive, having more respect to the honour of his Person, than he had to his Spiritual Profession, wherein should be shewed all meekness and charity.*

And dies.

His Character.

A Parliament called.

But now with the change of this great Minister, there followed a change of Counsels, and therefore the King resolved to hold a Parliament, that he might meet his people, and establish such a good understanding between himself and them, that he might have all secured at home; and then he resolved to proceed more confidently abroad. There had been no Parliament for seven years, but the blame of that, and of every other miscarriage, falling naturally on the disgraced Minister, he did not doubt, that he should be able to give his people full satisfaction in that, and in every thing else. So a Parliament was summoned to meet the 3d of *November*. And there, among several other Laws that were made for the publick good of the Kingdom, there were Bills sent up by the House of Commons, against some of the most exorbitant abuses of the Clergy: one was against the Exactions for the Probates of Wills; another was for the Regulating of Mortuaries; a third was about the Plurality of Benefices, and non-residence, and Churchmens being Farmers of Lands. In the passing of these Bills there were severe reflections made on the vices and corruptions of the Clergy of that time, which were believed to flow from men that favoured *Luthers* Doctrine in their hearts.

Hall.

When these Bills were brought up to the House of Lords, the Bishop of *Rochester* speaking to them, did reflect on the House of Commons: saying, that they were resolved to bring down the Church, and he desired they would consider the miserable state of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, to which it was reduced by Heresie, and ended, *that all this was for lack of Faith.* But this being afterwards known to the House of Commons, they sent their speaker, Sr. *Thomas Audley*, with 30 of their members, to complain to the King of the Bishop of *Rochester*, for saying, that their Acts flowed from the *want of Faith*, which was an high Imputation on the whole Nation, when the Representative of the Commons was so charged, as if they had been Infidels and Heathens. This was set on by the Court, to mortifie that Bishop, who was unacceptable to them, for his adhering so firmly to the Queens cause. The King sent for the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and six other Bishops, and before them told the complaint of the Commons. But the Bishop of *Rochester* excused himself, and said, he only meant of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*; when he said, *all flowed from the want of Faith,* and did not at all

The House of Commons complains of the Bishop of Rochester.

intend

intend the House of Commons. This Explanation the King sent by the Treasurer of his houshold, Sr. *Will. Fitz-Williams*. But though the matter was passed over, yet they were not at all satisfied with it, so that they went on, laying open the abuses of the Clergy. 1529.

In the House of Peers, great opposition was made to the Bills, and the Clergy both within and without doors did defame them, and said, these were the ordinary beginnings of Heresie, to complain of Abuses, and pretend Reformation, on purpose to disgrace the Clergy, from which Heresie took it's chief strength. And the Spiritual Lords did generally oppose them, the Temporal Lords being no less earnest to have them passed. The Cardinal was admitted to sit in the House, where he showed himself as submissive in his fauning as he had formerly done in his scorn and contempt of all who durst oppose him. But the King set the Bills forward, and in the end they were agreed to by the Lords, and had the Royal Assent. Some Bills past reforming the abuses of the Clergy.

The King intended by this, to let the Pope see what he could do if he went on to offend him, and how willingly his Parliament would concur with him, if it went to extremities. He did also endear himself much to the People, by relieving them from the oppressions of the Clergy. But the Clergy lost much by this means, for these Acts did not only lessen their present profits, but did open the way for other things that were more to their detriment afterward. Their opposing of this and all other motions for Reformation, did very much encrease the prejudices that were conceived against them: whereas if such motions had either risen from themselves, or had at least been cherished by them, their Adversaries had not perhaps been so favourably heard; so fatally did they mistake their true Interest, when they thought they were concerned, to link with it all abuses and corruptions.

But there past another Bill in this Parliament, which because of its singular nature, and that it was not printed with the other Statutes, shall be found in the Collection of Instruments at the end. The Bill bore in a Preamble; the highest flattery that could be put in Paper, of the great things the King had done for the Church and Nation, in which he had been at vast Charges; and that divers of the Subjects had lent great Sums of Money, which had been all well employed in the publick Service: and whereas they had Security for their Payment, the Parliament did offer all these Sums so lent to the King; and discharged him of all the obligations or assignations made for their payment, and of all Suits that might arise thereupon. One Act discharging the King of his debts. Collect. *Numb.* 31.

This was brought into the House by the Kings Servants, who enlarged much on the wealth and peace of the Nation, notwithstanding the wars, the King always making his enemies Countrey the scene of them; and shew'd that for fourteen years, the King had but one Subsidy from his people; that now he asked nothing for any other purpose, but only to be discharged of a Debt contracted for the publick, the accounts whereof were shown, by which they might see to what uses the Money so raised had been applyed. But there were several ends in passing this Bill: those of the Court did not only intend to deliver the King from a charge by it, but also to ruin all the Cardinals friends and creatures, whom he had caused every-where to advance great Sums,

1529. for an Example to others. Others in the house that were convinced that the Act was unjust in it self, yet did easily give way to it, that they might effectually for the future discredit that way of raising Money by Loans, as judging it to be the publick Interest of the Kingdom, that no sums of Money should be raised but by Parliament. So this Act passed, and occasioned great Murmuring among all them that suffered by it. But to qualify the general discontent, the King gave a free pardon to his Subjects for all offences, some Capital ones only excepted, as is usual in such cases; and to keep the Clergy under the Lash, all transgressions against the Statutes of *Provisors* and *Premunire* were excepted, in which they were all involved, as will afterwards appear. There are two other exceptions in this Pardon, not fit to be omitted: the one is of the pulling or digging down Crosses on the high wayes, which shews what a Spirit was then stirring among the people; the other is of the Forfeitures that accrued to the King, by the Prosecution against Cardinal *Wolsey*, that is, the Cardinals Colledge in *Oxford*, with the Lands belonging to it which are excepted, upon which the Dean and Canons resigned their Lands to the King, the Original of which is yet extant: But the King founded the Colledge a-new soon after. All this was done both to keep the Clergy quiet, and to engage them to use what Interest they had in the Court of *Rome*, to dispose the Pope to use the King better in his great Suit. After those Acts were passed, on the 17 of *December*, the Parliament was prorogued till *April* following; yet it did not sit, till *January* after that, being continued by several Prorogations.

There had been great industry used in carrying Elections for the Parliament, and they were so successful, that the King was resolved to continue it for some time. This great business being happily over, the Kings thoughts turned next to affairs beyond Sea. The whole world was now at peace. The Pope and the Emperor (as was said before) had made an Alliance on terms of such advantage to the Pope, that as the Emperor did fully repair all past injuries, so he laid new and great obligations on him: for he engaged that he would assist him in the recovery of his Towns, and that he would restore his Family to the Government of *Florence*, and invest his Nephew in it, with the Title of *Duke*, to whose Son he would Marry his own natural Daughter; and that he would hold the Kingdom of *Naples* of the Papacy. These were the Motives that directed the Popes conscience, so infallibly in the Kings business. Not long after that, in *August* an other Peace was made in *Cambray*, between the Emperor and the *French* King, and Lady *Margaret* the Emperors Aunt, and Regent of *Flanders*: where the King first found the hollowness of the *French* friendship and alliance; for he was not so much considered in it as he expected, and he clearly perceived that *Francis* would not embroyl his own affairs, to carry on his Divorce.

The Pope and the Emperor firmly united. *Jun.* 20.

The womens peace. *Aug.* 5.

The Emperor went over into *Italy*, and met the Pope at *Bononia*, where he was Crowned with great Magnificence. The Pope and he lodged together in the same Palace, and there appeared such signs of a familiar friendship between them, that the Kings Ambassadors did now clearly perceive that they were firmly united. The Emperor did also, by a rare mixture of Generosity and Prudence, restore the Dutchie of

1530. The Emperors Coronation at *Bononia*.

Milan

Milan to *Francis Sforza*. By this he setled the Peace of *Italy*, nothing holding out but *Florence*, which he knew would be soon reduced, when there was no hope of succour from *France*; and accordingly after eleven Months Siege, it was taken, and within a year after, *Alexander de Medici* was made Duke of it. About the time that the Emperor came to *Bononia*, news was brought, that the Turk was forced to raise the Siege of *Vienna*; so that all things concurred to raise his glory very high. At *Bononia* he would needs receive the two Crowns of the *Roman* Empire, that of *Milan*, and that of *Rome*, which was done with all the Magnificence possible, the Pope himself saying Mass both in *Latine* and *Greek*. There is one ceremony of the Coronation, fit to be taken notice of, in this work; that the Emperor was first put in the habit of a Canon of *Sancta Maria de la Torre* in *Rome*, and after that in the habit of a Deacon, to make him be look't on as an Ecclesiastical person. This had risen out of an Extravagant vanity of the Court of *Rome*, who devised such rites to raise their reputation so high, that on the greatest solemnity, the Emperor should appear in the habit of the lowest of the Sacred orders, by which he must know, that Priests and Bishops are above him. When the Pope and he first met, the ceremony of kissing the Popes foot was much look't for, and the Emperor very gently kneel'd to pay that submission; but the Pope (whether it was that he thought it was no more seasonable to expect such Complements, or more signally to oblige the Emperor) did humble himself so far as to draw in his foot, and kiss his cheek.

1530. Florence taken. *Aug.* 9. Popes Nephew made Duke of it. *July* 17. 1531. Siege of *Vienna* rais'd. *Octob.* 13. 1529. Emperor Crown'd King of *Lombardy*. *Feb.* 22. 1530. *Rom.* Emp. *Feb.* 2.

But now the Divorce was to be managed in another method, and therefore *Cranmer*, after he had discoursed with the King, about that Proposition which was formerly mentioned, was commanded by him to write a Book for his opinion, and confirm it with as much Authority as he could; and was recommended to the care of the Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond* (to which honor, the King had advanced Sr. *Thomas Boleyn* in the right of his Mother) and in the beginning of the next year he published his Book about it. *Richard Crook* (who was Tutor to the Duke of *Richmond*) was sent into *Italy*, and others were sent to *France* and *Germany*, to consult the Divines, Canonists, and other Learned men in the Universities, about the Kings business. How the rest managed the matter, I have not yet been able to discover; but from a great number of original Letters of Doctor *Crooks*, I shall give a full account of his Negotiation. It was thought best to begin at home, and therefore the King wrote to the two Universities in *England*, to send him their conclusions about it. The matters went at *Oxford* thus. The Bishop of *Lincoln* being sent thither with the Kings Letters for their Resolution, it was by the Major vote of the Convocation of all the Doctors and Masters, as well Regents as non-Regents, committed to 33 Doctors and Batchelours of Divinity (who were named by their own Facultie) or to the greater number of them, to determine the Questions, that were sent with the Kings Letters, and to set the common Seal of the University to their Conclusions: and by vertue of that Warrant, they did on the 8 of *April* put the common Seal of the University to an Instrument, declaring the Marriage of the Brothers wife, to be both contrary to the Laws of God and Nature. The Collector of the Antiquities of *Oxford*, informs us of the uneasiness that was in the

The King consults his Universities about his Divorce.

Lord *Herbert* out of the Record. *April.* 4. 1530.

v. Wood. p. 8. 257.

1530. the University in this matter, and of the several messages the King sent, before that Instrument could be procured, so that from the 12 of *February* to the 8 of *April*, the matter was in agitation, the Masters of Arts generally opposing it, though the Doctors and Heads were (for the greatest part) for it. But after he has set down the Instrument, he gives some reasons (upon what design, I cannot easily imagine) to shew that this was extorted by force; and being done without the consent of the Masters of Arts, was of it self void, and of no force: and as if it had been an ill thing, he takes pains to purge the University of it, and lays it upon the fears and corruptions of some aspiring men of the University: and without any proof, gives credit to a lying Story set down by *Sanders*, of an Assembly called in the night, in which the Seal of the University was set to the Determination. But it appears that he had never seen or considered the other Instrument, to which the University set their Seal, that was agreed on in a Convocation of all the Doctors and Masters, as well Regents as non-Regents; giving Power to these Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity, to determine the Matter, and to set the Seal of the University to their Conclusion. The original whereof the Lord *Herbert* saw, upon which the persons so deputed, had full Authority to set the University Seal to that Conclusion without a new Convocation. Perhaps that Instrument was not so carefully preserved among their Records, or was in Queen *Maries* days taken away, which might occasion these mistakes in their Historian.

Lib. 1°. p. 225.

There seems to be also another mistake in the Relation he gives: for he says, those of *Paris* had determined in this matter before it was agreed to at *Oxford*. The Printed Decision of the *Sorbone* contradicts this: for it bears date the 2d of *July*, 1530. whereas this was done the 8th of *April*, 1530. But what passed at *Cambridge*, I shall set down more fully, from an original Letter written by *Gardiner* and *Fox* to the King in *February* (but the day is not marked) When they came to *Cambridge*, they spake to the Vice-Chancellor, whom they found very ready to serve the King; so was also *Bonner* (whom they call Doctor *Edmonds*) and several others, but there was a contrary party that met together, and resolved to oppose them. A meeting of the Doctors, Batchelors of Divinity, and Masters of Arts, in all about 200, was held. There the Kings Letters were read, and the Vice-Chancellor calling upon several of them, to deliver their opinions about it, they answered as their affections led them, and were in some disorder. But it being proposed, that the answering the Kings Letter, and the Questions in it, should be referred to some indifferent men; great exceptions were made to Doctor *Salcot*, Doctor *Reps*, and *Crome*, and all others who had approved Doctor *Cranmers* Book, as having already declared themselves partial. But to that it was answered, that after a thing was so much discoursed of, as the Kings matter had been, it could not be imagined, that any number of men could be found, who had not declared their judgment about it, one way or another. Much time was spent in the debate, but when it grew late, the Vice-Chancellor commanded every man to take his place, and to give his voice, whether they would agree to the Motion of referring it to a Select body of men: but that night they would not agree to it.

Collect. *Numb.* 32.

And at *Cambridge*. *Feb.*

The

The Congregation being Adjourned till next day, the Vice-Chancellor offered a Grace (or Order) to refer the matter to 29 persons (himself, 10 Doctors, and 16 Batchelors, and the 2 Proctors) That (the Questions being publickly disputed) what two parts of three agreed to, should be read in a Congregation, and without any further debate the Common Seal of the University should be set to it. Yet it was at first denyed; then being put to the vote, it was carryed equally on both sides. But being a third time proposed, it was carryed for the Divorce. Of which an account was presently sent to the King, with a Schedule of their names to whom it was committed, and what was to be expected from them, so that it was at length determined, though not without opposition, *That the King's Marriage was against the Law of God.* 1530.

It is thought strange, that the King who was otherwise so absolute in *England*, should have met with more difficulty in this matter at home, than he did abroad. But the most reasonable account I can give of it, is, That at this time there were many in the Universities, (particularly at *Cambridge*) who were addicted to *Luthers* Doctrine. And of those *Cranmer* was lookt on as the most Learned: So that *Crome, Shaxton, Latimer*, and others of that Society favoured the Kings Cause; besides that, *Anne Boleyn* had in the Dutchess of *Alançon*'s Court (who inclined to the Reformation) received such impressions as made them fear, that her Greatness and *Cranmers* Preferment would encourage Heresie; to which the Universities were furiously averse, and therefore they did resist all Conclusions that might promote the Divorce. Though with great difficulty.

But as for *Crooke* in *Italy*, he being very Learned in the *Greek* Tongue, was first sent to *Venice* to search the *Greek* Manuscripts that lay in the Library of St. *Mark*, and to examine the Decrees of the ancient Councils: He went *incognito* without any Character from the King, only he had a Letter Recommending him to the care of *John Cassali*, then Ambassador at *Venice*, to procure him an admittance into the Libraries there. But in all his Letters he complained mightily of his Poverty, that he had scarce whereby to live and pay the Copiers whom he imployed to Transcribe passages out of MSS. He stayed some time at *Venice*, from whence he went to *Padua*, *Bononia*, and other Towns, where he only talked with Divines and Canonists about these questions: *Whether the Precepts in* Leviticus, *of the Degrees of Marriage, do still oblige Christians? And whether the Popes Dispensation could have any force against the Law of God?* These he proposed in Discourse, without mentioning the King of *England*, or giving the least intimation, that he was sent by him, till he once discovered their Opinions. But finding them generally inclining to the Kings Cause, he took more courage and went to *Rome*; where he sought to be made a *Penitentiary Priest*, that he might have the freer access into Libraries, and be lookt on as one of the Popes Servants. But at this time the Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Stokesley*, (who was made Bishop of *London*, *Tonstall* being Translated to *Duresm*,) were sent by the King into *Italy*, Ambassadors both to the Pope and Emperor. *Cranmer* went with them to justifie his Book in both these Courts. *Stokesley* brought full Instructions to *Crooke* to search the Writings of most of the Fathers on a great many passages of the Scripture; and in particular to try, what they wrote on that Law in *Deuteronomy*, which provided, that *when one died*

Crooke employed in *Venice*. *Crooks* Negotiation, taken from many of his Original Letters. *Cott. Libr. Vitel.* B. 13.

1530. *died without Children, his Brother should marry his Wife to raise up Children to him.* This was most pressed against the King by all that were for the Queen, as either an Abrogation of the other Law in *Leviticus*, or at least a Dispensation with it in that particular Case. He was also to consult the *Jews* about it; and was to Copy out every thing that he found in any Manuscript of the *Greek* or *Latine* Fathers, relating to the Degrees of Marriage. Of this labour he complained heavily, and said, That though he had a great task laid on him, yet his allowance was so small, that he was often in great straits. This I take notice of, because it is said by others, That all the Subscriptions that he procured were bought. At this time there were great Animosities between the Ministers whom the King imployed in *Italy*; the two Families of the *Cassali*, and the *Ghinucci*, hating one another. Of the former Family were the Ambassadors at *Rome*, and at *Venice*. Of the other *Hierome* was Bishop of *Worcester*, and had been in several Ambassies into *Spain*. His Brother *Peter* was also imployed in some of the little Courts of *Italy* as the Kings Agent. Whether the King out of Policy kept this hatred up to make them Spies one on another, I know not. To the *Ghinucci* was *Crooke* gained, so that in all his Letters he complained of the *Cassali*, as men that betraied the Kings Affairs; and said that *John*, then Ambassador at *Venice*, not only gave him no assistance, but used him ill: and publickly discovered, That he was imployed by the King; which made many who had formerly spoken their minds freely, be more reserved to him. But as he wrote this to the King, he begged of him, that it might not be known, otherwise he expected either to be Killed, or Poisoned by them: Yet they had their Correspondents about the King, by whose means they understood what *Crooke* had Informed against them. But they wrote to the King, that he was so morose and ill-natured, that nothing could please him; and to lessen his Credit, they did all they could to stop his Bills. All this is more fully set down, than perhaps was necessary, if it were not to show that he was not in a condition to corrupt so many Divines, and whole Universities, as some have given out. He got into the acquaintance of a Frier at *Venice*, *Franciscus Georgius*, who had lived 49 years in a Religious order, and was esteemed the most Learned man in the Republick, not only in the vulgar Learning, but in the Greek and Hebrew, and was so much accounted of by the Pope, that he called him *the Hammer of Hereticks.* He was also of the Senatorian Quality, and his Brother was Governor of *Padua*, and payed all the Readers there. This Friar had a great opinion of the King: and having studied the case, wrote for the Kings cause, and endeavoured to satisfie all the other Divines of the Republick, among whom he had much credit. *Thomas Omnibonus* a Dominican, *Philippus de Cremis* a Doctor of the Law, *Valerius* of *Bergamo*, and some others, wrote for the Kings cause. Many of the *Jewish* Rabbins, did give it under their hands in Hebrew, *That the Laws of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, were thus to be reconciled. That Law of Marrying the Brothers wife when he dyed without Children, did only bind in the Land of* Judæa, *to preserve Families and maintain their Successions in the Land, as it had been divided by Lot. But that in all other places of the world, the Law of Leviticus, of not Marrying the Brothers wife was obligatory.* He also searched all the Greek MSS. of Councils, and *Nazianzens* and *Chrysostoms* works. After that he

Many in *Italy* write for the Kings cause.

he run over *Macarius*, *Acacius*, *Apollinaris*, *Origen*, *Gregory Nyssen*, *Cyril*, *Severian*, and *Gennadius*; and copied out of them all that which was pertinent to his purpose. He procured several hands to the Conclusions, before it was known that it was the Kings business, in which he was employed. But the Government of *Venice* was so strict, that when it was known whose Agent he was, he found it not easie to procure Subscriptions: Therefore he advised the King to order his Minister to procure a Licence from the Senate, for their Divines, to declare their opinions in that matter. Which being proposed to the Senate, all the answer he could obtain was, *that they would be Neutrals*; and when the Ambassador pressed, as an evidence of Neutrality, that the Senate would leave it free to their Divines, to declare of either side as their Consciences led them; he could procure no other answer, the former being again repeated. Yet the Senate making no Prohibition, many of their Divines put their hands to the Conclusions. And *Crook* had that Success, that he wrote to the King, he had never met with a Divine that did not favour his cause: but the Conclusions touching the Popes Power, his Agents did every-where discourage, and threaten those who subscribed them. And the Emperors Ambassador at *Venice*, did threaten *Omnibonus* for writing in prejudice of the Popes Authority; and asserting conclusions, which would make most of the Princes of Europe *Bastards*. He answered, he did not consider things as a Statesman, but as a Divine. Yet to take off this fear, *Crook* suggested to the King, to order his Minister at the Court of *Rome*, to procure a *Breve* "that Divines or Canonists might without fear or hazard, "deliver their opinions according to their Consciences, requiring them "under the pain of Excommunication, that they should write nothing "for gain or Partial affections, but say the pure and simple truth, "without any artifice, as they would answer to God in the great day "of Judgment. This seemed so fair, that it might have been expected, the Successor of St. *Peter* would not deny it; yet it was not easily obtained, though the King wrote a very earnest Letter to the Bishop of *Verona*, to assist his Minister in procuring it. And I find by another Dispatch, that the *Breve* was at length gained, not without much opposition made to it by the Emperors Ambassadors: For at *Rome*, though they knew not well how to oppose this method, because it seem'd so very reasonable; yet they had great apprehensions of it, because they thought it was designed to force the Pope to determine as the King pleased: and they abhorred the President, that a company of poor Friars, should Dictate to them in matters of this nature. *Crook* reports out of a Letter of *Cranmers* to him from *Rome*, these words. *As for our Successes here, they be very little, nor dare we attempt to know any mans mind, because of the Pope, nor is he content with what you have done; and he says, no Friars shall discuss his Power: and as for any favour in this Court, I look for none, but to have the Pope with all his Cardinals declare against us.* But Crook, as he went up and down procuring hands, told these he came to, *he desired they would write their Conclusions, according to Learning and Conscience, without any respect, or favour, as they would answer it at the last day; and Protested he never gave, nor promised any Divine any thing, till he had first freely written his mind, and that what he then gave, was rather an honourable Present than a Reward.* And in another

1530.

Feb. 18.

Though the Pope and Emperor discouraged them.

July 4.

Aug. 7.

Septemb. 16.

July 28.

Aug. 5.

No Money nor bribes given for subscriptions.

1529. nother Letter to the King he writes : *Upon pain of my head if the contrary be proved, I never gave any man one half-penny, before I had his* Septemb. 7. *Conclusion to your Highness, without former Prayer or Promise of reward for the same.* From whence it appears, that he not only had no orders from the King to corrupt Divines, but that his orders were express to the contrary.

As for the Money he gave, the Reader will be best able to judge by the following account, whether it was such as could work much on any man. There is an Original Bill of his accounts yet extant, audited and signed Feb. 8. by *Peter a Ghinuciis*, out of which I have extracted these particulars: *Item, To a Servite Friar when he subscribed, one Crown. To a Jew one Crown. To the Doctors of the Servites two Crowns. To the Observant Friars two Crowns. To the Prior of St.* John *and St.* Pauls, *who wrote for the Kings Cause fifteen Crowns. To that Convent four Crowns. Item, Given to* John Maria *for his expence of going to* Milan *from* Venice, *and for rewarding the Doctors there, thirty Crowns. Item, To* John Marino Minister *of the Franciscans, who wrote a Book for the Kings cause, Twenty Crowns.* This shews that they must have had very prostituted Consciences, if they could be hired Feb. 22. so cheap. It is true *Crook* in many of his Letters says, *That if he had Money enough, he did not doubt but he should get the hands of all the Divines in* Italy, *for he found the greatest part of them all Mercenary.* But Feb. 9. the Bishop of *Worcester* in his Letters to him, ordered him only to promise rewards to those who expected them, and lived by them, that is, to the Canonists who did not use to give their opinion without a fee.

Only some small acknowledgments.

But at the same time, the Emperor did reward and fee Divines at Septemb. 16. another rate, for *Crook* informed the King, that one *Friar Felix* having written for the validity of the Marriage against the King, there was a Benefice of 500 Ducats a year, given him in reward. And the Emperors Ambassador offered a thousand Ducats to the Provincial of the *Gray-friars* in *Venice*, if he would Inhibite all within his Province to write or subscribe for the Kings cause. But the Provincial refused Septemb. 29. it, and said, he neither could nor yet would do it. And another that wrote for the Queen, had a Benefice of 600 Crowns. So that it was openly said at *Ferrara*, that they who wrote for the King, had but a few Crowns a-piece, but they who wrote on the other side had good Benefices. They also tryed what could be done at *Padua*, both by threatnings, entreaties, and rewards, to induce them to reverse the determination they had made in the matter; but with no success. And Feb. 18. though *Francis Georgius* the *Venetian* Friar, did greatly promote the Kings cause, both by his writings and authority; yet *Crook* wrote *that he could not prevail to make either him or his Nephew accept one farthing of him.* By such fair means it was, that *Crook* procured so many Subscriptions.

But great Rewards given by the Emperor.

First, of particular Divines, many *Franciscans, Dominicans*, and *Servites*, set their hands to the Conclusions; though even in that, there was opposition made by the Popes Agents. *Campegio* was now engaged in the Emperors Faction, and did every-where mis-represent March 29. the Kings cause. Being at *Venice*, he so wrought on the Minister of the *Franciscans*, that though he had declared for the King, and engaged to bring the hands of 24 Doctors and Learned men of his Order

for

for it, and had received a small Present of ten Crowns; yet after he had kept the Money three weeks, he sent it back, and said, he would not meddle more in it: But they procured most of these hands without his help. At *Milan*, a Suffragan Bishop, and sixteen Divines Subscribed. Nine Doctors Subscribed at *Vincenza*, but the Popes Nuntio took the writing out of his hands that had it, and suppressed it. At *Padua* all the Franciscans, both *Observants* and *Conventuals*, Subscribed, and so did the *Dominicans*, and all the Canonists; and though the Popes and Emperors Emissaries did threaten all that Subscribed, yet there were got eighty hands at *Padua*. Next the Universities determined. 1530. May 26. June 27.

At *Bononia*, though it was the Popes Town, many Subscribed. The Governour of the Town did at first oppose the granting of any Determination; but the Popes *Breve* being brought thither, he not without great difficulty gave way to it. So on the 19th of *June*, the matter being publickly debated, and all *Cajetans* Arguments being examined, who was of Opinion, *That the Laws of Marriage in* Leviticus *did not bind the Christian Church; they determined, That these Laws are still in force, and that they bind all both Christians and Infidels, being parts of the Law of Nature, as well as of the Law of God; and that therefore they judged Marriages in these degrees unlawful, and that the Pope had no Authority to dispence with them.* The University of *Padua* after some days publick Dispute, on the 1st of *July*, determined to the same purpose; about which *Crooks* Letter will be found among the Instruments at the end of this Book. They Determined for the King at *Bononia*. *June* 10th. At *Padua*. *July* 1st. Collect. Numb. 33.

At *Ferrara*, the Divines did also confirm the same conclusion, and set their Seal to it; but it was taken away violently by some of the other Faction, yet the Duke made it be restored. The profession of the Canon-Law was then in great credit there, and in a Congregation of 72 of that profession, it was determined for the King; but they asked 150 Crowns for setting the Seal to it, and *Crook* would not give more than an hundred; the next day he came and offered the Money, but then it was told him they would not meddle in it, and he could not afterwards obtain it. And *Ferrara*, *Sept.* 29th.

In all, *Crook* sent over by *Stokesley* an hundred several Books, Papers and Subscriptions, and there were many hands subscribed to many of those Papers. But it seems *Crook* died before he could receive a reward of this great Service he did the King, for I do not find him mentioned after this. I hope the Reader will forgive my insisting so much on this Negotiation; for it seemed necessary to give full and convincing Evidences of the sincerity of the Kings proceedings in it, since it is so confidently given out that these were but mercenary Subscriptions.

What difficulties or opposition those who were employed in *France* found, does not yet appear to me; but the Seals of the chief Universities there were procured. The University of *Orleance* determined it on the 7th of *April*. The faculty of the Canon-Law at *Paris*, did also conclude that the Pope had no Power to dispence in that Case, on the 25th of *May*. But the great and celebrated faculty of the *Sorbon*, (whose Conclusions had been lookt on for some Ages as little inferiour to the Decrees of Councils) made their Decision with all possible Solemnity and Decency. They first met at the Church of St. *Mathurin*, where there was a Mass of the H. Ghost, and every one took an Oath to study the Question, and resolve it according to his Conscience, and from the 8th of *June*, to And in *Orleance*, *April* 7. At *Paris* of the Canonists. *May* 25th.

1530. the 2d of *July*, they continued searching the matter with all possible diligence, both out of the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the Councils; and had many Disputes about it. After which, the greater part of the Faculty did Determine, *That the King of* Englands *Marriage was unlawful, and that the Pope had no Power to dispence in it*; and they set their common Seal to it, at St. *Mathurin's*, the 2d of *July*, 1530. To the same purpose did both the Faculties of Law, Civil and Canon at *Angiers*, Determine the 7th of *May*. On the 10th of *June*, the Faculty of Divinity, at *Bourges*, made the same Determination. And on the 1st of *October* the whole University of *Tholose*, did all with one consent give their judgment, agreeing with the former Conclusions. More of the Decisions of Universities were not Printed, though many more were obtained to the same effect. In *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Flanders*, the Emperors Authority was so great, that much could not be expected except from the *Lutherans*, with whom *Cranmer* conversed, and chiefly with *Osiander*, whose Neece he then Married. *Osiander* upon that wrote a Book about Incestuous Marriages, which was published; but was called in by a Prohibition Printed at *Ausburg*, because it Determined in the Kings cause, and on his side.

Of the Sorbon, July 2d. At *Angiers*. May 7th. At *Bourges*. *June* 10th. And *Tholose*, *Octob*. 1st. Collect. Numb. 34. *Jan*. 28th. his Orig. Let. Cott. Libr. Otho. C. 10.

But now I find the King did likewise deal among those, in *Switzerland* that had set up the Reformation. The Duke of *Suffolk* did most set him on to this, so one who was imployed in that time writes, for he often asked him, *how he could so humble himself, as to submit his Cause to such a vile, vitious, stranger, Priest, as* Campegio *was?* To which the King answered, *He could give no other reason, but that it seemed to him, Spiritual men should judge Spiritual things*; *yet*, he said, *he would search the matter further, but he had no great mind to seem more curious than other Princes*. But the Duke desired him to discuss the matter secretly amongst Learned men, to which he consented; and wrote to some Forreign Writers that were then in great estimation. *Erasmus* was much in his favour, but he would not appear in it. He had no mind to provoke the Emperor, and live uneasily in his own Country. But *Simon Grineus* was sent for, whom the King esteemed much for his Learning. The King informed him about his Process, and sent him back to *Basil*, to try what his Friends in *Germany* and *Switzerland* thought of it. He wrote about it to *Bucer*, *Oecolampadius*, *Zuinglius*, and *Paulus Phrygion*.

Pelerine Inglese. Grineus employed amongst the Reformed in *Switzerland*. Whose Letters are in a MSS. in R. Smiths Libr.

Oecolampadius, as it appears by three Letters, one dated the 10th of *August*, 1531. another the last of the same Month, another to *Bucer* the 10th of *September*; was positively of Opinion, *That the Law in* Leviticus *did bind all mankind*, and says, *That Law of a Brothers Marrying his Sister-in-Law, was a Dispensation given by God to his own Law, which belonged only to the* Jews; *and therefore he thought that the King might without any scruple put away the Queen*. But *Bucer* was of another mind, and thought the Law in *Leviticus* did not bind, and could not be Moral, because God had dispensed with it in one Case, *of raising up seed to his Brother*: Therefore he thought these Laws belonged only to that Dispensation, and did no more bind Christians, than the other Ceremonial or Judiciary Precepts; and that to Marry in some of these Degrees, was no more a sin, than it was a sin in the Disciples to pluck Ears of Corn on the Sabbath-day. There are none of *Bucers* Letters remaining on this Head, but by the answers that *Grineus* wrote to him, one on the 29th of *August*, another

The Opinions of Oecolampadius. Bucer

ther of the 10th of *September*, I gather his Opinion, and the reasons for it. But they all agreed, That the Popes Dispensation was of no force to alter the nature of the thing. *Paulus Phrygion* was of Opinion, That the Laws in *Leviticus* did bind all Nations, because it is said in the Text, *That the* Canaanites *were punished for doing contrary to them, which did not consist with the Justice of God, if those Prohibitions had not been parts of the Law of Nature.* Dated *Basil* the 10th of *September*. In *Grineus*'s Letter to *Bucer*, he tells him, that the King had said to him, *That now for seven years he had perpetual trouble upon him about this Marriage. Zuinglius* Letter is very full. First, he largely proves that neither the Pope, nor any other Power could dispence with the Law of God: Then, that the Apostles had made no new Laws about Marriage, but had left it as they found it: That the Marrying within near degrees was hated by the *Greeks*, and other Heathen Nations. But whereas *Grineus* seemed to be of opinion, that though the Marriage was ill made, yet it ought not to be dissolved, and inclined rather to advise that the King should take another Wife, keeping the Queen still; *Zuinglius* confutes that, and says, If the Marriage be against the Law of God, it ought to be dissolved: But concludes the Queen should be put away honourably, and still used as a Queen; and the Marriage should only be dissolved for the future, without Illegitimating the Issue begotten in it, since it had gone on in a publick way, upon a received error. But advises, that the King should proceed in a Judiciary way, and not establish so ill a President as to put away his Queen, and take another without due form of Law. Dated *Basil*, 17th of *Aug*. There is a second Letter of his to the same purpose from *Zurick*, the first of *September*. There is also with these Letters a long paper of *Osianders*. in the form of a Direction how the Process should be managed.

1530.

Phrygion.

Zuinglius.

There is also an Epistle of *Calvins*, published among the rest of his. Neither the date nor the person to whom it was directed are named. Yet I fancie it was written to *Grineus*, upon this occasion: *Calvin* was clear in his judgment that the Marriage was null, and that the King ought to put away the Queen, upon the Law of *Leviticus*. And whereas it was objected, that the Law is only meant *of Marrying the Brothers wife while he is yet alive*; he shews that could not be admitted, for all the prohibited degrees being forbidden in the same style, they were all to be understood in one sense: Therefore since it is confessed, that it is unlawful to Marry in the other degrees, after the death of the *Father*, *Son*, *Uncle*, or *Nephew*, so it must be also a sin, to Marry the Brothers wife after his death. And for the Law in *Deuteronomy* of *Marrying the Brothers wife to raise up seed to him*; he thought, that by *Brother* there, is to be understood a *near Kinsman*, according to the usual phrase of the Hebrew tongue: and by that he reconciles the two Laws which otherwise seem to differ, illustrating his Exposition by the History of *Ruth* and *Boaz*. It is given out that *Melancthon* advised the Kings taking another wife, justifying *Polygamy from the old Testament*; but I cannot believe it. It is true the Lawfulness of *Polygamy* was much controverted at this time. And as in all controversies newly started, many crude things are said; so some of the *Helvetian* and *German* Divines seem not so fierce against it; though none of them went so far as the Pope did, who did plainly offer to grant the King Licence to have two wives: and it was a motion the Imperialists consented to, and promoted,

And *Calvin* *Epist.* 384.

Lord *Herb.* from an Orig. Let. *Sept.* 18. 1530.

1530. moted, though upon what reason, the Ambassador *Cassali*, who wrote the account of it to the King, could not learn. The Pope forbade him to write about it to the King, perhaps as Whisperers enjoyn silence, as the most effectual way to make a thing publick. But for *Melancthons* being of that mind, great evidences appear to the contrary; for there is a Letter of *Osianders* to him, giving him many reasons to perswade him to approve of the Kings putting away the Queen, and Marrying another: the Letter also shews he was then of opinion, that the Law in *Leviticus* was Dispensable.

The opinion of the *Lutheran* Divines.

Instructions sent by Dr. *Barus* to *Cromwel* Cott. Lib. *Vitel.* B. 13.

And after the thing was done, when the King desired the *Lutheran* Divines to approve his second Marriage; they begged his excuse in a writing, which they sent over to him; so that *Melancthon* not allowing the thing, when it was done, cannot be imagined to have advised *Polygamy* before hand. And to open at once all that may clear the sense of the Protestants in the Question, when some years after this, *Fox* being made Bishop of *Hereford*, and much inclined to their Doctrine, was sent over to get the Divines of *Germany*, to approve of the Divorce, and the subsequent Marriage of *Anne Boleyn*; he found that *Melancthon* and others had no mind to enter much into the Dispute about it, both for fear of the Emperor, and because they judged the King was led in it by dishonest affections they also thought the Laws in *Leviticus* were not Moral, and did not oblige Christians, and since there were no Rules made about the Degrees of Marriage in the Gospel, they thought Princes and States might make what Laws they pleased about it: yet after much Disputing they were induced to change their minds, but could not be brought to think that a Marriage once made, might be annulled, and therefore demurred upon that; as will appear by the Conclusion they passed upon it, to be found at the end of this volume. All this I have set together here, to give a right representation of the judgments of the several parties of *Christendome* about this matter.

They condemn the Kings first Marriage, but are against a second. Collect. *Numb.* 35.

It cannot be denyed, that the Protestants did express great sincerity in this matter: such as became men of conscience, who were acted by true Principles, and not by maxims of Policie. For if these had governed them, they had struck in more compliantly with so great a Prince, who was then alienated from the Pope, and in very ill terms with the Emperor: so that to have gained him by a full Compliance to have protected them, was the wisest thing they could do; and their being so cold in the matter of his Marriage, in which he had engaged so deeply, was a thing, which would very much provoke him against them. But such measures as these, though they very well became the *Apostolick* See, yet they were unworthy of men, who designed to restore an Apostolick Religion.

Fox.

The King refuses to appear at *Rome*.

The Earl of *Wiltshire* with the other Ambassadors, when they had their Audience of the Pope at *Bononia*, refused to pay him the submission of Kissing his foot, though he graciously stretched it out to them; but went to their Business, and expostulated in the Kings name, and in high words: and in Conclusion told the Pope, that the *Prerogative of the Crown of England* was such, that their Master would not suffer any Citation to be made of him, to any forreign Court; and that therefore the King would not have his cause tryed at *Rome*. The Pope answered,

ſwered, that though the Queens Sollicitor had preſſed him to proceed in the Citation; both that her Marriage being further examined, might receive a new Confirmation, for ſilencing the Diſputes about it, and becauſe the King had withdrawn himſelf from her; yet if the King did not go further, and did not innovate in Religion, the Pope was willing to let the matter reſt. They went next to the Emperor, to juſtifie the Kings Proceedings in the Suit of the Divorce. But he told them he was bound in honour and juſtice to ſupport his Aunt, and that he would not abandon her. *Cranmer* offered to maintain what he had written in his Book, but whether they went ſo far, as to make their Divines enter into any Diſcourſe with him about it, I do not know. This appears that the Pope, to put a Complement on the King, declared *Cranmer* his *Pænitentiary* in *England*. He having ſtayed ſome months at *Rome*, after the Ambaſſadors were gone, went into *Germany*: where he became acquainted with *Cornelius Agrippa*, a man very famous for great and curious Learning, and ſo ſatisfied him in the Kings cauſe, that he gave it out, that the thing was clear and indiſputable, for which he was afterwards hardly uſed by the Emperor, and dyed in Priſon. 1530.

Cranmer offers to maintain the Kings cauſe.

But when the King received the Determinations and Concluſions of the Univerſities, and other Learned men beyond Sea, he reſolved to do two things. Firſt, to make a new attempt upon the Pope, and then to publiſh thoſe Concluſions to the World, with the arguments upon which they were grounded. But to make his addreſs to the Pope carry more terror with it, he got a Letter to be ſigned, by a great many Members of Parliament, to the Pope. The Lord *Herbert* ſaith, it was done by his Parliament; but in that, he had not applyed his ordinary diligence, the Letter bears date the 13 of *July*. Now by the Records of Parliament, it appears, there could be no Seſſion at that time, for there was a Prorogation from the 21 of *June*, till the 1ſt of *October* that year: But the Letter was ſent about to the chief Members, for their hands; and *Cavendiſh* tells how it was brought to the Cardinal, and with what chearfulneſs he ſet his hand to it. It was ſubſcribed by the Cardinal, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, 4 Biſhops, 2 Dukes, 2 Marqueſſes, 13 Earls, 2 Viſcounts, 23 Barons, 22 Abbots, and 11 Commoners, moſt of theſe being the Kings Servants.

The Nobility, Clergy, and Commons of *England*. write to the Pope.

In the life of *Wolſey*.

The Contents of the Letters were, "that their near Relation to the "King, made them addreſs thus to the Pope. The Kings cauſe was "now in the opinion of the Learned men, and Univerſities both in "*England*, *France*, and *Italy* found juſt, which ought to prevail ſo far "with the Pope, that though none moved in it, and notwithſtanding "any Contradiction, he ought to confirm their judgment; eſpecially "it touching a King and Kingdom, to whom he was ſo much obliged. "But ſince neither the juſtice of the cauſe, nor the Kings moſt earneſt "deſires had prevailed with him, they were all forced to complain of "that ſtrange uſage of their King; who both by his Authority, and "with his Pen, had ſupported the Apoſtolick See, and the Catholick "Faith, and yet was now denyed juſtice. From which they apprehended great miſchief and Civil Wars, which could only be prevent-"ed by the Kings Marrying another wife, of whom he might have "iſſue. This could not be done, till his preſent Marriage were annulled,

This Letter and the anſwer are Printed by the Lord *Herbert*.

1530. "nulled. And if the Pope would ſtill refuſe to do this, they muſt con-
"clude that they were abandoned by him, and ſo ſeek for other Remedies.
"This they moſt earneſtly prayed him to prevent, ſince they did not
"deſire to go to extremities, till there was no more to be hoped for
"at his hands.

The Popes anſwer.

To this the Pope made anſwer, the 27 of *September*. "He took notice of the vehemency of their Letter, which he forgave them, imputing it to their great affection to their King: they had charged him with ingratitude and injuſtice; two grievous Imputations. He acknowledged all they wrote of the obligations he owed to their King, which were far greater than they called them, both on the Apoſtolick See, and himſelf in particular. But in the Kings cauſe he had been ſo far from denying juſtice, that he was oft charged as having been too partial to him. He had granted a Commiſſion to two Legates to hear it, rather out of favour, than in Rigor of Law; upon which the Queen had appealed: he had delayed the admitting of it, as long as was poſſible; but when he ſaw it could not be any longer denyed to be heard, it was brought before the Conſiſtory, where all the Cardinals with one conſent, found that the Appeal, and an Avocation of the cauſe muſt be granted. That ſince that time, the King had never deſired to put it to a Tryal, but on the contrary, by his Ambaſſadors at *Bononia* moved for a delay: and in that poſture it was ſtill, nor could he give ſentence in a thing of ſuch Conſequence, when it was not ſo much as ſought for. For the concluſions of Univerſities and Learned men, he had ſeen none of them from any of the Kings Ambaſſadors. It was true ſome of them had been brought to him another way; but in them there were no reaſons given, but only bare Concluſions, and he had alſo ſeen very important things for the other ſide; and therefore he muſt not precipitate a Sentence, in a cauſe of ſuch high Importance, till all things were fully heard and conſidered. He wiſhed their King might have Male Iſſue, but he was not in Gods ſtead to give it. And for their Threatnings of ſeeking other Remedies, they were neither agreeable to their wiſdom, nor to their Religion. Therefore he admoniſhed them to abſtain from ſuch Counſels; but minded them that it is not the Phyſicians fault, if the Patient will do himſelf hurt. He knew the King would never like ſuch courſes, and though he had a juſt value for their Interceſſion; yet he conſidered the King much more, to whom as he had never denyed any thing, that he could grant with his honor; ſo he was very deſirous to examine this matter, and to put it to a ſpeedy iſſue, and would do every thing that he could without offending God.

A Proclamation againſt Bulls from *Rome*.
Lord *Herb.*

But the King either ſeeing the Pope reſolved to grant nothing, or apprehending that ſome Bull might be brought into *England*, in behalf of the Queen, or the diſgraced Cardinal, did on the Nineteenth of *September*, put forth a Proclamation againſt any "who purchaſed any thing from *Rome*, or elſewhere, contrary to his Royal Prerogative and Authority, or ſhould publiſh or divulge any ſuch thing, requiring them not to do it, under the pains of incurring his indignation, Impriſonment, and other puniſhments on their perſons. This was founded on the Statutes of *Proviſors* and *Premunires*. But that being done, he

resolved next to publish to the world, and to his Subjects the justice of his cause: Therefore some Learned men were appointed to compare all that had been written on it, and out of all the Transcripts of the Manuscripts, of Fathers and Councils, to gather together whatsoever did strengthen it. Several of these Manuscripts I have seen, one is in Mr. *Smiths* Library, where are the Quotations of the Fathers, Councils, Schoolmen, and Canonists, written out at length. There are Three other such MSS. in the *Cotton* Library, of which one contains a large vindication of these Authorities, from some Exceptions made to them; another is an answer to the Bishop of *Rochesters* Book for the Queens cause. A Third digests the Matter into Twelve Articles, which the Reader will find in my Appendix; and these are there enlarged on and proved. But all these, and many more were sum'd up in a short Book, and Printed first in Latine, then in English, with the Determinations of the Universities before it. These are of such weight and Importance, and give so great a light to the whole Matter, that I hope the Reader will not be ill pleased to have a short abstract of them laid before him.

1530.

Books written for the Kings cause.

Otho. C. 10.

ibidem.

Vesp. B. 5.

Collect. *Numb.* 35.

An Abstract of those things which were written for the Divorce.

"The Law of Marriage was originally given by God, to *Adam* in "the state of Innocence, with this Declaration, that man and wife "*were one Flesh*; but being afterwards corrupted by the Incestuous "commixtures of those which were of Kin, in the nearest degrees, "the Primitive Law was again revived by *Moses*. And he gives many "Rules and Prohibitions about the Degrees of Kinred and Affinity, "which are not to be looked on, as new Laws and judiciary Precepts, "but as a Restoring of the Law of Nature, originally given by God, "but then much corrupted. For as the Preface which is so oft repeated before these Laws, *I am the Lord*, insinuates that they were con"form to the Divine Nature; so the consequences of them show they "were Moral and Natural. For the Breaches of them are called *Wick"edness* and *Abomination*, and are said *to defile the Land*; and the Vio"lation of them is charged on the *Canaanites*, *by which the Land was pol"luted, and for which it did vomit out the Inhabitants*. From whence "it must be concluded, that these were not positive Precepts, which "did only bind the *Jews*, but were parts of the Law of Mankind and "Nature; otherwise those Nations could contract no Guilt by their "Violating them. Among the forbidden Degrees, one is, *Thou shalt "not discover the Nakedness of thy Brothers wife, it is thy Brothers "Nakedness*. And it is again repeated, *If a man shall take his Brothers "wife, it is an unclean thing, he hath uncovered his Brothers Nakedness, "they shall be childless*. These are clear and express Laws of God, "which therefore must needs oblige all persons of what rank soever, "without exception.

The grounds of it in the old Testament.

Lev. 18.20.

Lev. 18. 2. 4. 5. 6. 21.

v. 17.24.26. *v.* 24. 25.

Lev. 18. *v.* 16.

Lev. 20. 21.

"In the New Testament, St. *John Baptist* said to *Herod*, *It is not "Lawful for thee, to take thy Brothers wife*, which shows that these "Laws of *Moses* were still obligatory. St. *Paul* also in his epistle to "the *Corinthians*, condemns the Incestuous person for having his Fathers "wife which is one of the Degrees forbidden by the Law of *Moses*, and

And in the New.

Mat. 14. 4.

1 *Cor.* 5. 1.

1530. "and calls it *a Fornication, not so much as named among the Gentiles.*
"From whence it is inferred, that these forbidden degrees are excluded
"by the Law of Nature, since the Gentiles did not admit them. St.
"*Paul* also calling it by the common name of *Fornication*, within which,
"according to that place, all undue Commixtures of men and women
"are included; Therefore those places in the New Testament, that
"condemn *Fornication*, do also condemn Marriages in forbidden de-
"grees: our Saviour did also assert the foundation of affinity, by say-
"ing, *that man and wife are one Flesh.*

"But in all Controverted things, the sense of the Scriptures must
"be taken from the Tradition of the Church, which no good Catho-
"lick can deny: and that is to be found in the Decrees of Popes and
"Councils, and in the writings of the Fathers and Doctors of the
"Church: against which, if any argue from their private understand-
"ing of the Scriptures, it is the way of Heresie, and savours of *Luthe-*
"*ranism.* The first of the Fathers, who had occasion to write of this
Lib. 4to. cont. *Marcionem.* "Matter, was *Tertullian*, who lived within an Age after the Apostles.
"He in express words says, that the Law of not Marrying the Bro-
"thers wife, did still oblige Christians.

The Authorities of Popes "The first Pope, whose decision was sought in this Matter, was
"*Gregory* the *Great*, to whom *Austin* the Apostle of *England* wrote
"for his resolution of some things, in which he desired direction;
"and one of these is, *Whether a man may Marry his Brothers wife?* (who in
"the Language of that time was called his *Kinswoman*) The Pope an-
"swered Negatively, and proved it by the Law of *Moses*, and there-
"fore Defined, *that if any of the* English *Nation, who had Marryed*
"*within that degree, were converted to the Faith, he must be admonished*
"*to abstain from his wife, and to look on such a Marriage as a most grie-*
"*vous Sin.* From which it appears, that that good Pope did judge
"it a thing, which by no means could be dispenced with, otherwise
"he had not pressed it so much under such Circumstances; since in
"the first Conversion of a Nation to the Christian Faith, the Insisting
"too much upon it, might have kept back many from receiving the
"Christian Religion, who were otherwise well inclined to it. [a] *Ca-*
"*lixtus*, [b] *Zacarias*, and [c] *Innocent* the Third, have plainly asserted the
"obligation of these Precepts in the Law of *Moses*, the last particu-
"larly, who treats about it with great vehemency: So that the Apo-
"stolick See has already judged the Matter.

[a] *ad omnes Galliæ Episcopos.*
[b] 30. *Quæst.* 3. *cap. Pitanum.*
[c] *De Pref. cap. cum in juventutem.*

and Councils. "Several Provincial Councils have also declared the obligation of
"the Precepts, about the degrees of Marriage in *Leviticus*, by the
Can. 2. "Council at *Neocesarea*; *If a woman had been Marryed to two Brothers,*
"*she was to be cast out of the Communion of the Church till her death, and*
Chap. 5. "*the man that Marryed his Brothers wife, was to be Anathematized,* which
"was also Confirmed in a Council held by Pope *Gregory* the Second.
Can. 61. "In the Council of *Agde*, where the Degrees that make a Marriage
"incestuous are reckoned; this of Marrying the Brothers wife is one
"of them: and there it was Decreed, *that all Marriages within these*
"*Degrees were Null, and the Parties so Contracting, were to be cast out of*
"*the Communion of the Church, and put among the Catechumens, till they*
"*separated themselves from one another.* And in the Second Council of
Chap. 5. "*Toledo*, the Authority of the Mosaical Prohibitions about the De-
grees

"grees of Marriage is acknowledged. It was one of *Wickcliffs* errors, 1530.
"that the Prohibition of Marriage within such degrees was without any "foundation in the Law of God; for which, and other points, he was "condemned first in a Convocation at *London*, then at *Oxford*, and last of "all at the general Council of *Constance* these Condemnations were con-"firmed. So formally had the Church in many Provincial Councils, and "in one that was General, decided this matter.

"Next to these, the Opinions of the Fathers were to be considered. "In the Greek Church [a] *Origen* first had occasion to Treat about it, wri-"ting on *Leviticus*; and [b] *Chrysostome* after him; but most fully St. [c] *Basil* "the Great, who do expresly assert the obligations of these Precepts. "The last particularly, refuting at great length the Opinion of some, "who thought the Marrying two Sisters was not unlawful, laies it down "as a Foundation, That the Laws in *Leviticus* about Marriage were still "in force. *Hesychius* also, writing upon *Leviticus*, proves that these "Prohibitions were universally obligatory, because both the *Egyptians* "and *Cananites* are taxed for Marrying within these Degrees; From "whence he inferrs, they are of Moral and Eternal obligation.

And the Greek. [a] In 20. Levit. [b] Homil. 71. on 22. Mat. [c] Epist. ad Diodor. On Levit. 18. and 20.

"From the Greek they went to the Latine Fathers, and alledged, as "was already observed, that *Tertullian* held the same Opinion, and with "him agreed the three great Doctors of the Latin Church, [a] *Ambrose*, "[b] *Jerom*, and St. [c] *Austin*, who do plainly deliver the Tradition of the "Church about the obligation of those Laws, and answers the objecti-"ons that were made, either from *Abraam's* Marrying his Sister, or from "*Jacob's* Marrying two Sisters, or the Law in *Deuteronomy*, for the Bro-"thers Marrying his Brothers Wife, if he died without Children.

And the Latine Fathers. [a] Lib. 8. Ep. 66. [b] Cont. Helvidium. [c] Cont. Faust. chap. 8, 9, 10. & Quæst. 64. in Lev. Ad Bonifac. Lib. 3. chap. 4. Lib. 15. de Civ. Dei. chap. 16.

"They observed that the same Doctrine was also taught by the Fa-"thers and Doctors in the latter Ages. [d] *Anselm* held it, and pleads "much for Marrying in remote Degrees, and answer the Objection "from the Decision in the Case of the Daughters of *Zelophehad*. [e] *Hugo* "*Cardinalis*, *Radulphus Flaviacensis*, and *Rupertus Tuitiensis*, do agree, "that these Precepts are Moral, and of perpetual obligation, as also *Hugo* "*de Sto. Victore*. [g] *Hildebert* Bishop of *Mans*, being consulted in a Case "of the same nature with what is now controverted, plainly Deter-"mines, *That a man may not Marry his Brothers Wife*; and by many Au-"thorities shewes, That by no means it can be allowed. And [h] *Ivo Car-*"*notensis* being desired to give his Opinion in a Case of the same circum-"stances, of a Kings Marrying his Brothers Wife, says, *Such a Marriage* "*is null, as inconsistent with the Law of God, and that the King was not to be* "*admitted to the Communion of the Church, till he put away his Wife, since* "*there was no Dispencing with the Law of God, and no Sacrifice could be offered* "*for those that continued willingly in sin.* Passages also to the same purpose, "are in other places of his Epistles.

And of the Modern Writers. In Epist. ad Pium Fratrem. [e] On 18. Lev. [f] Lib. 2. de Sacram. p. 2. chap. 4. Art. 2. [g] Epist. ad Arch. Rotomag. & Episc. Sag. [h] Epist. 240.

"From these Doctors and Fathers the Inquiry descended to the School-"men, who had with more nicenes and subtlety examined things. They "do all agree in asserting the obligation of these Levitical Prohibitions. "*Thomas Aquinas* does it in many places, and confirmes it with many "Arguments, *Altisiodorensis*, says, they are Moral Laws, and part of "the Law of Nature. *Petrus de Palude*, is of the same mind, and says, "that a mans Marrying his Brothers Wife, was a Dispensation granted "by God, but could not be now allowed, because it was contrary to the

The Schoolmen. 2da. 2dæ. Quæst. 154. art. 9. In Tertiam Quæst. 54. art. 3. In 4tum. dist. 40. Q. 3. and 4.

1530. "Law of Nature. St. *Antonine* of *Florence*, *Joannes de Turre Cremata*, "*Joannes de Tabia*, *Jacobus de Lausania*, and *Astexanus*, were also cited. "for the same Opinion. And those who wrote against *Wickliffe*, name-"ly [a] *Wydeford*, [b] *Cotton*, and [c] *Waldensis*, charged him with Heresie, for "denying that those Prohibitions did oblige Christians. And asserted "that they were Moral Laws, which obliged all Mankind. And the "Books of *Waldensis* were approved by *P. Martin* the First. There were "also many Quotations brought out of *Petrus de Tarantasia*, *Durandus*, "*Stephanus Brulifer*, *Richardus de Media Villa*, *Guido Briancon*, *Gerson*, "*Paulus Ritius*, and many others, to confirm the same Opinion, who did "all unanimously assert, That those Laws in *Leviticus* are parts of the "Law of Nature, which oblige all Mankind, and that Marriages con-"tracted in these Degrees are null and void. All the Canonists were al-"so of the same mind, *Joannes Andreas*, *Joannes de Imola*, *Abbas Pa-normitanus*, *Mattheus Neru*, *Vincentius*, *Innocentius*, and *Ostiensis*, all "Concluded that these Laws were still in force, and could not be Dis-"penced with.

[a] *Cont.* Wickl. *art.* 8.
[b] *De licitis & illicitis Conjugiis.*
[c] Lib. *de Sacram. Tom.* 2. C. 134.

And Canonists.

Marriage compleated by Consent.

"There was also a great deal alledged, to prove that a Marriage is "compleated by the Marriage-Contract, though it be never Consum-"mated. Many Authorities were brought to prove that *Adonijah* could "not Marry *Abishag*, because she was his Fathers Wife, though never "known by him. And by the Law of *Moses* a woman espoused to a man, "if she admitted another to her Bed, was to be stoned as an *Adulteress*; "from whence it appears, that the validity of Marriage is from the mu-"tual Covenant. And though *Joseph* never knew the Blessed Virgin, "yet he was so much her Husband by the Espousals, that he could not "put her away, but by a Bill of Divorce: and was afterwards called her "Husband, and Christs Father. Affinity had been also defined by all "Writers, *a Relation arising out of Marriage*, and since Marriage was a "*Sacrament of the Church*, its Essence could only consist in the Contract; "and therefore as a man in Orders has the Character, though he never "Consecrated any Sacrament: So Marriage is compleat, though its ef-"fect never follow. And it was shewed that the Canonists had only "brought in the Consummation of Marriage as essential to it by Eccle-"siastical Law. But that as *Adam* and *Eve* were perfectly Married before "they knew one another, so Marriage was compleat upon the Contract; "and what followed, was only an effect done in the right of the Marriage. "And there was a great deal of filthy stuff brought together, of the "different Opinions of the Canonists concerning Consummation, to what "Degree it must go, to shew that it could not be essential to the Mar-"riage Contract, which in modesty were suppressed. Both *Hildebert* "of *Mans*, *Ivo Carnotensis*, and *Hugo de Sto. Victore*, had delivered this "Opinion, and proved it out of St. *Chrysostome*, *Ambrose*, *Austin*, and "*Isidore*. Pope *Nicolas*, and the Council of *Tribur*, defined, that Mar-"riage was compleated by the Consent, and the Benediction. From all "which they Concluded, that although it could not be proved that "Prince *Arthur* knew the Queen, yet that she being once lawfully Mar-"ried to him, the King could not afterwards Marry her.

Violent presumptions of the Consummation of Prince *Arthur*'s Marriage.

"It was also said, that *violent presumptions* were sufficient in the Opi-"nion of the Canonists to prove Consummation. Formal proofs could "not be expected; and for Persons that were of Age, and in good health,

"to

"to be in Bed together, was in all Trials about Conſummation, all that 1530.
"the Cononiſts ſought for. And yet this was not all in this Caſe, for
"it appeared that, upon her Husbands death, ſhe was kept with great
"care by ſome Ladies, who did think her with Child; and ſhe never
"ſaid any thing againſt it. And in the Petition offered to the Pope in
"her name, (repeated in the Bull that was procured for the Second Mar-
"riage,) it is ſaid, ſhe was *perhaps known by Prince* Arthur, and in the
"Breve, it is plainly ſaid, ſhe was known by Prince *Arthur*, and though
"the Queen offered to purge her ſelf by Oath, that Prince *Arthur* ne-
"ver knew her, it was proved by many Authorities out of the Canon-
"Law, That a Partie's Oath ought not to be taken, when there were
"*violent preſumptions* to the contrary.

"As for the validity of the Popes Diſpenſation, it was ſaid, That
"though the Schoolmen and Canoniſts did generally raiſe the Popes *The Popes Diſpenſation of no force.*
"Power very high, and ſtretch it as far as it was poſſible; yet they all
"agreed that it could not reach the Kings Caſe: Upon this received
"Maxime, *That only the Laws of the Church are ſubject to the Pope, and may*
"*be diſpenced with by him; but that Laws of God are above him, and that*
"*he cannot diſpence with them in any caſe.* This *Aquinas* delivers in ma- *In Quodlib.*
"ny places of his Works, *Petrus de Palude*, ſays, The Pope cannot diſ- *Lib.4. Art.13. & in 4tam.*
"pence with Marriage in theſe Degrees, becauſe it is againſt Nature. But *diſt. 15. Q. 3.*
"*Joannes de Turre Cremata*, reports a ſingular Caſe, which fell out when *art. 2.*
"he was a Cardinal. A King of *France* deſired a Diſpenſation to Marry *Sup. Cap. Conjunctionis*
"his Wives Siſter. The matter was long conſidered of, and debated in *35. Q. 2.*
"the *Rota*, himſelf being there, and bearing a ſhare in the Debate; but *& 3.*
"it was concluded, *That if any Pope either out of Ignorance, or being Cor-*
"*rupted, had ever granted ſuch a Diſpenſation, that could be no preſident or*
"*warrant for doing the like any more, ſince the Church ought to be governed*
"*by Laws, and not by ſuch Examples. Antonin*, and *Joannes de Tabia*, held
"the ſame. And one *Bacon* an *Engliſh-man*, who had taught the contra-
"ry, was cenſured for it even at *Rome*, and he did retract his Opinion,
"and acknowledged, that the Pope could not diſpence with the Degrees
"of Marriage forbidden by the Law of God.

"The Canoniſts agree alſo to this, both *Joannes Andreas*, *Joannes de*
"*Imola*, and *Abbas Panormitanus*, aſſert it, ſaying, That the Precepts in *Sup. cap.*
"*Leviticus* oblige for ever, and therefore cannot be diſpenced with. And *Literas de*
"*Panormitan* ſays, *Theſe things are to be obſerved in Practice, becauſe great* *Reſt. Sponſ.*
"*Princes do often deſire Diſpenſations from Popes.* Pope *Alexander the* 3d. *Cap. ad Au-*
"would not ſuffer a Citizen of *Pavia* to Marry his younger Son, to the *dien. Sponſal.*
"Widow of his eldeſt Son, though he had Sworn to do it. For the Pope
"ſaid, it was againſt the Law of God, therefore it might not be done, and
"he was to repent of his unlawful Oath.

"And for the Power of diſpencing even with the Laws of the Church,
"by Popes; it was brought in, in the latter Ages. All the Fathers with
"one conſent believed, That the Laws of God could not be diſpenced
"with by the Church, for which many places were cited out of St. *Cy-*
"*prian*, *Baſil*, *Ambroſe*, *Iſidore*, *Bernard*, and *Urban*, *Fabian*, *Marcellus*, and
"*Innocent*, that were Popes; beſides an infinite number of latter Wri-
"ters. And alſo the Popes *Zoſimus*, *Damaſus*, *Leo*, and *Hilarius* did free-
"ly acknowledge they could not change the Decrees of the Church, nor
"go againſt the Opinions or Practices of the Fathers. And ſince the A-

1530. "postles confessed, *they could do nothing against the truth, but for the truth;* "the Pope being Christs Vicar, cannot be supposed to have so great a "Power as to abrogate the Law of God: and though it is acknowledged, "that he is Vested with a *fulness of Power*, yet the phrase must be restrain-"ed to the matter of it, which is the Pastoral care of Souls. And though "there was no Court Superiour to the Popes, yet as St. *Paul* had with-"stood St. *Peter* to his face; so in all Ages upon several occasions, holy "Bishops have refused to comply with, or submit to Orders sent from "*Rome*, when they thought the matter of them unlawful.

Several Bishops refuse to submit to the Popes Decrees. *Gul. Malmesbur. Lib.* 1.

"*Laurence* that Succeeded *Austin* the Monk in the See of *Canterbury*, "having Excommunicated King *Edbald* for an Incestuous Marriage, "would not Absolve him, till he put away his Wife; though the Pope "plied him earnestly both by Intreaties and Threatnings, to let it alone, "and Absolve him. *Dunstan* did the like to Count *Edwin* for an other "Incestuous Marriage; nor did all the Popes Interposition make him "give over. They found many other such instances which occurred in "the Ecclesiastical History, of Bishops proceeding by Censures and o-"ther Methods, to stop the course of Sin, notwithstanding any encourage-"ment the Parties had from Popes.

"And it is certain, that every man when he finds himself engaged in "any course, which is clearly sinful, ought presently to forsake it, ac-"cording to the opinion of all Divines. And therefore the King upon "these Evidences of the unlawfulness of his Marriage ought to abstain "from the Queen; and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, with the other "Bishops, ought to require him to do it, otherwise they must proceed to "Church Censures. Many things were also brought from reason (or "at least the Maximes of the School Philosophy, which passed for true "reason in those days,) to prove Marriage in the degrees forbidden by "*Moses* to be contrary to the Law of Nature; and much was alledged "out of Profane Authors, to show what an abhorrency some Heathen "Nations had of Incestuous Marriages.

The Authority of Tradition

"And whereas the chief strength of the Arguments for the contrary "opinion, rested in this, That these Laws of *Moses* were not confirmed "by *Christ* or his Apostles in the New Testament. To that they answer-"ed, That if the Laws about Marriage were Moral, as had been proved, "then there was no need of a particular Confirmation, since those "Words of our Saviour: *I came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it;* do "confirm the whole Moral Law. Christ had also expresly asserted the "Relation of Affinity, saying, *That man and wife are one Flesh.* St. *Paul* "also condemned a Match as Incestuous for Affinity. But though it "were not expresly set down in the Gospel, yet the Traditions of the "Church, are received with equal Authority to written Verities. This "the Court of *Rome*, and all the Learned Writers for the Catholick Faith, "lay down as a Fundamental Truth. And without it, how could the "Seven Sacraments (some of which are not mentioned in the New Te-"stament,) with many other Articles of Catholick Belief be maintain-"ed against the Hereticks. The Tradition of the Church being so full "and formal in this particular, must take place: And if many Corrupti-"ons have been brought in by some Popes within an Age or two, which "have never had any other Authority from the Decrees of the Church, "or the Opinions of Learned men, they are not to be maintained in oppo-"sition to the Evidence that is brought on the other side.

This I have summed up in as short and Comprehensive words as I could, Being the Substance of what I gathered out of the Printed Books and Manuscripts for the Kings cause. But the Fidelity of an Historian leads me next to open the arguments that were brought against it, by those who wrote on the other side for the Queens cause, to prove the validity of the Marriage, and the Popes Power of Dispensing with a Marriage in that degree of Affinity. 1530.

I could never by all the search I have made, see either MSS or Printed Books that defended their Cause, except *Cajetans* and *Victorias* Books that are Printed in their works. But from an answer that was written to the Bishop of *Rochesters* Book, and from some other writings on the other side, I gather the Substance of their arguments to have been what follows.

"Cardinal *Cajetan*, had by many arguments endeavored to prove, "that the Prohibitions in *Leviticus*, were not parts of the Moral Law. "They were not observed before the Law, no not by the holy seed. "*Adams* Children Married one another, *Abraham* Married his Sister, "*Jacob* Married two Sisters, *Judah* gave his two Sons to *Tamar*, and "promised to give her the third for her Husband. By the Law of "*Moses*, a Dispensation was granted in one case, for Marrying the "Brothers wife, which shows the Law was not Moral, otherwise it "could not be dispenced with, and if *Moses* dispensed with it, why "might not the Pope as well do it, nor was there any force in the "places cited from the New Testament. As for that of *Herod*, both "*Josephus* and *Eusebius* witness, that his Brother *Philip* was alive when "he took his wife, and so his sin was Adultery and not Incest. We "must also think that the Incestous Person in *Corinth*, took his Fathers "Wife when he was yet living, otherwise if he had been dead, St. "*Paul* could not say it was *a Fornication not named among the Gentiles*, "for we not only find both among the *Persians* and other Nations, the "Marriage of Step-Mothers allowed, but even among the *Jews*, *Adonijah* desired *Abisha* in Marriage, who had been his Fathers Concubine. The Arguments for the Marriage.

From all which they concluded, "that the Laws about the Degrees "of Marriage, were only Judiciary Precepts, and so there was no other obligation on Christians to obey them, than what flowed from "the Laws of the Church, with which the Pope might dispense. "They also said, that the Law in *Leviticus* of not taking the Brothers "wife, must be understood of not taking her, while he was alive; for "after he was dead, by another Law, a man might marry his Brothers wife.

"They also pleaded, that the Popes Power, of Dispensing, did reach "further than the Laws of the Church, even to the Law of God, for "he daily Dispensed with the Breaking of Oaths and Vows, though "that was expresly contrary to the Second Commandment, and though "the Fifth Command, *Thou shalt do no Murther*, be against Killing, yet "the Pope Dispensed with the putting Thieves to death, and in some "cases, where the reason of the Commandment does not at all times "hold, he is the only judge according to *Summa Angelica*. They Concluded the Popes Power of Dispensing was as necessary, as his Power of Expounding the Scriptures, and since there was a Question "made concerning the obligation of these Levitical Prohibitions, whether

they

1529. "they were Moral, and did oblige Christians or not? the Pope must "be the only Judge: There were also some late Presidents found, one "of P. *Martin*, who in the case of a mans having Marryed his own Sister, "who had lived long with her, upon a Consultation with Divines "and Lawyers, Confirmed it: to prevent the Scandal, which the dis-"solving of it would have given. Upon which St. *Antonin* of *Florence* "says, that since the thing was dispensed with, it was to be refered "to the Judgment of God, and not to be condemned.

"The Pope had granted this Dispensation, upon a very weighty "Consideration, to keep peace between two great Crowns; it had "now stood above Twenty years: it would therefore raise an high "scandal, to bring it under debate; besides that it would do much hurt, "and bring the Titles to most Crowns into Controversie.

"But they Concluded, that whatever Informalities or Nullities were "pretended to be in the Bulls or Breves, the Pope was the only com-"petent judge of it, and that it was too high a presumption for infe-"rior Prelates, to take upon them to examine or discuss it.

The Answers made to these. But to these Arguments it was Answered by the writers for the Kings cause, "that it was strange to see men, who pretended to be "such Enemies to all Heretical Novelties, yet be guilty of that, which "Catholick Doctors hold to be the foundation of all Heresie; which "was the setting up of private senses of Scripture, and Reasonings "from them, against the Doctrine and Tradition of the Church. It "was fully made out, that the Fathers and Doctors of the Church did "universally agree in this, that the Levitical Prohibitions of the De-"grees of Marriage are Moral, and do oblige all Christians. Against "this Authority *Cajetan* was the first that presumed to write, oppo-"sing his private conceits to the Tradition of the Church: which is "the same thing, for which *Luther* and his followers are so severely "Condemned. May it not then be justly said of such men, that they "plead much for Tradition, when it makes for them, but reject it "when it is against them? Therefore all these exceptions are over-"thrown, with this one Maxime of Catholick Doctrine, *That they are* "*Novelties against the constant Tradition of the Christian Church, in all* "*Ages.* But if the force of them be also examined, they will be found "as weak, as they are New. That before the Law, these degrees "were not observed, proves only, that they are not evidently contra-"ry to the Common sense of all men; But as there are some Mo-"ral Precepts, which have that natural evidence in them, that all men "must discern it, so there are others, that are drawn from publick "inconvenience and dishonesty, which are also parts of the Law of "nature: These Prohibitions are not of the first, but of the second "sort, since the Immorality of them appears in this, that the Fami-"liarities and freedoms among near Relations are such, that if an hor-"ror were not struck in men at conjunctures in these degrees, Fami-"lies would be much defiled. This is the Foundation of the Prohibi-"tions of Marriages in these degrees: Therefore it is not strange if "men did not apprehend it, before God made a Law concerning it. "Therefore all examples before the Law, show only the thing is not so "evident, as to be easily collected by the light of Nature. And for "the story of *Judah* and *Tamar*, there is so much wickedness in all the

parts

"parts of it, that it will be very hard to make a President out of any "part of it. As for the Provision about Marrying the Brothers wife, "that only proves, the ground of the Law is not of its own Nature "Immutable, but may be Dispensed with by God in some cases. And "all these Moral Laws, that are founded on publick conveniency and "honesty, are Dispensable by God in some cases; but because *Moses* "did it by Divine Revelation, it does not follow, that the Pope can "do it by his Ordinary Authority. 1531.

"For that about *Herod*, it is not clear from *Josephus*, that *Philip* "was alive when *Herod* Marryed his Wife. For all that *Josephus* "says, is, that she separated from her Husband, when he was yet alive, "and divorced her self from him. But he does not say, that he lived "still after she Marryed his Brother. And by the Law of Divorce "Marriage was at an end, and broken by it as much, as if the Party "had been dead, So that, in that case she might have Marryed any "other: Therefore *Herods* sin in taking her, was from the Relation of "having been his Brothers Wife. And for the Incestuous person in *Co-* "*rinth*, it is as certain, that though some few Instances of a King of "*Syria* and some others, may be brought of Sons Marrying their Step- "Mothers, yet these things were generally ill looked on, even where "they were practised by some Princes, who made their Pleasure their "Law. Nor could the Laws of *Leviticus* be understood, of not Mar- "rying the Brothers wife when he was alive; for it was not Lawful "to take any mans Wife from him living. Therefore that cannot be "the meaning. And all those Prohibitions of Marriage in other de- "grees, excluding those Marriages simply, whether during the life, or "after the death of the Father, Son, Uncle, and other such Relations, "there is no ground to disjoynt this so much from the rest, as to make "it only extend to a Marriage before the Husbands death. And for "any Presidents that were brought, they were all in the latter Ages, "and were never Confirmed by any publick Authority. Nor must "the Practices of later Popes be laid in the Ballance against the Deci- "sions of former Popes, and the Doctrine of the whole Church; and "as to the Power that was ascribed to the Pope, that began now to "be enquired into with great Freedom, as shall appear afterwards.

The Queen still intractable.

These Reasons on both sides being thus opened, the Censures of them, it is like, will be as different now, as they were then: for they prevailed very little on the Queen, who still persisted to justifie her Marriage, and to stand to her Appeal. And though the King carryed it very kindly to her in all outward appearance, and employed every body that had credit with her, to bring her to submit to him, and to pass from her Appeal, remitting the Decision of the matter to any Four Prelates, and Four Secular men in *England*, she was still unmovable and would hearken to no Proposition. In the judgments that people passed, the Sexes were divided; the Men generally approved the Kings cause, and the Women favoured the Queen. But now the Session of Parliament came on the Sixteenth of *January*, and there the King first brought in to the House of Lords, the Determination of the Universities, and the Books that were written for his cause by Forreigners. After they were read and Considered there, the Lord Chancellor did on the 20th of *March*, with Twelve Lords both of the Spiritualty and Temporalty

Hall.

A Session of Parliament.

More.

1531. Temporalty goe down to the House of Commons, and shewed them what the Universities and Learned men beyond Sea, had written for the Divorce, and produced Twelve Original Papers, with the Seals of the Universities to them, which Sr. *Brian Tuke* took out of his hand, and read openly in the House, Translating the Latine into English. Then about an Hundred Books written by Forreign Divines, for the Divorce, were also showed them; none of which were read, but put off to another time, it being late. When that was done, the Lord Chancellor desired they would report in their Countries, *what they had heard and seen, and then all men should clearly perceive, that the King hath not attempted this matter of Will and Pleasure, as strangers say, but only for the Discharge of his Conscience, and the Security of the Succession to the Crown.* Having said that, he left the House. The matter was

Convocation. also brought before the Convocation; and they having weighed all that was said on both sides, seemed satisfied, that the Marriage was unlawful, and that the Bull was of no force; more not being required at that time.

The whole Clergy sued in a *Premunire*. But it is not strange, that this matter went so easily in the Convocation, when another of far greater consequence passed there, which will require a full and distinct account. Cardinal *Wolsey* by exercising his Legantine Authority had fallen into a *Premunire*, as hath been already shewn, and now those who had appeared in his Courts, and had sutes there, were found to be likewise in the same guilt by the Law; and this matter, being excepted out of the Pardon that was granted in the former Parliament, was at this time set on foot: Therefore an Indictment was brought into the Kings Bench, against all the Clergy of *England*, for breaking the Statutes against Provisions or Provisors. But to open this more clearly,

The Prerogative of the Kings of *England*, in Ecclesiastical affairs. It is to be Considered, that the Kings of *England* having claimed in all Ages, a Power in Ecclesiastical Matters, equal to what the *Roman* Emperors had in that Empire, they exercised this Authority both over the Clergy and Laity: and did at first erect Bishopricks, grant Investitures in them, call Synods, make Laws, about Sacred as well as Civil Concerns: and in a word, they Governed their whole Kingdom. Yet when the Bishops of *Rome* did stretch their Power beyond either the limits of it in the Primitive Church, or what was afterward granted them by the Roman Emperors; and came to assume an Authority in all the Churches of *Europe*; as they found some Resistance every where, so they met with a great deal in this Kingdom; and it was with much Difficulty, that they gained the Power of giving Investitures, Receiving Appeals to *Rome*, and of sending Legates to *England*, with several other things, which were long contested, but were delivered up at length, either by feeble Princes, or when Kings were so engaged at home or abroad, that it was not safe for them to offend the Clergy. For in the first Contest between the Kings and the Popes, the Clergy were generally on the Popes side, because of the Immunity and Protection they enjoyed from that See, but when Popes became ambitious and warlike Princes, then new Projects and Taxes were every where set on foot, to raise a great Treasure. The Pall,

The Encroachment of the Papacy. with many Bulls and high Compositions for them, Annates or first Fruits, and Tenths were the standing Taxes of the Clergy, besides many

many new ones upon emergent occasions. So that they finding themselves thus oppressed by the Popes, fled again back to the Crown for Protection, which their Predecessors had abandoned. 1531.

From the days of *Edward* the 1st many Statutes were made to restrain the Exactions of *Rome*. For then the Popes not satisfied with their other oppressions, (which a Monk of that time lays open fully, and from a deep sense of them) did by Provisions, Bulls, and other Arts of that See, dispose of Bishopricks, Abbeys, and lesser Benefices to Forreigners, Cardinals, and others that did not live in *England*. Upon which the Commonalty of the Realm, did represent to the King in Parliament, *That the Bishopricks, Abbeys, and other Benefices were founded by the Kings and people of* England, *To inform the people of the Law of God, and to make Hospitality, Alms, and other works of Charity, for which end they were endowed by the King and people of* England; *and that the King, and his other Subjects who endowed them, had, upon Voidances, the Presentment and Collations of them, which now the Pope had Usurped and given to Aliens, by which the Crown would be disinherited, and the ends of their endowments destroyed, with other great Inconveniences*: Therefore it was ordained, *that these Oppressions should not be suffered in any manner*. But notwithstanding this, the abuse went on, and there was no effectual way laid down in the Act, to punish these Transgressions. The Court of *Rome* was not so easily driven out of any thing, that either encreased their Power or their Profits; Therefore by another Act in his Grand-Child *Edward* the 3ds time, the Commons complained *that these abuses did abound, and that the Pope did daily reserve to his Collation, Church-Preferments in* England, *and raised the first-Fruits with other great Profits, by which the Treasure of the Realm was carried out of it, and many Clerks advanced in the Realm, were put out of their Benefices, by those Provisors, therefore the King being bound by Oath to see the Laws kept, did with the assent of all the great men and the Commonalty of the Realm, ordain, that the free Elections, Presentments, and Collations of Benefices, should stand in the Right of the Crown, or of any of his Subjects as they had formerly enjoyed them, notwithstanding any Provisions from* Rome. *And if any did disturb the Incumbents by vertue of such Provisions, those Provisors or others employed by them, were to be put in Prison, till they made Fine and Ransome to the King at his will; or if they could not be apprehended, writs were to be issued out to seize them, and all Benefices possessed by them, were to fall into the Kings hands, except they were Abbeys or Priories, that fell to the Canons & Colledges*. By another Act *the Provisors were put out of the Kings Protection, and if any man offended against them, in Person or Goods, he was excused, and was never to be impeached for it*. And two years after that, upon another Complaint, of their Suing the Kings Subjects in other Courts, or beyond Sea, it was Ordained, *that any who Sued either beyond Sea, or in any other Court, for things that had been Sued, and about which, judgment had been given in former times, in the Kings Courts, were to be Cited to answer for it in the Kings Courts within two Months; and if they came not, they were to be put out of the Kings Protection, and to forfeit their Lands, Goods, and Chattels to the King, and to be imprisoned and ransomed at the Kings will*. Both these Statutes received a new Confirmation Eleven years after that. But those Statutes proved ineffectual, and in the beginning

Mat. Paris.

The Laws made against them.

25 *Edw.* 1st. repeated in the Stat. of Provisors. 25. *Edw.* 3d.

25. *Edward* 3d. Statute of Provisors.

27. *Edward* 3d. *cap.* 1st.

38. *Edward* 3d. *cap.* 1st.

1531. beginning of the Reign of *Richard* the 2d, the former Acts were Confirmed by another Statute, and appointed to be Executed; and not only the Provisors themselves, but all such as took Procuratories, Letters of Attourney, or Farms from them, were involved in the same Guilt. And in the 7th year of that King, Provisions was made against Aliens, having Benefices without the Kings Licence, and the King promised to abstain from granting them Licences: for this was another Artifice of the *Roman* Court, to get the King of their side, by accepting his Licence, which by this Act was restrained. This failing, they betook themselves to another course, which was to prevail with the Incumbents that were presented in *England* according to Law, to take Provisions for their Benefices from *Rome*, to Confirm their Titles. This was also forbidden under the former Pains. As for the Rights of Presentations, by the Law they were tryed and judged in the Kings Courts, and the Bishops were to give Institution according to the Title declared in these judgments: This the Popes had a mind to draw to themselves, and to have all Titles to Advousons tryed in their Courts and Bishops were Excommunicated, who proceeded in this matter according to the Law. Of which great Complaint was made in the 16th year of the Reign of *Richard* the 2d. And it was added to that, that the Pope intended to make many Translations of Bishops, some to be within, and some out of the Realm, which among other Inconveniences reckoned in the Statute, would produce this effect, *That the Crown of* England, *which had been so free at all times, should be subjected to the Bishop of* Rome, *and the Laws and Statutes of the Realm by him defeated and destroyed, at his Will. They also found those things to be against the Kings Crown, and Regality, used and approved in the time of his Progenitors: Therefore all the Commons resolved to live and dye with him and his Crown, and they required him by way of Justice, to Examine all the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, what they thought of those things, and whether they would be with the Crown to uphold the Regality of it? To which all the Temporal Lords answered, they would be with the Crown. But the Spiritual Lords being asked, said, they would neither deny nor affirm that the Bishop of* Rome, *might, or might not, Excommunicate Bishops, or make Translations of Prelates: But upon that Protestation,* they said, *that if such things were done, they thought it was against the Crown, and said, they would be with the King, as they were bound by their Leageance;* whereupon it was ordained, *that if any did purchase Translations, Sentences of Excommunication, Bulls, or other Instruments from the Court of* Rome, *against the King or his Crown, or whosoever brought them to* England, *or did receive, or execute them, they were out of the Kings Protection, and that they should forfeit their Goods and Chattels to the King, and their Persons should be imprisoned.* And because the Proceedings were to be upon a writ, called from the most material words of it, *Premunire facies*, this was called the *Statute of Premunire*.

3. Richard 2d. cap. 3d.

12 Richard. 2d. cap. 15.

16. Richard 2d. cap. 5.

When *Henry* the 4th, had Treasonably Usurped the Crown, all the Bishops (*Carlisle* only excepted) did assist him in it, and he did very gratefully oblige them again in other things; yet he kept up the force of the former Statutes. For the *Cistercian* Order having procured Bulls, discharging them of paying Tithes, and forbidding them to let their Farms to any, but to possess them themselves, this

This was complained of in Parliament in the 2d year of his Reign, *and those Bulls were declared to be of no force, and if any did put them in Execution, or procured other such Bulls, they were to be proceeded against, upon the Statutes made in the* 13th *year of the former Kings Reign, against Provisors.** But all this while though they made Laws for the future, yet they had not the Courage to put them in Execution. And this Feebleness in the Government, made them so much despised, and so oft broken; whereas the severe execution of one Law in one Instance would more effectually have prevented the Mischief, than all these Laws did without Execution. In the 6th year of his Reign, Complaints being made of the excessive Rates of Compositions for Arch-Bishopricks and Bishopricks in the Popes Chamber, *which were raised to the treble of what had been formerly payed*; it was Enacted, *That they should pay no more, than had been formerly wont to be payed.* In the 7th year of his Reign, the Statute made in the 2d year was confirmed, and by another Act, *the Licences which the King had Granted for the Executing, any of the Popes Bulls are declared of no force, to prejudice any Incumbent in his Right.* Yet the abuses and Encroachments of the Court of *Rome* still encreasing, all former Statutes against *Provisors* were Confirmed again, and all Elections declared free, and not to be interrupted, either by the Pope, or the King. But at the same time, the King pardoned all the former Transgressions against these Statutes. By those Pardons the Court of *Rome* was more encouraged, than terrified by the Laws, therefore there was a necessity of making another Law in the Reign of *Henry* 5th, against *Provisors, that the Incumbents Lawfully Invested in their Livings, should not be molested by them, though they had the Kings Pardon; and both Bulls and Licences were declared void and of no value, and those who did upon such grounds molest them, should incur the pains of the Statutes against Provisors.*

1531.
2. Hen.4.cap.4
6. Henry 4. cap. 1st.
7. Hen. 4. cap. 6. 8.
17. Hen. 4. cap. 8.
4. Hen.5.cap.4.

Our Kings took the best opportunity that ever could have been found, to depress the Papal Power; for from the beginning of *Richard* the Second's Reign, till the Fourth year of *Henry* the Fifth, the Popedome was broken by a long and great Schism; and the Kingdoms of *Europe* were divided in their Obedience: Some holding for those that sate at *Rome*, and others for the Popes of *Avignon*: *England* in opposition to *France*, that chiefly supported the *Avignon*-Popes, did adhere to the *Roman* Popes. The Papacy being thus divided, the Popes were as much at the mercy of Kings for their Protection, as Kings had formerly been at theirs; so that they durst not Thunder as they were wont to do, otherwise this Kingdom had certainly been put under Excommunications and Interdicts for these Statutes, as had been done formerly upon less Provocations.

But now that the Schism was healed, Pope *Martin* the Fifth, began to reassume the Spirit of his Predecessors, and sent over threatning messages to *England*, in the beginning of *Henry* the Sixths Reign. None of our Books have taken any notice of this piece of our History: The Manuscript out of which I draw it, had been written near that time, and contains many of the Letters, that passed between *Rome* and *England* upon this occasion.

Ex MSS. D. Petyt.

The first Letter is to *Henry Chichely*, then Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who had been promoted to that See by the Pope, but had made

1530. no opposition to the Statute against Provisions in the Fourth year of *Henry* the Fifth; and afterwards in the Eighth year of his Reign, when the Pope had granted a Provision of the Arch-Bishoprick of *York*, to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, the Chapter of *York* rejected it, and pursuant to the former Statute, made a Canonical Election. *Henry* the Fifth being then the greatest King in Christendome, the Pope durst not offend him: So the Law took place without any further contradiction, till the Sixth year of his Sons Reign, that *England* was both under an Infant King, and had fallen from its former greatness: Therefore the Pope who waited for a good conjuncture, laid hold on this, and first expostulated severely with the Arch-Bishop for his remissness, that he had not stood up more, for the Right of St. *Peter* and the See of *Rome*, that had bestowed on him the Primacy of *England*; and then says many things against the Statute of Premunire, and exhorts him to imitate the Example of his Predecessor St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury* the Martyr, in asserting the Rights of the Church; requiring him, under the pain of Excommunication, to declare at the next Parliament to both Houses, the unlawfulness of that Statute, and that all were under Excommunication, who obeyed it. But to make sure work among the people, he also commands him, to give orders under the same pains, that all the Clergy of *England* should preach the same Doctrine to the people. This bears date the 5th day of *December* 1426. and will be found in the Collection of Papers.

Reg. Chichel. Fol. 39.

Collect. Numb. 37.

But it seems the Pope was not satisfied with his Answer, for the next Letter in that MSS. is yet more severe, and in it, his Legantine Power is suspended. It has no date added to it, but the Paper that follows, bearing date the 6th of *April* 1427. leads us pretty near the date of it. It contains an Appeal of the Arch-Bishops, from the Popes Sentence, to the next general Council; or if none met, to the Tribunal of God and Jesus Christ.

There is also another Letter, dated the 6th of *May* directed to the Arch-Bishop, and makes mention of Letters written to the whole Clergie to the same purpose, Requiring him to use all his Endeavors, for repealing the Statute, and chides him severely because he had said, *that the Popes zeal in this matter was only, that he might raise much Money out of* England; which he resents as an high Injury, and Protests that he designed only to maintain these Rights, that Christ himself had granted to his See, which the Holy Fathers, the Councils, and the Catholick Church has always acknowledged. If this does not look like Teaching *ex Cathedra* it is left to the Readers Judgment.

But the next Letter is of an higher strain. It is directed to the two Arch-Bishops only, and it seems, in despite to *Chichely*, the Arch-Bishop of *York* is named before *Canterbury*. By it the Pope annuls the Statutes made by *Edward* the Third and *Richard* the Second, and commands them to do no Act in pursuance of them: and declares, if they, or any other gave obedience to them, they were *ipso facto* Excommunicated, and not to be relaxed, unless at the point of death, by any but the Pope. He charges them also to intimate that his Monitory Letter to the whole nation, and cause it to be affixed in the several places, where there might be occasion for it. This is dated the 8th of *Decemb.* the tenth year of his Popedom. Then follow Letters from

from the University of *Oxford*, the Arch-Bishop of *York*, the Bishops of *London*, *Duresm*, and *Lincoln*, to the Pope; all to mitigate his displeasure against the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, in which they gave him the highest testimony possible, bearing date the 10th and the 25th day of *July*. These the Arch-Bishop sent by an Express to *Rome*, and wrote the humblest submission possible to the Pope; Protesting that he had done, and would do all that was in his Power, for repealing these Statutes. One thing in this Letter is remarkable, he says, *he hears the Pope had proceeded to a Sentence against him, which had never been done from the days of St.* Austin *to that time: but he knew that only by report, for he had not opened, much less read the Bulls, in which it was contained; being commanded by the King, to bring them with the Seals entire, and lay them up in the Paper-Office, till the Parliament was brought together.* 1531.

There are two other Letters to the King, and one to the Parliament, for the Repeal of the Statute. In those to the King, the Pope writes, that he had often pressed both King and Parliament to it; and that the King had answered, that he could not repeal it without the Parliament. But he excepts to that, as a delaying the business, and shews it is of it self unlawful, and that the King was under Excommunication, as long as he kept it; therefore he expects that at the furthest, in the next Parliament, it should be repealed. It bears date the 13th of *October*, in the 10th year of his Popedom. In his Letter to the Parliament, he tells them, that no Man can be saved, who is for the observation of that Statute: Therefore he requires them, under pain of Damnation to repeal it, and offers to secure them from any abuses, which might have crept in formerly with these Provisions. This is dated the Third of *October*, *Decimo Pontificat.* but I believe it is an error of the Transcriber, and that its true date was the 13th of *October*. And to the King and Parliament. Collect. *Numb.* 38. Collect. *Numb.* 39.

The Parliament sate in *January* 1427, being the 6th year of King *Henry* the 6th, during which on the 30th of *January*, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* accompanyed by the Arch-Bishop of *York*, the Bishops of *London*, St. *Davids*, *Ely*, and *Norwich*, and the Abbots of *Westminster* and *Reading*, went from the House of Lords, to the place where the House of Commons ordinarily sate, which was the Refectory of the Abbey of *Westminster*, where the Arch-Bishop made a long Speech, in the form of a Sermon, upon that Text; *Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsars, and to God, the things that are Gods.* He began with a Protestation, that he and his Brethren intended not to say any thing, that might derogate from the King, the Crown, or the people of *England*. Then he alledged many things, for the Popes Power in granting Provisions, to prove it was of Divine Right, and admonished and required them to give the Pope satisfaction in it, otherwise he laid out to them with tears, what mischiefs might follow, if he proceeded to censures; which will appear more fully from the Instrument, that will be found in the Collection at the end. But it seems the Parliament would do nothing for all this, for no Act neither of Repeal nor Explanation was passed. But to no purpose. Collect. *Numb.* 40.

Yet it appears the Pope was satisfied with the Arch-Bishops carriage in this matter, for he soon after restored him to the Exercise of his Legantine Power, as *Godwin* has it; only he by a mistake says, he was made

1531. made Legate, *Anno* 1428. whereas it was only a Restitution after a Censure.

The Clergy excuse themselves.

Thus stood the Law of *England* in that matter, which was neither Repealed nor well Executed; for the Popes Usurpations still encreasing, those Statutes lay dead among the Records, and several Cardinals had procured and executed a Legantine Power, which was clearly contrary to them. And as Cardinal *Wolsey* was already brought under the lash for it, so it was now made use of; partly to give the Court of *Rome* apprehensions of what they were to expect from the King, if they went on to use him ill; and partly to proceed severely against all those of the Clergy, who adhared obstinately to the Interests of that Court; and to make the rest compound the matter, both by a full Submission and a considerable Subsidy. It was in vain to pretend, It was a publick and allowed Error, and that the King had not only connived at the Cardinals Proceedings, but had made him all that while his chief Minister: That therefore they were excusable in submitting to an Authority to which the King gave so great encouragement, and that if they had done otherwise they had been unavoidably ruined. For to all this it was answered, that the Laws were still in force, and that their Ignorance could not excuse them, since they ought to have kuown the Law; yet since the violation of it was so publick, though the Court proceeded to a Sentence, That they were all out of the Kings protection, and were liable to the pains in the Statutes; the King was willing, upon a reasonable Composition, and a full Submission, to Pardon them.

Yet they Compound.

So in the Convocation of *Canterbury*, a Petition was brought in to be offered to the King. In the Kings Title, he was called, *the Protector and Supreme Head of the Church, and Clergy of* England. To this some opposition was made, and it was put off to another day; but by the Interposition of *Cromwell*, and others of the Kings Council, who came to the Convocation, and used arguments to perswade them to it, they were prevailed with to pass it with that Title, at least none speaking against it: For when *Warham* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* said, *That silence was to be taken for consent*, They cried out, *they were then all silent*: Yet it was moved by some to add these words to the Title, *in so far as is lawful by the Law of Christ*. But *Parker* says, The King disliked that Clause, since it left his Power still disputable; therefore it was cast out, and the Petition passed simply, as it was first brought in. Yet in that he was certainly misinformed, for when the Convocation of the Province of *York* demurred about the same Petition, and sent their reasons to the King, why they could not acknowledge him *Supreme Head*, which (as appears by the Kings answer to them,) were chiefly founded on this, that the term *Head* was improper, and did not agree to any under Christ; the King wrote a long and sharp answer to them, and showed them, that words were not always to be understood in their strict sense, but according to the common acceptation. And among other things he showed what an Explanation was made in the Convocation of *Canterbury*, That it was *in so far as was agreeable to the Law of Christ*; by which it appears, that at that time the King was satisfied to have it pass any way, and so it was agreed to by nine Bishops (the Bishop of *Rochester* being one) and 52 Abbots and Priors, and the major part of the lower House of Convocation in the Province of *Canterbury*. Of which number it is very probable

And acknowledge the King Supreme Head of the Church of *England*.
Lord *Herbert*.

Antiquit. Britanniæ in vita Warham.

Printed in the *Cabala*.

Reginald

Reginald Pool was, for in his Book to the King, he ſays, he was then in *England*, and adds, that the King would not accept of the ſum the Clergy offered, unleſs they acknowledged him *Supreme Head:* he being then Dean of *Exceter*, was of the lower Houſe of Convocation; and it is not likely the King would have continued the Penſions, and other Church-Preferments he had, if he had refuſed to Signe that Petition and Submiſſion. By it they prayed the King to accept 100000 *l.* in lieu of all puniſhments which they had incurred, by going againſt the Statutes of *Proviſors*, and did promiſe for the future, neither to make, nor execute any Conſtitution without the Kings Licence; upon which he granted them a general Pardon: and the Convocation of the Province of *York* offering 18840 *l.* with another Submiſſion of the ſame nature afterwards, though that met with more oppoſition, they were alſo Pardoned. 1531.

When the King's Pardon for the Clergy was brought in to the Houſe of Commons, they were much troubled to find themſelves not included within it; for by the Statutes of *Proviſors*, many of them were alſo liable, and they apprehended, that either they might be brought in trouble, or at leaſt it might be made uſe of to draw a Subſidy from them: ſo they ſent their Speaker with ſome of their Members, to repreſent to the King, the great grief of his Commons to find themſelves out of his favour, which they concluded from the Pardon of the pains of *Premunire* to his Spiritual Subjects, in which they were not included; and therefore prayed the King that they might be comprehended within it. But the King anſwered them, That they muſt not reſtrain his Mercy, nor yet force it; it was free to him either to execute, or mitigate the Severity of the Law: That he might well grant his Pardon by his Great-Seal without their aſſent, but he would be well adviſed before he pardoned them, becauſe he would not ſeem to be compelled to it. So they went away, and the Houſe was in ſome trouble: many blamed *Cromwell*, who was growing in favour, for this rough anſwer; yet the King's Pardon was paſſed.

The Commons deſire to be included in the King's Pardon. *Hall.*

But his other concerns made him judge it very unfit to ſend away his Parliament diſcontented, and ſince he was ſo eaſie to them as to ask no Subſidy, he had no mind to offend them; and therefore when the thing was over, and they out of hopes of it, he of his own accord ſent another Pardon to all his Temporal Subjects, of their Tranſgreſſons of the Statutes of *Proviſors* and *Premunire*; which they received with great joy, and acknowledged there was a juſt Temperature of Majeſty and Clemency in the Kings proceedings.

Which the King afterwards grants.

During this Seſſion of Parliament, an unheard-of Crime was committed by one *Richard Rouſe* a Cook, who on the 16th of *February*, Poiſoned a Veſſell of Yeſt that was to be uſed in Porridge, in the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Kitchin, with which 17 Perſons of his Family were mortally infected, and one of the Gentlemen died of it; and ſome poor People that were Charitably fed with the remainder of it, were alſo infected, one woman dying. The Perſon was Apprehended, and by Act of Parliament, Poiſoning was declared *Treaſon*, and *Rouſe* was attainted, and Sentenced to be Boyled to death, which was to be the puniſhment of Poiſoning for all times to come: That the Terror of this unheard-of Puniſhment might ſtrike a Horror in all Perſons at ſuch an unexampled Crime. And the Sentence was Executed in *Smithfield* ſoon after.

One Attainted for Poiſoning.

22. Hen. 8. Act. 16.

Hall.

Of this I take Notice, the rather becauſe of *Sander*'s Malice, who ſays,

1531. this *Rouse* was set on by *Anne Boleyn*, to make away the Bishop of *Rochester*, of which there is nothing on Record, nor does any Writer of that time so much as insinuate it. But persons that are set on to commit such Crimes, are usually, either conveighed out of the way, or secretly dispatched, that they may not be brought to an open Trial. And it is not to be imagined, That a man that was employed by them that might have preferred him, and found himself given up and adjudged to such a death, would not have published their names who set him on, to have lessened his own Guilt, by casting the load upon them that had both employed and deserted him. But this must pass among the many other vile Calumnies, of which *Sanders* has been the inventer, or publisher, and for which he had already answered to his Judg.

Lord Herbert. When the Session of Parliament was over, the King continued to ply the Queen with all the applications he could think of, to depart from her Appeal. He grew very Melancholy, and used no sort of Diversion, but was observed to be very pensive. Yet nothing could prevail with the Queen. She answered the Lords of the Council, when they pressed her much to it, *That she prayed God to send the King a quiet Conscience, but that she was his lawful Wife, and would abide by it, till the Court of* Rome *declared the contrary*. Upon which the King forbore to see her, or to receive any Tokens from her, and sent her word, to choose where she had a mind to live, in any of his Mannours. She answered, that to which place soever she were removed, *nothing could remove her from being his Wife*. Upon this answer the King left her at *Windsor*, the 14th of *July*, and never saw her more. She removed first to *Moor*, then to *Easthamstead*, and at last to *Ampthill*, where she stayed longer.

The King leaves the Queen.

A disorder among the Clergy of *London* about the Subsidy. *Hall.*

The Clergy went now about the raising of the 100000 *l.* which they were to pay in five years; and to make it easier to themselves, the Prelates had a great mind to draw in the Inferiour Clergy to bear a part of the burden. The Bishop of *London* called a meeting of some Priests about *London*, on the 1st. of *September*, to the Chapter-House at St. *Pauls*: He designed to have had at first only a small number, among whom he hoped it would easily pass, and that being done by a few, others would more willingly follow. But the matter was not so secretly carried, but that all the Clergy about the City hearing of it, went thither. They were not a little encouraged by many of the Laity, who thought it no unpleasant diversion to see the Clergy fall out among themselves. So when they came to the Chapter-House on the day appointed, the Bishop's Officers would only admit some few to enter, but the rest forced the door and rushed in, and the Bishop's Servants were beaten and ill used. But the Bishop seeing the tumult was such, that it could not be easily quieted, told them all, *That as the State of men in this life was frail, so the Clergy through frailty and want of wisdom, had misdemeaned themselves towards the King, and had fallen in a Premunire, for which the King of his great Clemency was pleased to Pardon them, and to accept of a little, in stead of the whole of their Benefices, which by the Law had fallen into his hand: Therefore he desired they would patiently bear their share in this burden.* But they answered, They had never medled with any of the Cardinals Faculties, and so had not fallen in the *Premunire*; and that their Livings were so small, that they could hardly subsist by them. Therefore since the Bishops and Abbots were only Guilty, and had good Preferments, they only ought

to

to be punished, and pay the Tax; but that for themselves they needed not the Kings Pardon, and so would pay nothing for it. Upon which the Bishop's Officers threatned them, but they on the other hand (being encouraged by some Lay-men that came along with them) persisted in their denyal to pay any thing; so that from high words the matter came to blows, and several of the Bishop's Servants were ill handled by them. But he to prevent a further Tumult, apprehending it might end upon himself, gave them good words, and dismissed the meeting with his blessing, and promised that nothing should be brought in Question that was then done. Yet he was not so good as his word, for he complained of it to the Lord Chancellor, who was always a great Favourer of the Clergy; by whose order fifteen Priests and five Lay-men were committed to several Prisons; but whether the Inferiour Clergy pay'd their proportion of the Tax or not, I have not been able to discover. 1531.

The Pope falls off to the French Faction.

This year the State of Affairs beyond-Sea, changed very considerably. The Pope expected not only to recover *Florence* to his Family by the Emperors means, but also to wrest *Modena* and *Reggio* from the Duke of *Ferrara*, to which he pretended, as being Fiefs of the Papacy; and the Emperor having engaged by the former Treaty to restore them to him. But now that the Popes pretensions were appointed to be examined by some Judges delegated by the Emperor, they determined against the Pope, for the Duke of *Ferrara*: which so disgusted the Pope, that he fell totally from the Emperor, and did unite with the King of *France*, a Match being also projected between the Duke of *Orleance* (afterwards *Henry* the 2d) and his Neece *Catharine de Medici*, which did work much on the Popes ambition, to have his Family Allied to so mighty a Monarch. So that now he became wholly *French*.

A Match projected between the Pope's Neece and the Duke of *Orleance*.

The *French* King was also on account of this Marriage, to resigne all the pretensions he had to any Territory in *Italy* to his younger Son; which as it would give less-Umbrage to the other Princes of *Italy*, who liked rather to have a King's younger Son among them, than either the Emperor or the *French* King; so the Pope was wonderfully pleased to raise another great Prince in *Italy* out of his own Family. On these grounds was the Match at this time designed, which afterwards took effect; but with this difference, that by the *Dolphin's* death, the Duke of *Orleance* became King of *France*, and his Queen made the greatest Figure that any Queen of *France* had done for many Ages.

This change in the Popes mind might have produced another in the Kings Affairs, if he had not already gone so far, that he was less in fear of the Pope than formerly. He found the Credit of his Clergy was so low, that to preserve themselves from the contempt and fury of the people, they were forced to depend wholly on the Crown. For *Lutheranisme* was then making a great progress in *England*, of which I shall say nothing here, being resolved at the end of this Book to give an account of the whole Course of it in those years that fall within this time. But what by the means of the new Preachers, what by the scandals cast on the Clergy, they were all at the Kings Mercy; so he did not fear much from them, especially in the Southern parts, which were the richest and best peopled. Therefore the King went on resolutely. The Pope on the other hand was in great perplexity, he saw *England* ready to be lost, and knew not what to do to rescue or preserve it. If he gave way to

1531. what was lately done in the business of the *Premunire*, he must thereby lose the greatest advantages he drew from that Nation; and it was not likely that after the King had gone so far, he would undo what was done.

The Emperor is engaged in a War with the *Turk*.

The Emperor was more remiss in prosecuting the Queens Appeal at *Rome*, for at that time the *Turk* with a most numerous and powerful Army was making an impression on *Hungary*, (which to the great scandal of the *most Christian King* was imputed to his Councils and Presents at the *Port*) and all the Emperor's thoughts were taken up with this. Therefore as he gave the Protestant Princes of *Germany* some present satisfaction in Religion and other matters; so he sent over to *England*, and desired the Kings assistance against that vast Army of 300000 men that was falling in upon Christendom. To this the King made a general answer, that gave some hopes of assisting him. But at the same time the Protestant Princes, resolving to draw some advantage from that conjuncture of Affairs, and being courted by the *French* King, entred into a League with him, for the defence of the Rights of the Empire. And to make this firmer, the King was invited by the *French* King to joyn in it; to which he consented, and sent over to *France* a sum of Money to be employed for the safety of the Empire. And this provoked the Emperor to renew his endeavours in the Court of *Rome* for prosecuting the Queens Appeal.

The *French* King encouraged the King to go on with his Divorce, that he might totally Alienate him from the Emperor. The *French* Writers also add another Consideration, which seems unworthy of so great a King, that he himself being at that time so publick a Courtier of Ladies, was not ill pleased to set forward a thing of that nature. "But though "Princes allow themselves their pleasures, yet they seldom Govern their "Affairs by such Maximes.

1532. In the beginning of the next year a new Session of Parliament was held, in which the House of Commons went on to complain of many other grievances they lay under from the Clergy, which they put in a writing, and Presented it to the King. In it they complained of the proceedings in the Spiritual Courts, and especially their calling men before them, *ex officio*, and laying Articles to their charge, without any Accuser; and then admitting no Purgation, but causing the Party Accused, either to abjure, or to be burnt; which they found very grievous and intollerable. This was occasioned by some violent proceeding against some reputed Hereticks, of which an account shall be given afterwards. But those complaints were stifled, and great misunderstandings arose between the King and the House of Commons upon this following occasion.

The Parliament complains of the Ecclesiastical Courts.

Hall.

But reject a Bill about Wards.

There was a common practice in *England* of mens making such Setlements of their Estates by their Last Wills, or other Deeds, that the King and some great Lords were thereby defrauded of the advantages they made by *Wards*, *Marriages*, and *Primer Season*. For regulating which, a Bill was brought in to the House of Peers, and assented to there; but when it was sent down to the House of Commons, it was rejected by them, and they would neither pass the Bill, nor any other Qualification of that Abuse, This gave the King great offence, and the House when they addressed to him about the proceedings of the Clergy, also prayed, *That he would consider what Cost, Charge, and Pains they had been at since the beginning of the Parliament, and that it would please his Grace of his Prince-*

The Commons Petition that they may be Dissolved.

by Benignity to Dissolve his Court of Parliament, and that his Subjects might return into their Countries. To which the King answered, "That for "their complaints of the Clergy, he must hear them also before he could "give Judgment, since in Justice he ought to hear both Parties; but "that their desiring the Redress of such Abuses, was contrary to the other "part of their Petition; for if the Parliament were Dissolved, how could "those things they complained of be amended? And as they complain-"ed of their long attendance, so the King had stayed as long, as they had "done, and yet he had still patience, and so they must have, otherwise "their grievances would be without Redress. But he did expostulate "severely upon their rejecting the Bill about Deeds in prejudice of the "Rights of the Crown. He said, he had offered them a great mitiga-"tion of what by the rigour of the Law he might pretend to; and if they "would not accept of it, he would try the outmost severity that the Law "allowed, and would not offer them such a favour again. Yet all this did not prevail, for the Act was rejected, and their complaint against the Clergy was also laid aside, and the Parliament was Prorogued till *April* next. 1532. The King's Answer.

In this Parliament the Foundation of the Breach that afterwards followed with *Rome*, was laid, by an Act for restraining the payment of *Annates* to that Court, which since it is not Printed with the other Statutes, shall be found in the end of this Volume: The substance of it is as follows.

That great Sums of Money had been conveyed out of the King-"dom, under the Title of *Annates* or first Fruits to the Court of *Rome*, "which they extorted by restraint of Bulls and other writs; that it "happened often by the frequent deaths of Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, "to turn to the utter undoing of their Friends, who had advanced "those Sums for them. These *Annates* were founded on no Law, for "they had no other way of obliging the Incumbents of Sees to pay "them, but by restraining their Bulls. The Parliament therefore "considering that these were first begun to be payed, to defend Chri-"stendome against Infidels, but were now turned to a duty claimed "by that Court against all Right and Conscience, and that vast Sums "were carryed away upon that account, which from the Second year of "King *Henry* the 7th to that present time amounted to 800000 Ducats, "besides many other heavy Exactions of that Court, did declare that the "King was bound by his Duty to Almighty God, as a good Christian "Prince to hinder these oppressions. And that the rather, because "many of the Prelates were then very Aged, and like to die in a short "time, whereby vast Sums of Money should be carryed out of *En-"gland*, to the great Impoverishing of the Kingdom. And therefore "all payments of first Fruits to the Court of *Rome* were put down, "and for ever restrained, under the pains of the forfeiture of the Lands, "Goods, and Chattels of him that should pay them any more, together "with the Profits of his See, during the time that he was vested with it. "And in case Bulls were restrained in the Court of *Rome*, any person "presented to a Bishoprick, should be notwithstanding Consecrated by "the Arch-Bishop of the Province; or if he were presented to an "Arch-Bishoprick, by any two Bishops in the Kingdom, whom the "King should appoint for that end; and that being so Consecrated, An Act against *Annates*. Collect. Numb. 41.

1532. "they should be Invested, and enjoy all the Rights of their Sees in full "and ample manner: yet that the Pope and Court of *Rome* might "have no just cause of Complaint, the persons presented to Bishopricks "are allowed to pay them 5 *lib.* for the Hundred, of the clear Profits "and Revenues of their several Sees. But the Parliament not willing "to go to extremities, Remitted the final ordering of that Act to the "King, that if the Pope would either charitably and reasonably put "down the payment of *Annates*, or so moderate them, that they might "be a tolerable burden, the King might at any time before *Easter* 1533. "or before the next Session of Parliament, declare by his Letters Pa-"tents whether the premises or any part of them should be observed "or not, which should give them the full force and Authority of a "Law. And that if upon this Act the Pope should vex the King, or "any of his Subjects by Excommunications or other Censures, these not-"withstanding the King should cause the Sacraments, and other Rites "of the Church to be administred, and that none of these Censures "might be published or Executed.

This Bill began in the House of Lords, from them it was sent to the Commons, and being agreed to by them, received the Royal Assent, but had not that final Confirmation mentioned in the Act before the 9th of *July* 1533. and then by Letters Patents (in which the Act is at length recited) it was confirmed.

Parl. Rolls.

The Pope writes to the King about the Queens Appeal.

But now I come to open the final Conclusion of the Kings Suit at *Rome*. On the 25th of *January* "the Pope wrote to the King, that he "heard reports, which he very unwillingly believed, that he had put "away his Queen, and kept one *Anne* about him as his Wife; which "as it gave much Scandal, so it was an high Contempt of the Apo-"stolick See, to do such a thing while his Suit was still depending, "notwithstanding a Prohibition to the contrary. Therefore the Pope "remembring his former merits, which were now like to be clouded "with his present Carriage, did exhort him to take home his Queen, "and to put *Anne* away; and not to continue to provoke the Empe-"ror and his Brother by so high an Indignity, nor to break the Gene-"ral peace of Christendome, which was its only security against the "Power of the *Turk*. What answer the King made to this I do not find, but instead of that I shall set down the Substance of a Dispatch, which the King sent to *Rome* about this time, drawn from a Copy of it, to which the date is not added. But it being an answer to a Letter he received from the Pope the 7th of *October*, it seems to have been written about this time, and it concluding with a Credence to an Ambassador, I judge it was sent by Doctor *Bennet*, who was dispatched to *Rome* in *January* 1532. to shew the Pope the Opinions of Learned men, and of the Universities, with their Reasons. The Letter will be found in the end of this Volume, the Contents of it are to this purpose.

L. Herbert.

Collect. *Numb.* 42.

A Dispatch of the King to the Pope.

"The Pope had writ to the King, in order to the clearing all his "scruples, and to give him quiet in his Conscience; of which the King "takes notice, and is sorry that both the Pope and himself were so "deceived in that matter; the Pope by trusting to the judgments of "others, and writing whatever they suggested; and the King by de-"pending so much on the Pope, and in vain expecting remedy from

"him

"him so long. He imputes the mistakes that were in the Popes Letters, (which he says had things in them contrary both to Gods Law "and Mans Law,) to the Ignorance and rashness of his Councellors: "for which himself was much to be blamed, since he rested on their "advice, and that he had not carryed himself as became Christs Vicar, but had dealt both unconstantly and deceitfully: for when the "Kings cause was first opened to him, and all things that Related to it "were explained; he had Granted a Commission, with a promise "not to recall it, but to confirm the Sentence which the Legates should "give: and a Decretal was sent over defining the cause. If these "were justly granted, it was unjustice to revoke them, but if they "were justly revoked, it was unjust to grant them. So he presses the "Pope, that either he could grant these things, or he could not. If "he could do it, where was the Faith which became a Friend, much "more a Pope since he had broke these promises: But if he said he could "not do them, had he not then just cause to distrust all that came "from him, when at one time he condemned what he had allowed at "another. So that the King saw clearly he did not Consider the ease "of his Conscience, but other worldly respects; that had put him "on Consulting so many Learned men, whose judgments differed "much from those few that were about the Pope, who thought the "Prohibition of such Marriages was onely positive, and might be dispensed with by the Pope: whereas all other Learned men thought "the Law was Moral and indispensable. He perceived the Apostolick "See was destitute of that Learning, by which it should be directed: "and the Pope had oft professed his own Ignorance; and that he spake "by other mens mouths; but many Universities in *England*, *France*, "and *Italy* had declared the Marriage unlawful, and the Dispensation "null. None honoured the Apostolick See more than he had done, "and therefore he was sorry to write such things if he could have "been silent. If he should obey the Popes Letters, he would offend "God and his own Conscience, and give scandal to those who condemned his Marriage: he did not willingly dissent from him without a very urgent cause, that he might not seem to despise the Apostolick See; therefore he desired the Pope would forgive the freedom that he used, since it was the Truth that drew it from him. And "he added, that he intended not to Impugn the Popes Authority further, except he compelled him; and what he did was only to bring "it within its first and Ancient Limits, to which it was better to reduce it, than to let it always run on headlong and do amiss; therefore "he desired the Pope would Conform himself to the opinions of so "many Learned men, and do his Duty and Office. The Letter ends "with a Credence to the Ambassador. 1532.

The Pope seeing his Authority was declining in *England*, resolved now to do all he could to recover it, either by force or Treaty: and so ordered a Citation to be made of the King to appear in Person or by Proxie at *Rome*, to answer to the Queens appeal: upon which Sir *Edward Karne* was sent to *Rome*, with a new Character of *Excusatour*. "His Instructions were to take the best Counsel for pleading an Excuse of the Kings appearance at *Rome*. First, upon the grounds that "might be found in the Canon Law; and these not being sufficient, "he

Sir *Edward Karne* sent to *Rome*.

1532. "he was to Insist on the Prerogatives of the Crown of *England*. Doctor *Bonner* went with him, who had expressed much zeal in the Kings cause, though his great zeal was for Preferment, which by the most servile ways he always Courted. He was a forward bold man, and since there were many Threatnings to be used to the Pope and Cardinals, he was thought fittest for the employment, but was neither Learned nor discreet.

His Negotiation there taken from the Original Letters. *Cott.lib. Vitell.B.*13. They came to *Rome* in *March*, where they found great heats in the Consistory about the Kings business. The Imperialists pressed the Pope to proceed, but all the wise and indifferent Cardinals were of another mind. And when they understood what an Act was passed about *Annates*; they saw clearly, that the Parliament was resolved to adhere to the King in every thing he intended to do against their Interests. The Pope expostulated with the Ambassadors about it, but they told him the Act was still in the Kings Power; and except he provoked him, he did not intend to put it in execution. The Ambassadors finding the Cardinal of *Ravenna* of so great reputation, both for Learning and Vertue, that in all matters of that kind his opinion was heard as an Oracle, and gave Law to the whole Consistory; they resolved to gain him by all means possible. And Doctor *Bennet* made a secret address to him, and offered him what Bishoprick either in *France* or *England* he would desire, if he would bring the Kings matter to a good issue. He was at first very shie, at length he said he had been oft deceived by many Princes, who had made him great Promises, but when their business was ended, never thought of performing them; therefore he would be sure: and so drave a Bargain, and got under Doctor *Bennets* hand a promise, (of which a Copy being sent to the King, written by *Bennet* himself, will be found at the end of this Volume;) Bearing, that he having Powers from the King for that effect, dated the 29th of *December* last, did promise the Cardinal for his help in the Kings affair, Monasteries or other Benefices in *France*, to the value of 6000 Ducates a year: and the first Bishoprick that fell vacant in *England*; and if it were not *Ely*, that when ever that See was vacant, upon his resigning the other, he should be provided with the Bishoprick of *Ely*; dated at *Rome* the 7th of *February* 1532. This I set down as one of the most Considerable Arguments that could be used to satisfie the Cardinals Conscience about the justice of the Kings cause. This Cardinal was the fittest to work secretly for the King, for he had appeared visible against him. I find also by other Letters, that both the Cardinals of *Ancona* and *Monte* (afterwards Pope *Julius* the 3d) were prevailed with, by arguments of the same nature, though I cannot find out what the Bargains were.

The Cardinal of *Ravenna* corrupted by Bribes. Collect. *Numb.* 43.

Providellus, that was accounted the greatest Canonist in *Italy*, was brought from *Bononia*, and entertained by the Ambassadors, to give Counsel in the Kings cause, and to plead his Excuse from appearing at *Rome*. The plea was summed up in 28 Articles, which were offered to the Pope; and he admitted them to be examined in the Consistory, appointing three of them to be opened at a Session. But the Imperialists opposed that, and after fifteen of them had been heard, procured a new order that they should be heard in a Congregation of Cardinals before the Pope; pretending that a Consistory sitting

Collect. *Numb.* 44.

but

but once a week, and having a great deal of other Busineſs, it would be long before the matter could be brought to any iſſue. So *Karne* was ſerved with a new order to appear in the Congregation the 3d. of *April* with this Certification, That if he appeared not they would proceed. Upon which he proteſted, that he would adhere to the former Order: yet being warned the ſecond time, he went firſt and proteſted againſt it, which he got entered in the Datary. This being conſidered in the Congregation, they renewed the Order of hearing it in the Conſiſtory on the 10th. of *April*, and then *Providellus* opened three Concluſions. Two of them related to *Karne*'s Powers, the third was concerning the Safety of the place to both parties. But the Imperialiſts and the Queens Council being diſſatisfied with this Order would not appear. Upon which *Karne* complained of their Contumacy, and ſaid, By that it was viſible they were diſtruſtful of their Cauſe. On the 14th. of *April* a new intimation was made to *Karne* to appear on the 17th. with his Advocates to open all the reſt of the Concluſions, but he according to the firſt Order would onely plead to three of them, and ſelected the 19, 20, and 21; (what theſe related to I find not.) Upon which *Providellus* pleaded and anſwered the Objections that did ſeem to militate againſt them, but neither would the Imperialliſts appear that Seſſion.

1532.

Collect. Numb. 45.

In *June* news were brought to *Rome*, which gave the Pope great offence: A Prieſt had preached for the Popes Authority in *England*, and was for that caſt into priſon. And another Prieſt being put in priſon by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, upon ſuſpition of Hereſie, had appealed to the King as the Supreme Lord: upon which he was taken out of the Archbiſhops hands, and being examined in the Kings Courts was ſet at liberty. This the Pope reſented much, but the Embaſſadors ſaid, all ſuch things might have been prevented, if the King had got Juſtice at the Popes hands.

A Bull for erecting new Biſhopricks.

The King alſo at this time deſired a Bull for a Commiſſion to erect ſix new Biſhopricks, to be endowed by Monaſteries that were to be ſuppreſſed. This was expedited and ſent away at this time: And the old Cardinal of *Ravenna* was ſo jealous, that the Embaſſadors were forced to promiſe him the Biſhoprick of *Cheſter*, (one of the new Biſhopricks) with which he was well ſatisfied, having ſeen by a particular ſtate of the Endowment that was deſigned for it, what advantage it would yield him. But he had declared himſelf ſo openly before againſt the Reaſons for the Excuſe, that he could not ſerve the King in that matter, but in the main Cauſe he undertook to do great ſervice, and ſo did the Cardinals *De Monte* and *Ancona*.

Upon the 27th. of *June* the Debate was brought to a Concluſion about the Plea Excuſatory; and when it was expected, that the Pope ſhould have given ſentence againſt the Articles, he admitted them all *Si & prout de jure*. Upon which the Imperialliſts made great Complaints: The Cardinals grew weary of the length of the Debate, ſince it took up all their time; but it was told them, the matter was of great importance, and it had been better for them not to have proceeded ſo precipitately at firſt, which had now brought them into this trouble, and that the King had been at much pains and trouble on their account; therefore it was unreaſonable for them to complain, who were put to no other trouble, but to ſit in their Chairs two or three hours in a week to hear the Kings

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1532. Defences. The Imperialliſts had alſo occaſioned the Delays, though they complained of them; by their Cavils, and Allegations of Laws and Deciſions that never were made, by which much time was ſpent. But it was objected, That the Kings Excuſe for not coming to *Rome*, becauſe it was too remote from his Kingdom, and not ſafe, was of no force, ſince the place was ſafe to his Proxy. And the Cardinal of *Ravenna* preſſed the Embaſſadors much to move the King, inſtead of the Excuſatory Proceſs to ſend a Proxy, for examining and diſcuſſing the Merits of the Cauſe, in which it would be much eaſier to advance the Kings matter; and that he having appeared againſt the King in this Proceſs, would be the leſs ſuſpected in the other.

The Pope deſires the King would ſubmit to him. Collect. *Numb.* 46.

The buſineſs being further conſidered in three Seſſions of the Conſiſtory, it was reſolved, that ſince the Vacation was coming on they would neither allow of, nor reject the Kings Excuſatory Plea; but the Pope and College of Cardinals would write to the King, intreating him to ſend a Proxy for judging the Cauſe againſt the Winter. And with this *Bonner* was ſent over, with Inſtructions from the Cardinals that were gained to the King, to repreſent to him that his Excuſatory Plea could not be admitted; for ſince the Debate was to be, whether the Pope could grant the Diſpenſation or not, it could not be committed to Legats, but muſt be judged by the Pope and the Conſiſtory. He was alſo ordered to aſſure the King, that the Pope did now lean ſo much to the *French* Faction, that he needed not fear to refer the matter to him.

A Seſſion of Parl.

But while theſe things were in debate at *Rome*, there was another Seſſion of Parliament in *April*; and then the King ſent for the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and gave him the Anſwer which the Clergy had drawn to the Addreſſes they made in the former Seſſion about their Courts. The King himſelf ſeemed not at all pleaſed with it, but what the Houſe did in it does not appear, further than that they were no way ſatisfied with it. But there happened another thing that offended the King much: One *Temſe* of the Houſe of Commons moved, that they ſhould addreſs to the King to bring the Queen back to the Court, and ran out upon the Inconveniences that were like to follow if the Queen were put away, particularly the ill conſequence of the Illegitimation of the Princeſs. Upon this the King took occaſion (when he gave them the Clergies Anſwer) to tell them, that he wondered at that motion made in their Houſe, for the matter was not to be determined there. It touched his Soul; he wiſhed his Marriage were good, but the Doctors and Learned men had determined it to be null and deteſtable; and therefore he was obliged in Conſcience to abſtain from her, which he aſſured them flowed from no Luſt nor fooliſh Appetite. He was then 41 years old and at that Age thoſe Heats abate. But except in *Spain* or *Portugal* it had not been heard of, that a man married two Siſters; and that he never heard, that any Chriſtian man before himſelf had married his Brothers Wife: Therefore he aſſured them his Conſcience was troubled, which he deſired them to report to the Houſe. In this Seſſion the Lord Chancellour came down to the Commons, with many of the Nobility about him, and told them the King had conſidered the Marches between *England* and *Scotland*, which were uninhabited on the *Engliſh* ſide, but well peopled on the *Scottiſh*; and that laid *England* open

One moves for bringing the Queen to Court.

At which the King is offended.

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to the Incursion of the *Scots*; therefore the King intended to build Houses there, for planting the *English* side. This the Lords liked very well, and thought it convenient to give the King some Aids for the Charges of so necessary a Work, and therefore desired the Commons to consult about it. Upon which the House voted a Subsidy of a Fifteenth: But before the Bill could be finished the Plague broke out in *London*, and the Parliament was prorogued till *February* following. On the 11th of *May* (three days before the Prorogation) the King sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and told him, "That he found upon Inquiry, that all the Prelats, whom he had looked on as wholly his Subjects, were but half-Subjects; for at their Consecration they swore an Oath quite contrary to the Oath they swore to the Crown; so that it seemed they were the Popes Subjects rather than his. Which he referred to their care, that such order might be taken in it, that the King might not be deluded. Upon which the two Oaths that the Clergy swore to the King and the Pope, were read in the House of Commons, but the Consequence of them will be better understood by setting them down.

1532.

A Subsidy is voted.

The King remits the Oaths which the Clergy swore to be considered by the Commons.

The Oath to the Pope.

"I *John* Bishop or Abbot of *A*, from this hour forward shall be faithful and obedient to S. *Peter*, and to the holy Church of *Rome*, and to my Lord the Pope and his Successors canonically entering. I shall not be of counsel nor consent, that they shall lose either Life or Member, or shall be taken, or suffer any violence or any wrong by any means. Their Counsel to me credited by them, their Messengers or Letters I shall not willingly discover to any person. The Papacy of *Rome*, the Rules of the holy Fathers, and the Regality of S. *Peter*, I shall help, and maintain, and defend against all men. The Legat of the See Apostolick going and coming I shall honourably entreat. The Rights, Honours, Privileges, Authorities of the Church of *Rome*, and of the Pope and his Successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted. I shall not be in Council, Treaty, or any act in the which any thing shall be imagined against him or the Church of *Rome*, their Rights, Seats, Honours, or Powers. And if I know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as soon as I can I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledge. The Rules of the holy Fathers, the Decrees, Ordinances, Sentences, Dispositions, Reservations, Provisions, and Commandments Apostolick, to my power I shall keep, and cause to be kept of others. Hereticks, Schismaticks, and Rebels to our Holy Father and his Successors I shall resist and persecute to my power. I shall come to the Synod when I am called, except I be letted by a Canonical Impediment. The Thresholds of the Apostles I shall visit yearly personally, or by my Deputy. I shall not alienate or sell my Possessions without the Popes counsel. So God help me and the Holy Evangelists.

Their Oath to the Pope.

1432.

The Oath to the King.

Their Oath to the King.

"I *John* Bishop of *A*, utterly renounce and clearly forsake all such "Clauses, Words, Sentences, and Grants, which I have or shall have "hereafter of the Popes Holiness, of and for the Bishoprick of *A*, that "in any wise hath been, is, or hereafter may be hurtful or prejudicial to "your Highness, your Heirs, Successors, Dignity, Privilege, or Estate "Royal. And also I do swear, that I shall be faithful and true, and "faith and truth I shall bear to you my Sovereign Lord, and to your "Heirs Kings of the same, of Life and Limb, and yearly Worship above "all Creatures, for to live and die with you and yours against all peo-"ple. And diligently I shall be attendant to all your needs and business "after my wit and power, and your Counsel I shall keep and hold, know-"ledging my self to hold my Bishoprick of you onely, beseeching you "of Restitution of the Temporalties of the same; promising as before "that I shall be a faithful, true and obedient Subject to your said High-"ness, Heirs, and Successors, during my Life; and the Services and "other things due to your Highness for the Restitution of the Tempo-"ralties of the same Bishoprick, I shall truly do and obediently perform. "So God me help and all Saints.

The Contradiction that was in these was so visible, that it had soon produced a severe Censure from the House, if the Plague had not hindered both that and the Bill of Subsidy. So on the 14th. of *May* the Parliament was prorogued. Two days after Sir *Thomas More* Lord Chancellour, having oft desired leave to deliver up the Great Seal, and be discharged of his Office, obtained it; and Sir *Thomas Audley* was made Lord Chancellour. *More* had carried that Dignity with great temper, and lost it with much joy. He saw now how far the Kings Designs went; and though he was for cutting off all the Illegal Jurisdiction, which the Popes exercised in *England*, and therefore went cheerfully along with the Sute of *Præmunire*; yet when he saw a total Rupture like to follow, he excused himself, and retired from Business with a Greatness of Mind, that was equal to what the ancient Philosophers pretended in such cases. He also disliked *Anne Boleyne*, and was prosecuted by her Father, who studied to fasten some Criminal Imputations on him about the discharge of his Imployment; but his Integrity had been such, that nothing could be found to blemish his Reputation.

More laid down his Office.

In *September* following the King created *Anne Boleyne* Marchioness of *Pembroke*, to bring her by degrees up to the Heighth for which he had designed her. And in *October* he passed the Seas, and had an Enterview with the *French* King; where all the most obliging Complements that were possible passed on both sides with great Magnificence, and a firm Union was concerted about all their Affairs. They published a League, that they made to raise a mighty Army next year against the *Turk*; but this was not much considered, it being generally believed that the *French* King and the *Turk* were in a good Correspondence. As for the matter of the Kings Divorce, *Francis* encouraged him to go on in it, and in his intended Marriage with *Anne Boleyne*, promising if it were question-

An Enterveiw with the *French* King.

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ed to assist him in it: And as for his appearance at *Rome*, as it was certain he could not go thither in Person, so it was not fit to trust the secrets of his Conscience to a Proxie. The *French* King seemed also resolved to stop the payments of Annates and other Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, and said he would send an Ambassador to the Pope, to ask Redrss of these, and to protest, that if it were not granted, they would seek other remedies by Provincial Councils: And since there was an interview designed between the Pope and the Emperor at *Bononia* in *December*, the *French* King was to send two Cardinals thither to procure Judges for ending the business in *England*. There was also an interview proposed between the Pope and the *French* King, at *Nice* or *Avignon*. To this the King of *England* had some Inclinations to go for ending all differences, if the Pope were well disposed to it. 1532.

Upon this Sir *Thomas Eliot* was sent to *Rome* with answer to a message the Pope had sent to the King, from whose Instructions both the substance of the message and of the answer may be gathered. "The Pope "had offered to the King, that if he would name any indifferent place out "of his own Kingdom, he would send a Legate and two Auditors of the "*Rota* thither, to form the Process, reserving only the Sentence to him-"self. The Pope also proposed a Truce of three or four years, and pro-"mised that in that time he would call a general Council. For this mes-"sage the King sent the Pope thanks, but for the Peace he could receive "no propositions about it without the concurrence of the *French* King; "and though he did not doubt the justice of a general Council, yet con-"sidering the state of the Emperor's Affairs at that time, with the *Luthe-"rans*, he did not think it was then seasonable to call one. That as for "sending a Proxy to *Rome*, if he were a private Person he could do it, "but it was a part of the Prerogative of his Crown, and of the Priviledges "of his Subjects, That all Matrimonial Causes should be originally "judged within his Kingdom by the *English* Church, which was conso-"nant to the general Councils and Customs of the ancient Church, "whereunto he hoped the Pope would have regard: And that for keep-"ing up his Royal Authority, to which he was bound by Oath, he could "not without the consent of the Realm, submit himself to a Forreign "Jurisdiction; hoping the Pope would not desire any violation of the "Immunities of the Realm, or to bring these into publick Contention, "which had been hitherto enjoyed without intrusion or molestation. The "Pope had confessed that without an urgent cause, the Dispensation "could not be granted. This the King laid hold on, and ordered his Am-"bassador to show him that there was no War nor appearance of any "between *England* and *Spain* when it was granted. To verifie that, he "sent an attested Copy of the Treaty between his Father and the Crown "of *Spain* at that time: By the words of which it appeared that it was "then taken for granted, that Prince *Arthur* had Consummated the "Marriage, which was also proved by good witnesses. In fine, since the "thing did so much concern the Peace of the Realm, it was fitter to judg "it within the Kingdom than any where else; therefore he desired the "Pope would remit the discussing of it to the Church of *England*, and "then confirm the Sentence they should give. To the obtaining of this, "the Ambassador was to use all possible diligence, yet if he found real "intentions in the Pope to satisfie the King, he was not to insist on that

Eliot sent to *Rome* with Instructions. Cott. Lib. *Vit.* B. 13.

1532. "as the Kings final Resolution: And to let the Cardinal of *Ravenna* see, "that the King intended to make good what was promised in his name, "the Bishoprick of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* falling vacant, he sent him the "offer of it, with a promise of the Bishoprick of *Ely* when it should be "void.

The King Married *Anne Boleyn*, Nov. 14. *Cowper*, *Holinshed* and *Sanders*.

Soon after this he Married *Anne Boleyn*, on the 14th of *November*, upon his landing in *England*, but *Stow* says without any ground, that it was on the 25th of *January*. *Rowland Lee* (who afterward got the Bishoprick of *Coventry* and *Liechfield*) officiate in the Marriage. It was done secretly in the presence of the Duke of *Norfolk* and her Father, her Mother, and Brother, and Dr. *Cranmer*. The grounds on which the King did this, were, That his former Marriage being of it self null, there was no need of a Declarative Sentence after so many Universities and Doctors had given their judgments against it. Soon after the Marriage she was with-Child, which was looked on as a signal Evidence of her Chastity, and that she had till then kept the King at a due distance.

An enterview between Pope and Emperor.

But when the Pope and the Emperor met at *Bononia*, the Pope expressed great Inclinations to favour the *French* King, from which the Emperor could not remove him, nor engage him to accept of a Match for his Neece *Katherine de Medici* with *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milan*. But the Pope promised him all that he desired as to the King of *England*, and so that matter was still carried on. Dr. *Bennet* made several propositions to end the matter, either that it should be judged in *England*, according to the Decree of the Council of *Nice*, and that the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* with the whole Clergy of his Province should determine it, or that the King should name one, either Sir *Thomas More* or the Bishop of *London*, the Queen should name another, the *French* King should name a third, and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* to be the fourth; or that the cause should be heard in *England*, and if the Queen did Appeal, it should be referred to three Delegates, one of *England*, another of *France*, and a third to be sent from *Rome*, who should sit and judge the Appeal in some indifferent place. But the Pope would hearken to none of these Overtures, since they were all directly contrary to that height of Authority, which he resolved to maintain: Therefore he ordered *Capisucci* the Dean of the *Rota*, to cite the King to answer to the Queens Appeal. *Karne* at *Rome* protested against the Citation, since the Emperor's Power was so great about *Rome*, that the King could not expect justice there; and therefore desired they would desist, otherwise the King would Appeal to the Learned men in Universities; and said there was a nullity in all their proceedings, since the King was a Soveraign Prince, and the Church of *England* a free Church, over which the Pope had no just Authority.

Some overtures about the Divorce. Lord *Herbert*.

1533. A Session of Parliament.

But while this depended at *Rome*, another Session of Parliameot was held in *England*, which began to sit on the 4th of *February*. In this the Breach with *Rome* was much forwarded by the Act they passed against all Appeals to *Rome*. "The Preamble bears, that the Crown of *England* "was Imperial, and that the Nation was a compleat Body within it self, "with a full Power to give justice in all cases Spiritual as well as Temporal; and that in the Spiritualty as there had beed at all times, so "there were them men of that sufficiency and integrity, that they might "declare and determine all doubts within the Kingdom; and that seve-

An Act against Appeals to *Rome*. 24. *Hen.* 8. Act 22.

"ral

"ral Kings, as *Edward* the 1st, *Edward* the 3d, *Richard* the 2d, and *Henry* 1533.
"the 4th, had by several Laws preserved the Liberties of the Realm,
"both Spiritual and Temporal, from the annoyance of the See of *Rome*,
"and other forreign Potentates; yet many inconveniences had arisen
"by Appeals to the See of *Rome* in Causes of Matrimony, Divorces,
"and other cases, which were not sufficiently provided against by
"these Laws; by which not only the King and his Subjects were put to
"great charges, but justice was much delayed by Appeals, and *Rome*
"being at such a distance, Evidences could not be brought thither nor
"Witnesses so easily as within the Kingdom: Therefore it was Enacted,
"that all such Causes, whether relating to the King, or any of his Subjects,
"were to be determined within the Kingdom in the several Courts to
"which they belonged, notwithstanding any Appeals to *Rome*, or Inhi-
"bitions and Bulls from *Rome*; whose Sentences should take effect, and
"be fully Executed by all Inferior Ministers; and if any Spiritual Per-
"sons refused to Execute them because of Censures from *Rome*, they
"were to suffer a years Imprisonment, and fine and ransom at the Kings
"will; and if any Persons in the Kings Dominions procured or executed
"any Process or Censures from *Rome*, they were declared liable to the
"pains in the Statute of *Provisors* in the 16th of *Rich.* the 2d. But that Ap-
"peals should only be from the Arch-Deacon or his Official to the Bishop
"of the Diocess, or his Commissary, and from him to the Arch-Bishop
"of the Province, or the Dean of the Arches, where the final Determi-
"nation was to be made without any further Process, and in every Pro-
"cess concerning the King or his Heirs and Successors, an Appeal should
"lie to the upper House of Convocation, where it should be finally De-
"termined, never to be again called in question.

As this Bill passed, the sense of both Houses of Parliament about the Kings Marriage did clearly appear, but in the Convocation the business was more fully debated. The Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury* was at this time destitute of its Head and principal Member. For *Warham* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* was dead since *August* last year. He was a great Canonist, an able States-man, a dextrous Courtier, and a favourer of Learned men. He always hated Cardinal *Wolsey*, and would never stoop to him, esteeming it below the Dignity of his See. He was not so peevishly engaged to the Learning of the Schools as others were, but set up and encouraged a more generous way of Knowledge; yet he was a severe persecutor of them whom he thought Hereticks, and enclined to believe idle and Fanatical people, as will afterwards appear, when the Impostures of the Maid of *Kent* shall be related.

Warhams Death, *Aug.* 23.

The King saw well of how great importance it was to the designes he was then forming, to fill that See, with a Learned, Prudent, and resolute man; but finding none in the Episcopal Order that was qualified to his mind, and having observed a native simplicity joyned with much courage, and tempered with a great deal of wisdom, in Dr. *Cranmer*, who was then Negotiating his business among the Learned men of *Germany*, he of his own accord without any adresses from *Cranmer*, designed to raise him to that Dignity, and gave him notice of it, that he might make hast and come home to enjoy that reward which the King had appointed for him. But *Cranmer* having received this, did all he could to excuse himself from the burden which was coming upon him; and therefore he returned

The King resolves to promote *Cranmer*.

Fox.

1533. turned very slowly to *England*, hoping that the Kings thoughts cooling, some other person might step in between him and a Dignity, of which having a just and primitive sense, he did look on it with fear and apprehension, rather than joy and desire. This was so far from setting him back, that the King (who had known well what it was to be importuned by ambitious and aspiring Churchmen, but had not found it usual that they should decline and fly from Preferment) was thereby confirmed in his high opinion of him; and neither the delays of his Journey, nor his Intreaties to be delivered from a Burden, which his Humility made him imagine himself unable to bear, could divert the King. So that though six moneths elapsed before the thing was settled, yet the King persisted in his Opinion, and the other was forced to yield.

Cranmers Bulls from *Rome*. In the end of *January* the King sent to the Pope for the Bulls for *Cranmers* Promotion; and though the Statutes were passed against procuring more Bulls from *Rome*, yet the King resolved not to begin the breach till he was forced to it by the Pope. It may be easily imagined, that the Pope was not hearty in this Promotion, and that he apprehended ill consequences from the Advancement of a Man, who had gone over many Courts of Christendom, disputing against his Power of Dispensing, and had lived in much Familiarity with *Osiander* and the *Lutherans* in *Germany*: Yet on the other hand he had no mind to precipitate a Rupture with *England*; therefore he consented to it, and the Bulls were expedited, though instead of *Annates* there was onely 900 Ducats paid for them.

They were the last Bulls that were received in *England* in this Kings Reign; and therefore I shall give an account of them, as they are set down in the beginning of *Cranmers* Register. By one Bull he is upon the Kings Nomination, promoted to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which is directed to the King. By a second directed to himself, he is made Archbishop. By a third he is absolved from all Censures. A fourth is to the Suffragans. A fifth to the Dean and Chapter. A sixth to the Clergy of *Canterbury*. A seventh to all the Laity in his See. An eighth to all that held Lands of it, requiring them to receive and acknowledge him as Archbishop. All these bear Date the 21th. of *February*, 1533. By a ninth Bull dated the 22th. of *February* he was ordained to be consecrated, taking the Oath that was in the *Pontifical*. By a tenth Bull dated the second of *March* the Pall was sent him. And by an eleventh of the same Date the Archbishop of *York* and the Bishop of *London* were required to put it on him. These were the several Artifices to make Compositions high, and to enrich the Apostolick Chamber, for now that about which S. *Peter* gloried, that he had none of it, (*neither silver nor gold*) was the thing in the world for which his Successors were most careful.

When these Bulls were brought into *England*, *Thomas Cranmer* was on the 13th. of *March* consecrated by the Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Exeter*, and *S. Asaph*. But here a great Scruple was moved by him concerning the Oath that he was to swear to the Pope, which he had no mind to take; and Writers near that time say, the dislike of that Oath was one of the motives that made him so unwillingly accept of that Dignity. He declared, that he thought there were many things settled by the Laws of the Popes, which ought to be reformed, and that the Obliga-

tion

tion which that Oath brought upon him, would bind him up from doing his Duty both to God, the King, and the Church. But this being communicated to some of the Canonists and Casuists, they found a temper that agreed better with their Maxims, than *Cranmers* sincerity; which was, that before he should take the Oath, he should make a good and formal Protestation, That he did not intend thereby to restrain himself from any thing that he was bound to either by his Duty to God, or the King, or the Countrey; and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of these. This Protestation he made in S. *Stephens* Chapel at *Westminster*, in the hands of some Doctors of the Canon Law before he was consecrated, and he afterwards repeated it when he took the Oath to the Pope; by which if he did not wholly save his Integrity, yet it was plain he intended no Cheat, but to act fairly and above board.

1533.

His Protestation about his Oath to the Pope.

As soon as he was consecrated, and had performed every thing that was necessary for his Investiture, he came and sate in the Upper House of Convocation. There were there at that time hot and earnest Debates upon these two Questions; Whether it was against the Law of God, and Indispensable by the Pope, for a man to marry his Brothers Wife, he being dead without Issue, but having consummated the Marriage? And whether Prince *Arthur* had consummated his Marriage with the Queen? As for the first, it was brought first into the Lower House of Convocation, and when it was put to the Vote, 14 were for the Affirmative, 7 for the Negative; one was not clear, and another voted the Prohibition to be Moral, but yet dispensable by the Pope. In the Upper House it was long debated, *Stokesly* Bishop of *London* arguing for the Affirmative, and *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester* for the Negative. The Opinions of 19 Universities were read for it, and the one House being as full as the other was empty, 216 being present either in person or by Proxy, it was carried in the Affirmative *Nemine contradicente*; those few of the Queens party that were there it seems going out. For the other Question about the Matter of Fact, it was remitted to the Faculty of the Canon Law, (it being a matter that lay within their Studies) whether the Presumptions were violent, and such as in the course of Law must be look'd on as good Evidences of a thing that was secret, and was not capable of formal proof? They all except five or six were for the Affirmative, and all the Upper House confirmed this, the Bishop of *Bath and Wells* onely excepted.

Antiq. Brit. in vita Cranmeri.

In this account it may seem strange, that there were but 23 persons in the Lower House of Convocation, and 216 in the Upper House. It is taken from an unquestioned Authority, so the Matter of Fact is not to be doubted. The most Learned Sir *Henry Spelman* has in no place of his Collection of our Councils, considered the Constitution of the two Houses of Convocation; and in none of our Records have I been able to discover of what persons they were made up in the Times of Popery: and therefore since we are left to conjecture, I shall offer mine to the learned Reader. It is, that none sate in the Lower House, but those who were deputed by the inferiour Clergy; and that Bishops, Abbots Mitered and not Mitered, and Priors, Deans and Archdeacons, sate then in the Upper House of Convocation. To which I am induced by these two Reasons: It is probable that all who were declared *Prelates* by the

1532. the Pope, and had their Writ to sit in a General Council, had likewise a right to come to the Upper House of Convocation, and sit with the other Prelates. And we find in the Tomes of the Councils, that not onely Abbots and Priors, but Deans and Archdeacons were summoned to the fourth Council in the *Lateran*, and to that at *Vienna*. Another Reason is, that their sitting in two Houses (for in all other Nations they sit together) looks as if it had been taken from the Constitution of our Parliament, in which all that have Writs personally sit in the Lords House; and those who come upon an Election sit in the Lower House. So it is not improbable, that all who were summoned personally sate in the Upper House, and those who were returned with an Election, sate in the Lower House of Convocation.

This Account of that Convocation I take from that Collection of the *British* Antiquities, which is believed to have been made by *Matthew Parker*, who lived at that time, and was afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*. But the Convocation Books being burnt, there are no Records to be appealed to; yet it is not to be supposed, that in a Matter of Fact that was so publick and well known, any man (especially one of that high Rank) would have delivered Falshoods, while the Books were yet extant that would have disproved them.

New Endeavours to make the Queen submit.

The Church of *England* having in her Representative made such a full Decision, nothing remained but to give Judgment, and to declare the Marriage Null. The thing was already determined, onely the Formality of a Sentence Declarative was wanting. But before they proceeded to that, a new Message was sent to the Queen, to lay all that had passed before her, and to desire her to acquiesce in the Opinions of so many Universities and Learned Men. But she still persisted in her Resolution to own her Marriage, and to adhere to her Appeal till the Pope should judge in it. And when it was told her, that the King would settle the Joynture that she was to have by his Brother, and that the Honour of Princess of *Wales* should still be paid her, she rejected it. But the new Queen was now with child, and brought forth Queen *Elizabeth* the 7th. of *September* this year; from which looking backwards nine moneths, to the beginning of *December*, it shews that she must have been married at or before that time: for all the Writers of both sides agree, that she was married before she conceived with child. The King therefore thought not fit to conceal it much longer, so on *Easter* Eve she was declared Queen of *England*. It seems it was not thought needful at that time to proceed to any further Sentence about the former Marriage, otherwise I cannot see what made it be so long delayed, since the thing was in their power now, as well as after. And it was certainly a preposterous Method to judge the first Marriage Null, after the second was published. So that it seems more probable, they did not intend any Sentence at all, till afterwards perhaps upon Advertisements from beyond Sea, they went on to a formal Process. Nor is it unlikely that the King remembering the old Advice that the Pope sent him, once to marry a second Wife, and then to send for a Commission to try the matter, which the Pope was willing to confirm, though he would not seem to allow it originally, resolved to follow this Method; for the Pope was now closing with *Francis*, from which Union the King had reason to expect great Advantages.

But in vain.

What-

Whatsoever were the Reasons of the Delay, the Process was framed in this Method. First, *Cranmer* wrote to the King, that the World had been long scandalized with his Marriage, and that it lay on him as his Duty to see it tried and determined; therefore craved his Royal Leave to proceed in it. Which being obtained, both the King and Queen were cited to appear before the Archbishop, at *Dunstable* the 20th. of *May*, and the Archbishop went thither with the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester* (*Gardiner*,) *Bath and Wells*, and *Lincoln*, and many Divines and Canonists. That place was chosen because the Queen lay then very near it at *Ampthill*, and so she could not pretend ignorance of what was done; and they needed not put many days in the Citation, but might end the Process so much the sooner. On the 10th. of *May* the Archbishop sate in Court, and the King appeared by Proxy, but the Queen appeared not. Upon which she was declared *Contumax*, and a second Citation was issued out, and after that a third: But she intended not to appear, and so she was finally declared *Contumax*. Then the Evidences that had been brought before the Legates, of the Consummation of the Marriage with Prince *Arthur*, were read. After that the Determinations of the Universities, and Divines, and Canonists, were also produced and read. Then the Judgments of the Convocations of both Provinces were also read, with many other Instruments, and the whole Merits of the Cause were opened. Upon which after many Sessions, on the 23th. of *May* Sentence was given with the Advice of all that were there present, declaring it onely to have been a Marriage *de facto*, but not *de jure*, pronouncing it Null from the beginning. One thing is to be observed, That the Archbishop in the Sentence is called, *The Legate of the Apostolick See*. Whether this went of course as one of his Titles, or was put in to make the Sentence firmer, the Reader may judge. Sentence being given, the Archbishop with all the rest returned to *London*; and five days after on the 28th. of *May*, at *Lambeth*, by another Judgment he in general words (no Reasons being given in the Sentence) confirmed the Kings Marriage with the new Queen *Anne*, and the first of *June* she was crowned Queen.

1533. *Cranmer* proceeds to a Sentence of Divorce, taken from the Originals. *Cott. lib. Otho C. 10.* Collect. Numb. 47.

When this great Business, which had been so long in agitation, was thus concluded, it was variously censured as men stood affected. Some approved the Kings Proceedings as Canonical and Just, since so many Authorities, which in the intervall of a General Council were all that could be had, (except the Pope be believed *Infallible*) had concurred to strengthen the Cause; and his own Clergy had upon a full and long examination judged it on his side. Others, who in the main agreed to the Divorce, did very much dislike the Kings second Marriage before the first was dissolved; for they thought it against the common course of Law, to break a Marriage without any publick Sentence; and since one of the chief politick Reasons that was made use of in this Suit, was to settle the Succession of the Crown, this did embroil it more, since there was a fair colour given to except to the Validity of the second Marriage, because it was contracted before the first was annulled. But to this others answered, That the first Marriage being judged by the Interpreters of the Doctrine of the Church, to have been Null from the beginning, there was no need of any Sentence, but onely for Form. And all concluded, it had been better there had been no Sentence at all, than one so late:

The Censures past at that time.

R Some

1533. Some excepted to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s being Judge, who by his former Writings and Disputes had declared himself partial. But to this it was answered, That when a man changes his Character, all that he did in another Figure is no just Exception: so Judges decide Causes in which they formerly gave Counsel; and Popes are not bound to the Opinions they held when they were Divines or Canonists. It was also said, That the Archbishop did onely declare in Legal Form, that which was already judged by the whole Convocation of both Provinces. Some wondered at the Popes stifness, that would put so much to hazard, when there wanted not as good Colours to justifie a Bull, as they had made use of to excuse many other things. But the Emperors Greatness, and the fear of giving the *Lutherans advantages* in disputing the Popes Authority, were on the other hand so prevalent Considerations, that no wonder they wrought much on a Pope, who pretended to no other knowledge but that of Policy; for he had often said, *He understood not the matter*, and therefore left it in other mens hands. All persons excused Queen *Katharine* for standing so stifly to her ground; onely her denying so confidently that Prince *Arthur* consummated the Marriage, seems not capable of an Excuse. Every body admired Queen *Annes* Conduct, who had managed such a Kings Spirit so long, and had neither surfeited him with great freedom, nor provoked him by the other Extreme: for the King, who was extremely nice in these matters, conceived still an higher Opinion of her; and her being so soon with child after the Marriage, as it made people conclude she had been chaste till then, so they hoped for a Blessing upon it, since there were such early appearances of Issue. Those that favoured the Reformation expected better days under her Protection, for they know she favoured them: But those who were in their hearts for the Established Religion did much dislike it; and many of the Clergy, especially the Orders of Monks and Friars, condemned it both in their Sermons and Discourses.

But the King little regarding the Censures of the Vulgar, sent Embassadors to all the Courts of *Europe*, to give notice of his new Marriage, and to justifie it by some of those Reasons, which have been opened in the former parts of this History. He also sent the Lord *Mountjoy* to the Divorced Queen, to let her know what was done, and that she was no more to be treated as *Queen*, but as *Princess Dowager*. He was to mix Promises with Threatnings, particularly concerning her Daughters being put next the Queens Issue in the Succession. But the afflicted Queen would not yield, and said she would not damn her Soul, nor submit to such an Infamy: That she was his Wife, and would never call her self by any other Name, whatever might follow on it, since the Process still depended at *Rome*. That Lord having written a Relation of what had passed between him and her, shewed it to her; but she dashed with a Pen all those places in which she was called Princess Dowager; and would receive no Service at any ones hands, but of those who called her Queen: and she continued to be still served as Queen by all about her. Against which though the King used all the Endeavours he could, not without both threatning and violence to some of the Servants, yet he could never drive her from it: and what he did in that, was thought far below that Height of Mind, which appeared in his other Actings; for since he had stript her of the real Great-

Cott.lib.Otho. C.10.

Greatneſs of a Queen, it ſeemed too much, to vex her for keeping up the Pageantry of it. 1533.

But the news of this made great impreſſions elſewhere. The Emperor received the Kings juſtification very coldly, and ſaid he would conſider what he was to do upon it, which was looked on as a Declaration of War. The *French* King, though he expreſſed ſtill great Friendſhip to the King, yet was now reſolved to link himſelf to the Pope; for the crafty Pope apprehending that nothing made the King of *England* ſo confident, as that he knew his Friendſhip was neceſſary to the *French* King, and fearing they had reſolved to proceed at once to the putting down the Papal Authority in their Kingdoms, (which it appears they had once agreed to do,) reſolved by all means to make ſure of the *French* King, which as it would preſerve that Kingdom in his obedience, ſo would perhaps frighten the King of *England* from proceeding to ſuch extremities; ſince that Prince, in whoſe conjunction he truſted ſo much, had forſaken him: Therefore the Pope did ſo vigorouſly purſue the Treaty with *Francis*, that it was as good as ended at this time, and an Interview was projected between them at *Marſeilles*. The Pope did alſo grant him ſo great Power over his own Clergy, that he could ſcarce have expected more, if he had ſet up a Patriarch in *France*; ſo that *Francis* did reſolve to go on in the deſigns, which had been concerted between him and the King of *England*, no further; but ſtill he conſidered his alliance ſo much, that he promiſed to uſe his moſt effectual interceſſion with the Pope to prevent all Cenſures and Bulls againſt the King; and if it were poſſible to bring the matter to an Amicable concluſion. And the Emperor was not ill-pleaſed to ſee *France* and *England* divided. Therefore though he had at firſt oppoſed the Treaty between the Pope and *Francis*, yet afterwards he was not troubled that it took effect, hoping that it would diſ-unite thoſe two Kings, whoſe conjunction had been ſo troubleſome to him.

The Pope unites himſelf to the French King.

But when the news was brought to *Rome* of what was done in *England*, with which it was alſo related that Books were coming out againſt the *Popes Supremacy*, all the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction preſſed the Pope to give a definitive Sentence, and to proceed to Cenſures againſt the King. But the more moderate Cardinals thought, *England* was not to be thrown away with ſuch precipitation: And therefore a temper was found, that a Sentence ſhould be given upon what had been attempted in *England*, by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* (which in the Stile of the Canon-Law were called the *Attentates*,) for it was pretended that the matter depending in the Court of *Rome*, by the Queens Appeal and the other ſteps that had been made, it was not in the Arch-Biſhop's Power to proceed to any Sentence. Therefore in general it was declared, that all that had been attempted or done in *England* about the Kings Suit of Divorce was null, and that the King by ſuch attempts was liable to Excommunication, unleſs he put things again in the ſtate they were in, and that before *September* next, and that then they would proceed further; and this Sentence was affixed in *Dunkirk* ſoon after.

And condemns the Kings proceedings in England.

The King reſolving to follow the thing as far as it was poſſible, ſent a great Embaſſy to *Francis*, who was then on his Journey to *Marſeilles*, to diſſuade the Interview and Marriage, till the Pope gave the King ſatisfaction. But the *French* King was engaged in honour to go forward; yet he pro-

1533. tested he would do all that lay in his Power to compose the matter, and that he would take any injury that were done to the King as highly, as if it were done to himself; and he desired the King would send some to *Marseilles*, who thereupon sent *Gardiner* and Sir *Francis Brian*.

Queen *Elizabeth* Born, *Sep.* 7.

But at this time the Queen brought forth a Daughter, who was Christened *Elizabeth* (the renowned Queen of *England*,) the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* being her God-Father. She was soon after declared Princess of *Wales*; though Lawyers thought that against Law, for she was only *Heir presumptive*, but not *apparent* to the Crown, since a Son coming after, he must be preferred. Yet the King would justifie what he had done in his Marriage with all possible respect, and having before declared the Lady *Mary* Princess of *Wales*, he did now the same in favour of the Lady *Elizabeth*.

An Interview between the Pope and *French* King at *Marseilles*.

The Interview between the Pope and the *French* King was at *Marseilles* in *October*, where the Marriage was made up between the Duke of *Orleance* and *Katharine de Medici*; to whom besides 100000 Crowns Portion, the Principality of many Towns in *Italy*, as *Milan*, *Reggio*, *Pisa*, *Legorn*, *Parma*, and *Piacenza*, and the Dutchy of *Urbin* were given. To the former, the Pope pretended in the Right of the Popedom, and to the last in the Right of the House of *Medici*. But the *French* King was to clear all those Titles by his Sword. As for the Kings business, the Pope referred it to the Consistory. But it seems there was a secret Transaction between him and *Francis*, that if the King would in all other things return to his wonted obedience to the Apostolick See, and submit the matter to the judgment of the Consistory, (excepting only to the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction as partial and incompetent judges,) the Decision should be made to his hearts content. This I collect from what will afterwards appear. The King upon the Sentence that was passed against him, sent *Bonner* to *Marseilles*, who procuring an Audience of the Pope, delivered to him the Authentick Instrument of the Kings Appeal from him to the next general Council lawfully called. At this the Pope was much incensed, but said he would consider of it in Consistory; and having consulted about it there, he answered that the Appeal was unlawful, and therefore he rejected it; and for a general Council, the calling of it belonged to him, and not to the King. About the same time the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* being threatned with a Process from *Rome*, put in also his Appeal to the next general Council. Upon which *Bonner* delivered the threatnings that he was ordered to make, with so much vehemency and fury, that the Pope talked of throwing him in a Cauldron of melted Lead, or of Burning him alive; and he apprehending some danger made his escape. About the middle of *November* the Interview ended, the Pope returning to *Rome*, and the *French* King to *Paris*, a firm Alliance being established between them. But upon the Duke of *Orleance* his Marrying the Pope's Neece, I shall add one observation, that will neither be unpleasant nor impertinent. The Duke of *Orleance* was then but Fourteen years and Nine Months old, being born on the last of *March*, 1518. and yet was believed to have consummated his Marriage the very first night after: so the Popes Historians tell us with much Triumph; though they represented that improbable, if not impossible in Prince *Arthur*, who was nine Months elder when he died.

The Pope promises to give Sentence for the King of *England*'s Divorce.

Fidel. serv. Infidc. subdit. Responsio.

Bzovius.

The *French* King prevails with the King of *England* to submit to the Pope.

Upon the *French* Kings return from *Marseilles*, the Bishop of *Paris* was

was sent over to the King; which (as may be reasonably collected,) followed upon some Agreement made at *Marseilles*, and he prevailed with the King to submit the whole matter to the Pope and the Consistory, on such terms that the Imperialists should not be allowed a Voice, because they were Parties, being in the Emperor's Power. None that has observed the genius of this King, can think that after he had proceeded so far, he would have made this Submission without very good assurances; and if there had not been great grounds to expect good effects from it, the Bishop of *Paris* would not in the middle of Winter have undertaken a Journey from *England* to *Rome*. But the King, it seems, would not abase himself so far as to send any Submission in writing, till he had fuller assurances. The Lord *Herbert* has published a Letter (which he transcribed from the Original, written by the Arch-Bishop of *York* and the Bishop of *Duresme*, to the King the 11th of *May*, 1534.) giving an account of a Conference they had with Queen *Katharine*, in which, among other motives they used, this was one, to perswade her to comply with what the King had done: *That the Pope had said at* Marseilles, *that if the King would send a Proxy to* Rome, *he would give the Cause for him against the Queen, because he knew his Cause was good and just.* Which is a great presumption, that the Pope did really give some engagements to the *French* King about the King's business. 1533.

When the Bishop of *Paris* came to *Rome*, the Motion was liked, and it was promised, that if the King sent a promise of that under his Hand, with an Order to his Proxies to appear in Court, there should be Judges sent to *Cambray* to form the Process, and then the matter should be Determined for him at *Rome*. This was sent to the King, with the Notice of the day that was prefixed for the return of his answer, and with other Motives which must have been very great, since they prevailed so much. For in answer there was a Courier dispatcht from the King, with a formal promise under his Hand. And now the matter seemed at a point, the *French* Interest was great in the Court of *Rome*; four new Cardinals had been made at *Marseilles*, and there were six of that Faction before, which with the Popes Creatures, and the indifferent or venal Voices, ballanced the Imperial Faction, so that a wound that was looked on as fatal, was now almost healed. But God in his wise and unsearchable Providence had designed to draw other great ends out of this Rupture, and therefore suffered them that were the most concerned to hinder it, to be the chief instruments of driving it on. For the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction were now very active, they liked not the President of excluding the Cardinals of the Nations concern'd, out of any business. But above all things they were to hinder a Conjunction between the Pope and the King of *England*; for the Pope being then allied to *France*, there was nothing the Emperor feared more than the closing the Breach with *England*, which would make the union against him so much stronger. Therefore when the day that had been prefixed for the return of the Courier from *England*, was elapsed, they all pressed the Pope to proceed to a Sentence Definitive and to Censures. *Bellay* the Bishop of *Paris* represented the injustice of proceeding with so much Precipitation, since where there were Seas to cross, in such a Season, many accidents might occasion the delay of the Express. The King of *England* had followed this Suit six years, and had patience so long; therefore he desired the delay of six days,

Which was well received at *Rome*.

Hist. Council of *Trent* by *Padre Paulo*.

But the Imperialists opposed it.

1531. dayes, and if in that time no return came, they might proceed. But the Imperialists represented, that those were only delays to gain time; and that the King of *England* was still proceeding in his contempt of the Apostolick See, and of the Cardinals, and publishing Books and Libels against them. This so wrought on the angry Pope, that without consulting his ordinary prudence, he brought the business into the Consistory, where the Plurality of voices carryed it to proceed to a Sentence. And though the Process had been carryed on all that winter in their usual Forms, yet it was not so ripe, but by the Rules of the Consistory, there ought to have been three Sessions before Sentence was given. But they concluded all in one day, and so on the 23d of *March*, the Marriage between the King and Queen *Katharine* was declared good, and the King required to take her as his wife; otherwise Censures were to be denounced against him.

And with great preparation procure a sentence against the King.

Two days after that, the Courier arrived from *England*, with the Kings Submission under his hand in due Form, and earnest Letters from the *French* King to have it accepted, that so the business might be composed. When this was known at *Rome*, all the indifferent and wise Cardinals (among whom was *Farnese*, that was afterwards Pope *Paul* the 3d.) came to the Pope, and desired that it might be again considered before it went further. So it was brought again into the Consistory. But the secret reason of the Imperialists opposing it, was now more pressing, since there was such an appearance of a settlement, if the former Sentence were once recalled. Therefore they so managed the matter, that it was confirmed a-new by the Pope and the Consistory, and they ordered the Emperor to execute the Sentence.

The King resolves to abolish the Popes Power in *England*.

The King was now in so good hope of his business, that he sent Sr. *Edward Karne* to *Rome* to prosecute his Suit; who, on his way thither, met the Bishop of *Paris*, coming back with this Melancholick account of his unprosperous Negotiation. When the King heard it, and understood that he was used with so much scorn and contempt at *Rome*, being also the more vexed, because he had come to such a submission, he resolved then to break totally from *Rome*. And in this, he was before hand with that Court. For judging it the best way to procure a peace, to manage the War vigorously, he had held a Session of Parliament from the 15th of *January*, till the 30th of *March*, in which he had procured a great Change of the whole Constitution of the Government of the Church. But before I give an account of that, I shall first open all the Arguments and reasons, upon which I find they proceeded in this Matter.

Which had been much disputed there

The Popes Power had been then for 4 years together much examined and disputed in *England*; in which they went by these steps, one leading to another. They first controverted his Power of Dispensing with the Law of God. From that they went to examine what Jurisdiction he had in *England*, upon which followed the Convicting the Clergy of a *Premunire* with their Submission to the King. And that led them to controvert the Popes right to *Annates*, and other Exactions, which they also condemned. The Condemning all appeals to *Rome* followed that naturally. And now so many branches of that Power were cut off, the Root was next struck at, and the

Foundations of the Papal Authority were examined. For near a year together there had been many publick debates about it; and both in the Parliament and Convocation the thing was long disputed, and all that could be alledged on both sides was Considered. The Reader will be best able to judge of their reasons, (and thereby of the ripeness of their judgments, when they Enacted the Laws that passed in this Parliament,) when he sees a full account of them; which I shall next set down, not drawn from the Writings and Apologies that have been published since, but from these that came out about that time. For then were written the *Institution for the Necessary Erudition of a Christian man*, Concluded in the Convocation, and published by Authority; and another Book, *De Differentia Regiæ & Ecclesiasticæ Potestatis*. The former of these was called the Bishops, and the latter the Kings Book. *Gardiner* also wrote a Book, *De vera Obedientia*, to which *Bonner* prefixed a Preface upon the same Subject. *Stokesly* Bishop of *London*, and *Tonstal* Bishop of *Duresm*, wrote a long Letter in defence of the Kings Proceedings in this matter to *Reginald*, (soon after, Cardinal) *Pool*: from these writings, and the Sermons preached by some Bishops at this time, with other Authentick pieces. I have Extracted the Substance of the Arguments upon which they grounded their Laws, which I shall divide in two heads. The one of the reasons for rejecting the Popes pretended Power. The other for setting up the Kings Supremacy with the Explanations and Limitations of it.

1532. *Peterine Inglese. Hall.*

"First, of the Popes Power, they declared that they found no ground "for it in the Scripture. All the Apostles were made equal by Christ, "when he committed the Church to their care in Common. And "he did often declare, there was no Superiority of one above ano- "ther. St. *Paul* claimed an equality with the chief Apostles both "*Peter*, *James*, and *John*; and when he thought St. *Peter* blame- "worthy, he *withstood him to his face*. But whatsoever Preheminence "St. *Peter* might have, that was only Personal, and there was no rea- "son to affix it to his Chair at *Rome*, more than at *Antioch*. But if "any See be to be preferred before another, it should be *Jerusalem* "where *Christ* dyed, and out of which the Faith was propagated over "all Nations, Christ commanding his Disciples to begin their Preach- "ing in it; so that it was truly the *Mother Church*, and is so called by "St. *Paul*, whereas in the Scripture, *Rome* is called *Babylon*, according "to *Tertullian* and St. *Jerome*.

The Arguments upon which it was rejected.

"For the places brought from Scripture in favor of the Papacy, "they judged that they did not prove any thing for it. That *Thou "art Peter*, and *upon this Rock I will build my Church*, if it prove any "thing in this matter, would prove too much; even that the Church "was founded on St. *Peter*, as he was a private person, and so on "the Popes in their Personal Capacity. But both St. *Ambrose*, St. "*Jerome*, and St. *Austin*, think, that by the *Rock*, the Confession he "had made was only to be meant. Others of the Fathers thought "by the *Rock*, *Christ* himself was meant, who is the only true Foun- "dation of the Church; though in another sense all the Apostles are "also called Foundations by St. *Paul*. That, *Tell the Church*, is thought "by *Gerson* and *Æneas Silvius*, (afterwards Pope *Pius* the 2d.) ra- "ther

1533. "ther to make against the Pope and for a General Council. And "the Fathers have generally followed St. *Chrysostome* and St. *Austin*, "who thought that, *the giving of the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, "and the Charge, *Feed my Sheep*, were addressed to St. *Peter*, in "behalf of all the rest of the Apostles. And that, *I have prayed for* "*thee, that thy Faith fail not*, was only Personal, and related to his "Fall, which was then Imminent. It is also clear by St. *Paul*, that "every Apostle had his peculiar Province, beyond which he was "not to Stretch himself; and St. *Peters* Province was the Circumci-"sion, and his, the Uncircumcision, in which he plainly declares his "Equality with him.

"This was also clear from the constant Tradition of the Church. "St. *Cyprian* was against Appeals to *Rome*, and would not submit to "P. *Stephens* definition in the point of Re-baptizing of Hereticks; and "expresly says, *That all the Apostles were equal in Power, and that all* "*the Bishops were also equal, since the whole Office and Episcopate was* "*one entire thing, of which every Bishop had a compleat and equall share.* "And though some places are brought out of him concerning the "Unity of the Roman Church, and of other Churches with it; yet "those places have no relation to any Authority that the *Roman* "Church had over other Churches, but were occasioned by a Schism "that *Novatian* had made there at *Rome*, being Elected in opposition "to the Bishop that was rightly chosen: and of that unity only St. "*Cyprian* writes in those places. But from all his Epistles to the Bi-"shops of *Rome*, it is visible he look't on himself as their Equal, "since he calls them *Brother*, *Collegue*, and *Fellow-Bishop*. And what-"soever is said by any Ancient Writer of St. *Peters* Chair, is to be "understood of the pure Gospel, which he delivered, as St. *Austin* "observes, that by *Moses Chair*, is to be understood *The delivering of* "*Moses Law*. But though St. *Peter* sate there, the succeeding Popes "have no more right to pretend to such Authority, than the Kings "of *Spain* to claim the *Roman* Empire, because he that is now their "King, is Emperor. When *Constantine* turned Christian, the Digni-"ty of the chief City of the Empire made *Rome* to be accounted "the first See, but by the General Council of *Nice* it was declared, "that the Patriarches of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* had the same Autho-"rity over the Countries round about them, that he of *Rome* had "over those that lay about that City. It is true, at that time the "*Arrian* Heresie, having spread Generally over the *Eastern* Churches, "from which the *Western* were free; the oppressed Catholick Bishops "of the *East* made Appeals to *Rome*, and extolled that See by a na-"tural Maxime in all men, who magnifie that from which they have "Protection. But the Second general Council took care, that that "should not grow a President; for they Decreed that every Province "should be governed by its own Synod, and that Bishops when they "were accused, must first be judged by the Bishops of their own Pro-"vince, and from them they might appeal to the Bishop of the Dio-"cess but no higher appeal was allowed: and by that Council it ap-"pears; what was the Foundation of the greatness of the Bishop of "*Rome*, for when *Constantinople* was made the Seat of the Empire "and *New Rome*, it had the same Privileges that *Old Rome* had, and "was

"was set next to it in order and dignity. In a Council at *Milevi* in 1534.
"which St. *Austin* sate, they appointed that every Clerk, that should
"appeal to any Bishop beyond the Sea, should be excommunicated.
"And when *Faustianus* was sent by the Pope to the *African* Church-
"es, to claim the Right of receiving appeals, and pretended a Ca-
"non of the Council of *Nice* for it, the Pretension was rejected by
"the *African* Fathers, who acknowledged no such Right, and had ne-
"ver heard of that Canon. Upon which they sent to the *Eastern*
"Churches, and search was every-where made for the Copies of the
"Canons of that Council, but it was found that it was a Forgery.
"From whence two things were observable: The one, that the
"Church in that Age had no Tradition of any Divine Institution for
"the Authority of that See, since as the Popes, who claimed it, ne-
"ver pretended to any such thing; so the *African* Bishops by their
"rejecting that Power, shew, that they knew nothing of any Divine
"Warrant, all the Contest being only about a Canon of the Church.
"It also appeared how early the Church of *Rome* aspired to Power, and
"did not stick at making use of Forged writings to support it. But Pope
"*Agatho* more modestly writing to the Emperor in his own name,
"and in the name of all the Synods that were Subject to his See, calls
"them *a few Bishops in the Northern and Western Parts*. When after-
"wards the Patriarch of *Constantinople* was declared by the Emperor
"*Mauritius*, *The Universal Bishop*, *Gregory the great* did exclaim against
"the Ambition of that Title, as being equal to the Pride of *Lucifer*, and
"declared, that he who assumed it was the Forerunner of *Antichrist*;
"saying, that none of his Predecessors had ever claimed such a Pow-
"er. And this was the more observable, since the *English* were Con-
"verted by those whom he sent over; so that this was the Doctrine of
"that See, when this Church received the Faith from it.

"But it did not continue long within those limits; for *Boniface*
"the Third assumed that Title, upon the Grant of *Phocas*. And as
"that *Boniface* got the Spiritual Sword put in his hand, so the Eighth
"of that name pretended also to the Temporal Sword; but they owe
"these Powers to the Industry of those Popes, and not to any Do-
"nation of *Christs*. The Popes when they are Consecrated promise
"to obey the Canons of the Eight first General Councils, which if
"they observe, they will receive no Appeals, nor pretend to any high-
"er Jurisdiction than these give to them, and the other Patriarchs e-
"qually.

"As for the Decrees of Latter Councils, they are of less Authori-
"ty. For those Councils consisted of Monks and Friers in great part,
"whose exemptions obtained from *Rome* obliged them to support the
"Authority of that Court; and those who sate in them knew little
"of the Scriptures, Fathers, or the Tradition of the Church, being
"only conversant in the Disputes and Learning of the Schools. And
"for the *Florentine* Council, the *Eastern* Churches, who sent the *Greek*
"Bishops that sate there, never received their Determination, neither
"then, nor at any time since.

"Many places were also brought out of the Fathers to show, that they
"did not look on the Bishops of *Rome* as superior to other Bishops;
"and that they understood not those places of Scripture, which were

1534. "afterwards brought for the Popes Supremacy, in that sense; so that "if Tradition be the best Expounder of Scripture, those latter glosses "must give place to the more ancient. But that passage of St. *Je*-"*rome*, in which he equals the Bishops of *Eugubium* and *Constantino*-"*ple* to the Bishop of *Rome*, was much made use of, since he was "a Presbyter of *Rome*, and so likely to understand the Dignity of his "own Church best. There were many things brought from the "Contests that other Sees had with *Rome*, to show, that all the "Priviledges of that and other Sees, were only founded on the "practice and Canons of the Church, but not upon any Divine War-"rant. *Constantinople* pretended to equal priviledges. *Ravenna*, *Mi*-"*lan*, and *Aquileia*, pretended to a Patriarchal Dignity and Exempti-"on. Some Arch-Bishops of *Canterbury* contended, that Popes could "do nothing against the Laws of the Church; so *Laurence* and *Dun*-"*stan*. *Robert Grostest* Bishop of *Lincoln*, asserted the same, and many "Popes confessed it. And to this day no Constitution of the Popes "is binding in any Church, except it be received by it; and in the "daily practice of the Canon Law, the customs of Churches are plead-"ed against Papal Constitutions; which shows their Authority can-"not be from God, otherwise all must submit to their Laws. And "from the latter Contests up and down *Europe*, about giving Inve-"stitures, receiving Appeals, admitting of Legates, and Papal Con-"stitutions, it was apparent, that the Papal Authority was a Tyran-"ny, which had been managed by cruel and fraudulent Arts, but "was never otherwise received in the Church, than as a Conquest to "which they were constrained to yield. And this was more fully "made out in *England*, from what passed in *William* the Conque-"ror, and *Henry* the 2d's time, and by the Statutes of *Provisors* in "many Kings Reigns, which were still renewed, till within an hun-"dred years of the present time.

Upon these grounds they Concluded, that the Popes Power in *England* had no Foundation, neither in the Law of God, nor in the Laws of the Church or of the Land.

The Arguments for the Kings Supremacy.

From the old Testament.

"As for the Kings Power over Spiritual persons, and in Spiritual "causes, they proved it from the Scriptures. In the old Testament "they found the Kings of *Israel* intermedled in all matters Ecclesia-"stical. *Samuel*, though he had been Judge, yet acknowledged *Sauls* "Authority: So also did *Abimelech* the High-Priest, and appeared be-"fore him when cited to answer upon an Accusation. And *Samuel* "(1 *Sam*. 15. 18.) sayes, *he was made the head of all the Tribes*. *Aa*-"*ron*, in that, was an Example to all the following High-Priests who "submitted to *Moses*. *David* made many Laws about sacred things, "such as, the Order of the Courses of the Priests and their Worship; "and when he was dying, he declared to *Solomon* how far his Au-"thority extended. He told him, 1 *Chron*. 28. 21. *That the Courses of* "*the Priests and all the people were to be wholly at his commandment*: pur-"suant to which *Solomon*, 2 *Chron*. 8. 14, 15. did appoint them *their* "*charges in the service of God, and both the Priests and Levites departed* "*not from his commandment in any matter*: and though he had turn-"ed out *Abiathar* from the High-Priesthood, yet they made no oppo-"sition. *Jehosophat*, *Hezekiah* and *Josias* made likewise Laws about "Ecclesiastical Matters. "In

"In the New Testament, Christ himself was obedient, he payed 1533.
"Taxes, he declared that he pretended to no earthly Kingdom, he
"charged the people to *render to Cæsar the things that were Cæsars*,
"and his Disciples not to affect temporal dominion, as the Lords
"of the Nations did. And though the Magistrates were then Hea-
"thens, yet the Apostles wrote to the Churches to obey Magistrates,
"to submit to them, to pay Taxes, they call the King *Supream* and
"say he is Gods Minister to encourage them that do well, and to pu-
"nish the evil doors, which is said of all persons without exception,
"and every Soul is charged to be subject to the Higher Power.

And the New

"Many passages were cited out of the Writings of the Fathers, to
"show, that they thought Church-men, were included in these pla-
"ces as well as other persons, so that the Tradition of the Church
"was for the Kings Supremacy: and by one place of Scripture the
"King is called *Supream*, by another he is called *Head*, and by a third
"*every Soul must be subject to him*, which laid together, make up this
"conclusion, *That the King is the Supream Head over all persons*. In
"the primitive Church, the Bishops in their Councils made rules for
"ordering their Dioceses, which they only called *Canons* or *Rules*,
"nor had they any compulsive Authority, but what was derived from
"the Civil Sanctions.

"After the Emperors were Christians, they made many Laws a-
"bout sacred things, as may be seen in the *Codes*; and when *Justinian*
"digested the *Roman* Law, he added many *Novel Constitutions* about
"Ecclesiastical persons and causes. The Emperors called general Coun-
"cils, presided in them, and confirmed them. And many Letters
"were cited of Popes to Emperors, to call Councils, and of the Coun-
"cils to them to Confirm their Decrees. The Election of the Popes
"themselves, was sometimes made by the Emperors, and some-
"times confirmed by them. Pope *Hadrian* in a Synod decreed,
"that the Emperor should choose the Pope: And it was a late and
"unheard of thing, before the dayes of *Gregory* the 7th, for Popes
"to pretend to depose Princes, and give away their Dominions. This
"they compared to the pride of *Anti-Christ* and *Lucifer*.

And the Practises of the primitive Church.

"They also argued from Reason, that there must be but one Su-
"pream; and that the King being Supream over all his Subjects,
"Clergy-men must be included, for they are still Subjects. Nor can
"their being in Orders, change that former relation, founded upon the
"Law of Nature and Nations, no more than Wives or Servants, by
"becoming Christians, were not, according to the Doctrine of the A-
"postles, discharged from the Duties of their former Relations.

And from Reason.

"For the great Objection from those Offices that are peculiar to their
"Functions, It was answered, that these notwithstanding the King might
"well be Supream Head; for in the Natural body, there were many
"vital motions that proceeded not from the Head, but from the Heart,
"and the other inward parts and vessels; and yet the Head was still
"the chief seat and root of Life: So though there be peculiar functi-
"ons appropriated to Church-men, yet the King is still Head, having
"Authority over them, and a Power to direct and coerce them in
"these.

"From that, they proceeded to show, that in *England*, the Kings

And from the Laws of *England*.

1534. "have allwayes assumed a Supremacy in Ecclesiastical matters. They "began with the most Ancient Writing that relates to the Christian "Religion in *England* then extant, Pope *Eleutherius* Letter to King "*Lucius*, in which he is twice called by him *Gods Vicar in his King-"dom*, and he writ in it, *that it belong'd to his Office, to bring his Sub-"jects to the Holy Church*, and to maintain, protect, and govern them "in it. Many Laws were cited, which *Canutus*, *Ethelred*, *Edgar*, "*Edmond*, *Athelstan* and *Ina* had Enacted concerning Church-men, "many more Laws since the Conquest were also made, both against "appeals to *Rome*, and Bishops going out of the Kingdom without the "Kings leave.

"The whole business of the Articles of *Clarendon*, and the Con-"tests that followed between King *Henry* the 2d, and *Thomas Becket* "were also opened. And though a Bishops Pastoral care be of Di-"vine Institution, yet as the Kings of *England* had divided Bishopricks "as they pleased, so they also converted Benefices from the Instituti-"on of the Founders, and gave them to Cloisters and Monasteries "as King *Edgar* did; all which was done by the Consent of their "Clergy and Nobility, without dependance on *Rome*; They had also "granted these Houses Exemption from Episcopal Jurisdiction, so *Ina* "exempted *Glastenbury*, and *Offa*, St. *Albans*, from their Bishops visi-"tation: and this continued even till the dayes of *William* the Con-"queror, for he to perpetuate the Memory of the Victory he ob-"tained over *Harald*, and to endear himself to the Clergy, founded "an Abbey in the Field where the Battel was fought, and called it "*Battel-Abbey*, and in the Charter he granted them, these words are "to be found. *It shall be also free and quiet for ever, from all subje-"ction to Bishops, or the Dominion of any other persons, as Christs Church "in* Canterbury *is.* Many other things were brought out of King "*Alfreds* Laws, and a speech of King *Edgars*, with several Letters "written to the Popes from the Kings, the Parliaments, and the Cler-"gy of *England*, to show, that their Kings did always make Laws a-"bout Sacred matters, and that their Power reach't to that, and to "the persons of Church-men, as well as to their other Subjects.

The Qualification of that Supremacy.

But at the same time that they pleaded so much for the Kings Supremacy, and Power of making Laws for restraining and Coercing his Subjects, it appeared that they were far from vesting him with such an absolute Power, as the Popes had pretended to, for they thus defined the extent of the Kings Power. *To them specially and princi-*

Necessary Erudition upon the Sacrament of Orders.

pally, it pertaineth to defend the Faith of Christ and his Religion, to conserve and maintain the true Doctrine of Christ, and all such as be true Preachers and setters forth thereof; and to abolish Abuses, Heresies, and Idolatries, and to punish with corporal pains such as of malice be the occasion of the same. And finally to oversee and cause that the said Bishops and Priests do execute their pastoral office truly and faithfully, and specially in these points, which by Christ and his Apostles was given and Committed to them; and in case they shall be negligent in any part thereof, or would not diligently execute the same, to cause them to redouble and supply their lack: and if they obstinately withstand their Princes kind monition, and will not amend their faults, then and in such case to put others in their rooms and places. And God hath also commanded the said Bi-

shops

ſhops and Prieſts to obey with all humbleneſs and Reverence, both Kings, and Princes, and Governors, and all their Laws; not being contrary to the Laws of God, whatſoever they be: and that not only propter Iram *but alſo* propter Conſcientiam, *that is to ſay, not only for fear of puniſhment, but alſo for Diſcharge of Conſcience.* 1534.

Thus it appears, that they both limited obedience to the Kings Laws, with the due Caution of their not being contrary to the Law of God, and acknowledged the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in the diſcharge of the Paſtoral Office, committed to the Paſtors of the Church by Chriſt and his Apoſtles; and that the Supremacy then pretended to, was no ſuch Extravagant Power as ſome imagine.

"Upon the whole matter, it was Concluded, that the Popes Pow-"er in *England* had no good Foundation, and had been managed "with as much Tyranny, as it had begun with Uſurpation, the Ex-"actions of their Courts were every-where heavy, but in no place ſo "intolerable as in *England*: and though many complaints were made "of them in theſe laſt 300 years, yet they got no eaſe, and all "the Laws about Proviſors were ſtill defeated and made ineffectual; "Therefore they ſaw it was impoſſible to moderate their proceedings; "ſo that there was no other Remedy, but to extirpate their pre-"tended Authority, and thenceforth to acknowledge the Pope only "Biſhop of *Rome*, with the juriſdiction about it, defined by the An-"cient Canons: and for the King to re-aſſume his own Authority, and "the Prerogatives of his Crown, from which the Kings of *England* "had never formally departed, though they had for this laſt Hundred "years connived at an Invaſion and Uſurpation upon them, which "was no longer to be endured.

The neceſſity of extirpating the Popes Power.

Theſe were the Grounds of caſting off the Pope's Power, that had been for two or three years ſtudied, and enquired into by all the Learned men in *England*; and had been debated both in Convocation and Parliament, and except *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, I do not find that any Biſhop appeared for the Popes Power; and for the Abbots and Priors, as they were generally very ignorant, ſo what the Cardinal had done in ſuppreſſing ſome Monaſteries, and what they now heard, that the Court had an eye on their Lands:, made them to be as complyant as could be. But *Fiſher* was a man of great reputation, and very ancient, ſo that much pains was taken to ſatisfie him. A week before the Parliament ſat down, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* propoſed to him, that he and any Five Doctors, ſuch as he ſhould chooſe, and the Biſhop of *London*, and Five Doctors with him might confer about it, and examine the Authorities of both ſides, that ſo there might be an Agreement among them, by which the ſcandal might be removed, which otherwiſe would be taken from their Janglings and Conteſts among themſelves. *Fiſher* accepted of this, and *Stokeſley* wrote to him on the 8th of *January*, that he was ready whenever the other pleaſed, and deſired him to name time and place, and if they could not agree the matter among themſelves, he moved to refer it to two Learned men whom they ſhould chooſe, in whoſe determination they would both acquieſce. How far this overture went, I cannot diſcover, and perhaps *Fiſhers* ſickneſs hindred the progreſs of it. But now on the 15th of *January*, the Parliament ſat down by the Journals I find

Pains taken to ſatisfie *Fiſher* about it.

The Original is in the *Cott. lib. otho* C. 10.

no

1534. no other Bishops present but the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Lincoln*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Landaffe* and *Carlisle*. There were also twelve Abbots present, but upon what pretences the rest excused their attendance, I do not know; perhaps some made a difference between submitting to what was done, and being active and concurring to make the change. During the Session a Bishop preached every Sunday at *Pauls*-Cross, and declared to the people, That the Pope had no Authority at all in *England*. In the two former Sessions the Bishops had preached, that the general Council was above the Pope, but now they struck a note higher. This was done to let the people see, what justice and reason was in the Acts that were then passing, to which I now turn, and shall next give an account of this great Session of Parliament, which I shall put rather in the natural Method according to the matter of the Acts, than in the order of time as they passed.

On the 9th of *March* a Bill came up from the Commons for discharging the Subjects of all dependance on the Court of *Rome*, it was read the first time in the House of Lords the 13th of *March*, and on the 14th was read the second time, and Committed. The Committee reported it on the 19th, by which it appears there was no stiff nor long opposition, and he that was likest to make it, was both obnoxious and absent, as will afterwards appear. On the 19th it was read the third time, and on the 20th, the fourth time, and then passed without any protestation. Some Proviso's were added to it by the Lords, to which the Commons agreed, and so it was made ready for the Royal assent.

Journal, Procer.

"In the Preamble the intolerable exactions for *Peter*-pence, Provisi-"ons, Pensions, and Bulls of all sorts are complained of, which were "contrary to all Laws, and grounded only on the Popes Power of Dis-"pensing, which was Usurped. But the King and the Lords and Com-"mons within his own Realm had only power to consider, how any of "the Laws were to be Dispensed with or Abrogated; and since the King "was acknowledged the Supreme Head of the Church of *England* by "the Prelates and Clergy, in their Convocations, Therefore it was En-"acted that all Payments made to the Apostolick Chamber, and all Pro-"visions, Bulls, or Dispensations should from thenceforth cease. But "that all Dispensations or Licences for things that were not contrary "to the Law of God, but only to the Law of the Land, should be "granted within the Kingdom, by, and under the Seals of the two Arch-"Bishops in their several Provinces; who should not presume to grant "any contrary to the Laws of Almighty God, and should only grant "such Licences as had been formerly in use to be granted, but give no "Licence for any new thing till it were first examined by the King and "his Council whether such things might be dispensed with; and that "all Dispensations which were formerly taxed at, or above 4 *l.* should "be also confirmed under the Great-Seal. Then many clauses follow "about the Rates of Licences and the ways of procuring them. It was "also declared, that they did not hereby intend to vary from Christ's "Church about the Articles of the Catholick Faith of Christendom, or "in any other things declared by the Scriptures, and the word of God "necessary for their Salvation; confirming withal the exemptions of "Monasteries formerly granted by the Bishop of *Rome*, exempting them "still from the Arch-Bishops Visitations; declaring that such Abbeys whose

The Act for taking away the Popes Power.

It is the Act 21 in the Statute Book, 27 in the Record, and 8 in the Journal.

"whose Elections were formerly confirmed by the Pope, shall be now "confirmed by the King; who likewise shall give Commission under "his Great-Seal for visiting them, providing also that Licences and o- "ther Writs obtained from *Rome* before the 12 of *March* in that year "should be valid and in force, except they were contrary to the Laws "of the Realm; giving also to the King and his Council power to or- "der and reform all Indulgences and Priviledges (or the abuses of them) "which had been granted by the See of *Rome*. The offenders against "this Act were to be punished according to the Statutes of *Provisors* "and *Premunire*. 1534.

This Act, as it gave great ease to the Subject, so it cut off that base trade of Indulgences about Divine Laws, which had been so gainful to the Church of *Rome*, but was of late fatal to it. All in the Religious Houses saw their Priviledges now struck at, since they were to be reformed as the King saw cause, which put them in no small confusion. Those that favoured the Reformation rejoyced at this Act, not only because the Popes Power was rooted out, but because the Faith that was to be adhered to, was to be taken from those things, which the Scriptures declared necessary to Salvation; so that all their fears were now much qualified, since the Scripture was to be the standard of the Catholick Faith. On the same day that this Bill passed in the House of Lords, another Bill was read for confirming the Succession to the Crown in the Issue of the Kings present Marriage with Queen *Anne*. It was read the second time on the 21 of *March*, and Committed. It was reported on the 23th, and read the third time and passed, and sent down to the Commons, who sent it back again to them on the 26th, so speedily did this Bill go through both Houses without any opposition.

The judgments past on that Act.

The Preamble of it was, "The distractions that had been in *England* "about the Succession to the Crown, which had occasioned the effusi- "on of much Blood, with many other mischiefs, all which flowed from "the want of a clear Decision of the true Title, from which the Popes "had Usurped a Power of investing such as pleased them in other Prin- "ces Kingdoms, and Princes had often maintained such Donations for "their other ends; therefore to avoid the like inconveniences, the "Kings former Marriage with the Princess *Katharine*, is judged con- "trary to the Laws of God, and void and of no effect, and the Sentence "passed by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* annulling it, is confirmed, and "the Lady *Katharine* is thenceforth to be reputed only Princess Dow- "ager and not Queen, and the Marriage with Queen *Anne* is establi- "shed and confirmed: and Marriages within the degrees Prohibited by "*Moses* (which are enumerated in the Statute) are declared to be un- "lawful, according to the judgment of the Convocations of this Realm, "and of the most famous Universities and Learned men abroad, any Dis- "pensations to the contrary notwithstanding, which are also declared "null, since contrary to the Laws of God; and all that were Married "within these degrees are appointed to be Divorced, and the Children "begotten in such Marriages were declared Illegitimate: And all the "Issue that should be between the King and the present Queen is de- "clared Lawful, and the Crown was to descend on his Issue Male by "her, or any other Wife; or in default of Issue Male, to the Issue Female "by the Queen; and in default of any such, to the right Heirs of the "Kings

Act about the Succession to the Crown, 22 in the Statute Books, 34 in the Record, 26 in the Journal.

1534. "Kings Highness for ever: and any that after the 1st of *May* should maliciously divulge any thing to the slander of the Kings Marriage, or of "the Issue begotten in it, were to be adjudged for misprision of Treason, and to suffer Imprisonment at the Kings will, and forfeit all their "Goods and Chattels to him: And if the Queen out-lived the King, "she is declared Regent till the Issue by her were of Age, if a Son 18, "and if a Daughter 16 years of Age; and all the Kings Subjects were "to Swear that they would maintain the Contents of this Act, and "whoever being required, did refuse it, was to be judged guilty of "misprision of Treason, and punished accordingly. The Oath it seems was likewise agreed on in the House of Lords, for the Form of it is set down in their Journal as follows.

The Oath about the Succession.

"Ye shall Swear to bear Faith, Truth, and Obedience alonely to the "Kings Majesty, and to his Heirs of his body of his most dear and entirely beloved lawful Wife Queen *Anne*, begotten and to be begotten. "And further, to the Heirs of our said Soveraign Lord according to the "limitation in the Statute made for surety of his Succession in the "Crown of this Realm mentioned and contained, and not to any other "within this Realm, nor Forreign Authority or Potentate. And in "case any Oath be made, or hath been made, by you to any Person or "Persons, that then ye to repute the same as vain and annihilate. And "that to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your Power, without "guile, fraud, or other undue means, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, "and defend the said Act of Succession, and all the whole Effects and "Contents thereof, and all other Acts and Statutes made in Confirmation, or for Execution of the same, or of any thing therein contained. "And this ye shall do against all manner of Persons of what Estate, "Dignity, Degree, or condition soever they be; and in no wise to do "or attempt, nor to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or appartly, to the let, "hindrance, damage, or derogation thereof, or of any part of the same, "by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence. So help you "God, and all Saints, and the holy Evangelists.

And thus was the Kings Marriage confirmed. But when the Commons returned this Bill to the Lords, they sent them another with it, concerning the proceedings against Hereticks. There had been complaints made formerly, as was told before, of the severe and intolerable proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts against Hereticks: And on the 4th of *February*, the Commons sent up a complaint made by one *Thomas Philips* against the Bishop of *London*, for using him cruelly in Prison, upon the suspition of Heresie; but the Lords doing nothing in it, on the 1st of *March* the House of Commons sent some of their number to the Bishop, requiring him to make answer to the complaints exhibited against him, who acquainted the House of Lords with it the next day: but as they had formerly laid aside the complaint as not worthy of their time, so they all with one consent answered, That it was not fit for any of the Peers to appear or answer at the Barr of the House of Commons. Upon this the House of Commons finding they could do nothing in that particular case, resolved to provide an effectual remedy for such abuses for the future: And therefore sent up a Bill about the punishment of Hereticks, which was read that day for the first time, and the second and third time on the 27th and 28th, in which it passed. "The

Journal Procer.

"The Act was a repeal of the Statute of the 2d. of Henry the 4th, by "which Bishops upon suspition of Heresie might commit any to Prison, "as was before told, but in that Act there was no Declaration made, "what was Heresie, except in the general words of what was contrary "to Scriptures, or *Canonical Sanctions*. This was liable to great Ambiguity, by which men were in much danger, and not sufficiently instructed what was Heresie. They also complained of their proceedings "without Presentment or Accusation, contrary to what was practised "in all other cases, even of Treason it self; and many *Canonical Sanctions* had been established only by Popes without any Divine Precept, "therefore they repealed the Act of *Henry* the 4th, but left the Statutes of *Richard* the 2d, and *Henry* the 5th still in force, with the following Regulation: That Hereticks should be proceeded against upon "Presentments, by two Witnesses at least, and then be Committed, but "brought to answer to their Enditements in open Court; and if they "were found guilty, and would not abjure, or were relapse, to be adjudged to death; the Kings Writ *De Hæretico comburendo* being first "obtained. It was also declared, that none should be troubled upon "any of the Popes Canons or Laws, or for speaking or doing against "them. It was likewise provided that men Committed for Heresie "might be Bailed.

1534. Act about punishing Hereticks, 14 in the Statute Book, 33 in the Record, 31 in the Journal.

It may easily be imagined how acceptable this Act was to the whole Nation, since it was such an effectual limitation of the Ecclesiastical Power, in one of the uneasiest parts of it; and this Regulation of the Arbitrary proceedings of the Spiritual Courts, was a particular blessing to all that favoured Reformation. But as the Parliament was going on with these good Laws, there came a Submission from the Clergy then sitting in Convocation, to be passed in Parliament. With what opposition it went through the two Houses of Convocation, and the House of Commons, is not known; for as the Registers of the Convocation are burnt, so it does not appear that there were any Journals kept in the House of Commons at that time. On the 27th of *March* it was sent up to the Lords, and since the Spiritual Lords had already consented to it, there was no reason to apprehend any opposition from the Temporal Lords. The Session was now near an end, so they made haste and read it twice that day, and the third time the next day, and passed it. The Contents of it were: "The Clergy acknowledged that all Convocations had been and ought to be assembled by the Kings Writ; and promised *in verbo Sacerdotii*, that they would never make nor execute "any new Canons or Constitutions, without the Royal assent to them; "and since many Canons had been received that were found prejudicial "to the Kings Prerogative, contrary to the Laws of the Land, and heavy to the Subjects, That therefore there should be a Committee of "thirty two Persons, sixteen of the two Houses of Parliament, and as "many of the Clergy to be named by the King, who should have full "power to abrogate or confirm Canons as they found it expedient; the "Kings assent being obtained. This was confirmed by Act of Parliament, "and by the same Act all appeals to *Rome* were again condemned. If "any party found themselves agrieved in the Arch-Bishops Courts, an "appeal might be made to the King in the Court of Chancery; and "the Lord-Chancellor was to grant a Commission under the Great-

The submission made by the Clergy to the King, 19 in the Statute Book, 25 in the Record.

1534. "Seal for some Delegates, in whose determination all must acquiesce. "All exempted Abbots were also to appeal to the King; and it concluded with a Proviso, that till such Correction of the Canons was "made, all those which were then received should still remain in force, "except such as were contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Realm; "or were to the damage or hurt of the Kings Prerogative.

This Proviso seemed to have a fair colour, that there might still be some Canons in force to govern the Church by; but since there was no day prefixed to the Determination of the Commission, this Proviso made that the Act never took effect; for now it lay in the Prerogative, and in the Judges breast, to declare what Canons were contrary to the Laws, or the Rights of the Crown: and it was judged more for the Kings Greatness to keep the matter undetermined, than to make such a Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws as should be fixed and unmoveable. The last of the publick Acts of this Session that related to the Church, was about the Election and Consecration of Bishops. On the 4th of *February* the Commons sent up a Bill to the Lords about the Consecration of Bishops; it lay on the Table till the 27th of *February*, and was then cast out, and a new one drawn. On what reason it was cast out, is not mentioned, and the Journal does not so much as say that it was once read. The new Bill had its second reading the 3d of *March*, and on the 5th it was ordered to be Engross'd; and on the 9th it was read the third time, and agreed to, and sent down to the Commons, who returned it to the Lords on the 16th of *March*. "The first part of it is "a confirmation of their former Act against *Annates*, to which they added, that Bishops should not be any more presented to the Bishop of "*Rome*, or sue out any Bulls there, but that all Bishops should be presented to the Arch-Bishop, and Arch-Bishops to any Arch-Bishop in "the Kings Dominions, or to any four Bishops whom the King should "name; and that when any See was vacant, the King was to grant a "Licence for a new Election, with a Letter missive, bearing the name "of the Person that was to be chosen: and twelve days after these were "delivered, an Election was to be returned by the Dean and Chapter, "or Prior and Convent, under their Seals. Then the Person Elected "was to swear Fealty to the King, upon which a Commission was to "be issued out, for Consecrating and Investing him with the usual Ceremonies; after which he was to do Homage to the King, and be restored both to the Spiritualities and Temporalities of his See, for "which the King granted Commissions during the vacancy; and whosoever refused to obey the Contents of the Act, or acted contrary to it, "were declared within the Statute of *Premunire*. There passed a private Act for depriving the Bishops of *Salisbury* and *Worcester*, who were Cardinal *Campegio* and *Jerome de Ghinuccii*; the former deserved greatter severities at the Kings hand, but the latter seems to have served him faithfully, and was recommended both by the King and the *French* King about a year before to a Cardinals Hat. "The Preamble of the Act "bears, that persons promoted to Ecclesiastical Benefices ought to reside within the Kingdom for preaching the Laws of Almighty God, "and for keeping Hospitality; and since these Prelates did not that, but "lived at the Court of *Rome*, and neglected their Diocesses, and made "the Revenues of them be carried out of the Kingdoms, contrary to the

Journal Procer.

Act about Election of Bishops, 20 in Statute-Book, 26 in the Record.

Collect. *Numb.* 48.

"in-

"intentions of the Founders, and to the prejudice of the Realm, 3000 *l.* 1534.
"being at least carried yearly out of the Kingdom; therefore their Dio-
"cesses were declared vacant.

But now I come to the Act of the Attainder of *Elizabeth Barton* and her Complices, which I shall open fully, since it was the first step that was made to Rebellion, and the first occasion of putting any to death upon this quarrel; and from it one will clearly see, the *Genius* of that part of the Clergy that adhered to the Interests of the Court of *Rome*: On the 21th of *February* the Bill was sent up to the Lords, and read the first time; on the 26th it was read the second time, and committed; then the Witnesses and other Evidences were brought before them, but chiefly she with all her Complices, who confessed the Crimes charged on her. It was reported and read the 6th of *March* the third time, and then the Lords addressed to the King to know his pleasure, whether Sir *Thomas More*, and others mentioned in the Act as *Complices*, or at least *Concealers*, might not be heard to speak for themselves in the Star-Chamber: As for the Bishop of *Rochester* he was sick, but he had written to the House all that he had to say for his own excuse. What presumptions lay against Sir *Thomas More*, I have not been able to find out, only that he wrote a Letter to the Nun, at which the King took great exceptions; yet it appears he had a mean opinion of her, for in discourse with his beloved Daughter Mistress *Roper*, he called her commonly the silly Nun. But for justifying himself, he wrote a full account of all the entercourse he had with the Nun and her Complices to *Cromwell*, but tho by his other printed Letters, both to *Cromwell* and the King, it seems some ill impressions remained in the Kings mind about it, he still continued to justifie not only his intentions, but his actions in that particular. One thing is not unworthy of observation, that *Rastall*, who published his Works in Queen *Maries* time, printed the second Letter he wrote to *Cromwell*, yet did not publish that account which he sent first to him concerning it, to which *More* refers himself in all his following Letters; though it is more like a Copy of that would have been preserved, than of those other Letters that refer to it. But perhaps it was kept up on design; for in Queen *Maries* time they had a mind to magnifie that story of the Nuns, since she was thought to have suffered on her Mothers account: and among the other things she talked, one was that the Lady *Mary* should one day Reign in *England*, for which *Sanders* has since thought fit to make a Prophetess of her. And it is certain, *More* had a low opinion of her, which appears in many places of his printed Letters; but that would have been much plainer, if that full account he wrote of that Affair had been published; and therefore that one of their Martyrs might not lessen the esteem of another, it was fit to suppress it. Whether my conjectures in this be well grounded, or not, is left to the Readers judgment. In conclusion, *More*'s justifications seconded with the good Offices that the Lord Chancellour *Audley*, and *Cromwell* did him, (who as appears by his Leters stood his Friends in that matter) did so work on the King, that his name was put out of the Bill, and so the Act was agreed on by both Houses, and the Royal assent followed. The matter was this, "*Elizabeth Barton* of *Kent*, in the Parish of *Aldington*,
"being sick and distempered in her brain, fell in some Trances, (it
"seems

The Act about the Maid of *Kent*, and her Complices.

12 in Statute Book, 31 in the Record, 7 in the Journal.

See his Works, pag. 1435.

1534. " ſeems by the Symptoms they were Hyſterical fits) and ſpoke many
" words that made great impreſſions on ſome about her, who thought
" her Inſpired of God , and *Richard Maſter* , Parſon of the Pariſh,
" hoping to draw great advantages from this , went to *Warham*
" Arch-Biſhop of *Cantrbury*, and gave him a large account of her
" Speeches , who ordered him to attend her carefully , and bring
" him a further report of any new Trances, ſhe might afterwards fall in.
" But ſhe had forgot all ſhe had ſaid in her fits, yet the crafty Prieſt
" would not let it go ſo, but perſwaded her, that what ſhe had ſaid,
" was by the Inſpiration of the *Holy Ghoſt*, and that ſhe ought to
" own that it was ſo. Upon which he taught her to counterfeit ſuch
" traunces, and to utter ſuch ſpeeches as ſhe had done before ; ſo
" that after a whiles Practice, ſhe became very ready at it. The
" thing was much noiſed abroad, and many came to ſee her, but the
" Prieſt had a mind to raiſe the reputation of an Image of the Bleſſed
" *Virgin*, that was in a Chappel within his Pariſh, that ſo Pilgrima-
" ges being made to it, he might draw theſe advantages from it, that
" others made from their famed Images , but choſe for his Aſſoci-
" ate one Doctor *Bocking*, a Canon of Chriſt-Church in *Canterbury* :
" Upon which they inſtructed her to ſay in her Counterfeited traun-
" ces, that the Bleſſed Virgin had appeared to her, and told her ſhe
" could never recover, till ſhe went and viſited her Image in that
" Chappel. They had alſo taught her in her fits to make ſtrange
" motions with her body, by which ſhe was much diſſigured, and
" to ſpeak many Godly words againſt Sin, and the new Doctrines,
" which were called Hereſies, as alſo againſt the Kings ſuit of Divorce.
" It was alſo noiſed abroad, on what day ſhe intended to go and viſit
" the Image of the Virgin, ſo that about 2000 people were gather-
" ed together, and ſhe being brought to the Chappel, fell into her
" fits and made many ſtrange Grimaces and alterations of her body,
" and ſpake many words of great piety, ſaying, that by the Inſpira-
" tion of God , ſhe was called to be a Religious Woman, and that
" *Bocking* was to be her Ghoſtly Father. And within a little while
" ſhe ſeemed by the interceſſion of our Lady, to be perfectly recover-
" ed of her former diſtempers, and ſhe afterwards profeſſed a Religi-
" ous Life. There were alſo violent ſuſpitions of her incontinency,
" and that *Bocking* was a Carnal, as well as a Spiritual Father. She
" fell in many raptures, and pretended ſhe ſaw ſtrange Viſions, heard
" Heavenly Melody , and had the Revelation of many things that
" were to come, ſo that great credit was given to what ſhe ſaid, and
" people generally looked on her as a Propheteſs, and among thoſe
" the late Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* was led away with the reſt.
" A Book was writ of her Revelations and Prophecies by one *Deer-*
" *ing* another Monk, who was taken in to the Conſpiracy with many
" others. It was alſo given out that *Mary Magdalen* gave her a Let-
" ter that was writ in Heaven, which was ſhewed to many, being all
" writ in Golden Letters. She pretended when the King was laſt at
" *Calais*, that he being at Maſs, an Angel brought away the Sacra-
" ment and gave it to her, being then inviſibly preſent, and that ſhe
" was preſently brought over the Sea to her Monaſtery again. But
" the deſign of all theſe traunces was to alienate the people from their

duty

"duty to the King, for the Maid gave it out, that God revealed to 1534.
"her, that if the King went on in the Divorce and Marryed another
"Wife, *he should not be King a Month longer, and in the reputation of*
"*Almighty God not one howr longer, but should die a villains Death.*
"This, she said was revealed to her in answer to the prayers she had
"put up to God, to know whether he approved of the Kings proceed-
"ings or not? Which coming to the knowledg of the Bishop of *Rochester*
"and some others, who adhered to the Queens interests, they had
"frequent meetings with the Maid, and concealed what she spake
"concerning the King, and some of them gave such credit to what she
"said, that they practised on many others to draw them from their
"allegeance, and prevailed with several of the Fathers and Nuns of
"*Sion*, of the *Charter-House* in *London* and *Shene*, and of the Obser-
"vants of *Richmont*, *Greenwich* and *Canterbury*, with a great many o-
"ther persons.

This appeared most signally at *Greenwich*, where the King lived most in Summer, for one *Peto* being to preach in the Kings Chappel, denounced heavy judgments upon him to his face, and told him, *that many lying prophets had deceived him, but he as a true* Michajah *warned him that the dogs should lick his blood as they had done* Ahabs (for that prophecy about *Ahab* was his Text) with many other bitter words, and Concluded, *that it was the greatest misery of Princes, to be daily so abused by flatterers as they were.* The King bore it patiently, and expressed no signs of any commotion, but to undeceive the people, he took care that Doctor *Corren* or *Curwin* should preach next Sunday, who justified the Kings proceedings, and condemned *Peto* as a Rebel, a Slanderer, a Dog, and a Traytor. *Peto* was gone to *Canterbury*, but another observant Frier of the same House, *Elston* interrupted him: and said he was one of the lying Prophets, that sought by Adultery to establish the Succession to the Crown, and that he would justifie all that *Peto* had said, and speak many other things with great vehemency, nor could they silence him, till the King himself commanded him to hold his peace. And yet all that was done either to him, or *Peto*, was, that being called before the Privie Council, they were rebuked for their insolence, by which it appears, that King *Henry* was not very easily inflamed against them, when a crime of so high a Nature was so slightly passed over.

The Insolence of some of the Friars.

Stow.

"Nor was this all, but the Fathers that were in the Conspiracy,
"had confederated to publish these Revelations in their Sermons, up
"and down the Kingdom. They had also given Notice of them to the
"Popes Ambassadors, and had brought the Maid to declare her Reve-
"lations to them, they had also sent an account to Queen *Katharine*
"for encouraging her to stand out and not submit to the Laws, of
"which Confederacy *Thomas Abel* was likewise one. The thing that
was in so many hands could not be a secret, therefore the King who had despised it long, ordered that in *November* the former year the Maid and her Complices, *Richard Master*, Doctor *Bocking*, *Richard Deering*, *Henry Gold*, a Parson in *London*, *Hugh Rich* an observant Frier, *Richard Risby*, *Thomas Gold* and *Edward Twaites* Gentlemen, and *Thomas Laurence* should be brought into the Star-Chamber, where there was a great appearance of many Lords, they were examined upon the

Stow.

1534. the premiſes, and did all without any rack or torture confeſs the whole Conſpiracy, and were adjudged to ſtand in *Pauls* all the Sermon time; and after Sermon, the Kings Officers were to give every one of them his Bill of Confeſſion to be openly read before the people; which was done next Sunday, the Biſhop of *Bangor* preaching, they being all ſet in a Scaffold before him. This publick manner was thought upon good grounds, to be the beſt way to ſatisfie the people of the Impoſture of the whole matter, and it did very much convince them, that the cauſe muſt needs be bad, where ſuch methods were uſed to ſupport it. From thence they were carryed to the Tower, where they lay till the Seſſion of Parliament, but when they lay there, ſome of their Complices ſent meſſages to the Nun, to encourage her to deny all that ſhe had ſaid; and it is very probable, that the reports that went abroad of her being forced or cheated into a Confeſſion, made the King think it neceſſary to proceed more ſeverely againſt her. The thing being conſidered in Parliament, it was judged a Conſpiracy againſt the Kings Life and Crown. So the *Nun* and *Maſter*, *Bocking*, *Deering*, *Rich*, *Risby* and *Henry Gold* were Attainted of high Treaſon. And the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Thomas Gold*, *Thomas Laurence*, *Edward Twaites*, *John Adeſon*, and *Thomas Abell*, were judged guilty of miſpriſion of Treaſon, and to forfeit their goods and Chattels to the King, and to be impriſoned during his pleaſure, and all the Books that were written of her Revelations, were ordered to be ſent in, to ſome of the chief Officers of State, under the pains of Fine and Impriſonment. It had been alſo found, that the Letter which ſhe pretended to have got from *Mary Magdalen e*, was written by one *Hankherſt* of *Canterbury*, and that the door of the *Dormitorie*, which was given out to be made open by miracle, that ſhe might go into the Chappel for Converſe with God, was opened by ſome of her Complices, for beaſtly and carnal ends. But in the Concluſion of the Act, all others who had been corrupted in their Allegiance by theſe impoſtures, except the perſons before named, were at the earneſt interceſſion of Queen *Anne*, pardoned.

The two Houſes of Parliament (having ended their buſineſs) were prorogued on the 29th of *March*, to the 3d of *November*, and before they broke up, all the Members of both Houſes, that they might give a good example to the Kings other Subjects, ſwore the Oath of Succeſſion, as appears from the Act made about it in the next Seſſion of Parliament. The Execution of theſe perſons was delayed for ſome time, it is like, till the King had a return from *Rome*, of the Meſſenger he had ſent thither with his Submiſſion.

Soon after that, on the 20 of *April*, the *Nun* and *Bocking*, *Maſter*, *Deering*, *Risby* and *Gold* (*Rich* is not named being perhaps either dead or pardoned) were brought to *Tiburn*. The *Nun* ſpake theſe words. *Hither I am come to die, and I have not been only the cauſe of mine own death, which moſt juſtly I have deſerved, but alſo I am the cauſe of the death of all thoſe perſons, which at this time here ſuffer. And yet to ſay the truth, I am not ſo much to be blamed, conſidering that it was well known to theſe learned men, that I was a poor wench without Learning, and therefore they might eaſily have perceived, that the things that were done by me, could not proceed in no ſuch ſort; but their capacities*

The *Nuns* ſpeech at her death.

Hall.

and

and Learning could right well judge, from whence they proceeded, and that they were altogether feigned; but because the thing which I feigned was profitable to them, therefore they much praised me, and bore me in hand, that it was the Holy-Ghost and not I, that did them; and then I being puffed up with their praises, fell into a certain pride and foolish fantasie with my self, and thought I might feign what I would, which thing hath brought me to this case: and for the which now, I cry God and the Kings Highness most heartily Mercy, and desire you, all good people, to pray to God to have mercy on me, and on all them that here suffer with me. 1534.

On all this I have dwelt the longer, both because these are all called Martyrs by *Sanders*, and that this did first provoke the King against the Regular Clergy, and drew after it all the severities that were done in the rest of his Reign. The foulness and the wicked designs of this Imposture, did much alienate people from the Interest of *Rome*, and made the other Acts both pass more easily, and be better received by the people. It was also generally believed, that what was now discovered was no new practice, but that many of the Visions and Miracles, by which Religious Orders had raised their Credit so high, were of the same Nature: and it made way for the destroying of all the Monasteries in *England*, though all the severity which at this time followed on it, was that the *Observant* Friers of *Richmont*, *Greenwich*, *Canterbury*, *Newark*, and *Newcastle* were removed out of their Houses, and put with the other *Gray-Friers*, and *Augustin-Friers* were put in their Houses. *Stow.*

But because of the great name of *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and since this was the first step to his ruin, it is necessary to give a fuller account of his carriage in this matter. When the cheat was first discovered, *Cromwell* then Secretary of State, sent the Bishops Brother to him, with a sharp reproof for his carriage in that business; but withal advised him to write to the *King*, and acknowledge his offence, and desire his pardon, which he knew the *King*, considering his Age and sickness, would grant. But he wrote back, excusing himself, that all he did, was only to try, whether her Revelations were true? He confessed, he conceived a great opinion of her Holiness, both from common Fame, and her entring into Religion; from the report of her Ghostly Father, whom he esteemed Learned and Religious, and of many other Learned and Vertuous Priests; from the good opinion the late Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* had of her, and from what is in the Prophet *Amos*, *That God will do nothing without revealing it to his Servants.* That upon these grounds, he was induced to have a good opinion of her; and that to try the truth about her, he had sometimes spoken with her, and sent his Chaplains to her, but never discovered any falsehood in her. And for his concealing what she had told him about the King, which was laid to his charge, he thought it needless for him to speak of it to the King, since she had said to him, that she had told it to the King her self: She had named no person who should kill the King, which by being known, might have been prevented. And as in Spiritual things, every Church-man was not bound to denounce judgments against those that could not bear it; so in temporal things, the case might be the same; and the King had on other occasions spoken so sharply to him, that

Fisher gently dealt with.

But is obstinate and intractable.

1534. that he had reason to think, the King would have been offended with him for speaking of it, and would have suspected that he had a hand in it; therefore he desired for the passion of Christ to be no more troubled about that matter, otherwise he would speak his Conscience freely. To all which, *Cromwell* wrote a long Letter, which the Reader will find in the Collection, copied from the rude draught of it, written with his own hand. In which he charges the Matter upon him heavily, and shews him, that he had not proceeded, as a grave *Prelate* ought to have done; for he had taken all that he had heard of her upon trust, and had examined nothing; that if every person that pretends to Revelations were believed on their own words, all Government would be thereby destroyed. He had no reason to conclude from the Prophecie of *Amos*, that every thing that is to fall out, must be revealed to some Prophet, since many notable things had fallen out, of which there was no Revelation made before hand. But he told him the true reason that made him give credit to her, was, the matter of her Prophecies: to which he was so addicted, as he was to every other thing in which he once entred, that nothing could come amiss that served to that end. And he appealed to his Conscience, whether if she had prophecied for the King, he would have given such easie credit to her, and not have examined the matter further. Then he showes how guilty he was, in not revealing what concerned the Kings Life, and how frivolous all his excuses were. And after all, tells him, that though his excusing the matter had provoked the King, and that if it came to a Tryal, he would certainly be found guilty; yet again he advises him to beg the Kings pardon for his Negligence, and offence in that matter; and undertakes that the King would receive him into his favour, and that all matters of displeasure pass'd before that time, should be forgiven and forgotten. This shows that though *Fisher* had in the progress of the Kings cause, given him great offence, yet he was ready to pass it all over, and not to take the advantage, which he now had against him. But *Fisher* was still obstinate and made no submission, and so was included within the Act for misprision of Treason; and yet I do not find, that the King proceeded against him upon this Act, till by new provocations he drew a heavier storm of indignation upon himself.

Collect. Numb. 49. Cott. Lib. Cleopatr. E. 4.

When the Session of Parliament was at an end, Commissioners were sent every-where, to offer the Oath of the Succession to the Crown, to all, according to the Act of Parliament, which was universally taken by all sorts of persons. *Gardiner* wrote from *Winchester* the 6th of *May* to *Cromwell*, that in the presence of the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord *Audley*, and many other Gentlemen, all Abbots, Priors, Wardens, with the Curates of all Parishes and Chappels within the Shire, had appeared and taken the Oath very obediently; and had given in a list of all the Religious persons in their Houses of 14 years of Age and above, for taking whose Oaths some Commissioners were appointed. The forms in which they took the Oath are not known, and it is no wonder, for though they were enrolled, yet in Queen *Maries* time there was a Commission given to *Bonner* and others, to examine the Records and raze out of them all things, that were

The Oath for the Succession generally sworn.

Orig. Cott. Lib. Otho. C. 10.

were done either in contempt of the See of *Rome*, or to the defamation of Religious Houses, pursuant to which, there are many things taken out of the Rolls, which I shall sometimes have occasion afterwards to take notice of; yet some Writings have escaped their diligence, so there remains but two of the Subscriptions of Religious Orders, both bearing date the 4th of *May* 1534. One is by the Prior and Convent of *Langley Regis*, that were Dominicans, the Franciscans of *Ailesbury*, the Dominicans of *Dunstable*, the Franciscans of *Bedford*, the Carmelites of *Hecking* and the Franciscans *de Mare*. The other is by the Prioress and Convent of the Dominican Nuns at *Deptford*. 1534.

"In these, besides the renewing their allegiance to the King, they "swear the Lawfulness of his Marriage with Queen *Anne*, and that "they shall be true to the Issue begotten in it, that they shall always acknowledge the King, Head of the Church of *England*: "and that the Bishop of *Rome* has no more Power, than any other "Bishop has in his own Diocess, and that they should submit to all "the Kings Laws, notwithstanding the Popes censures to the contrary. That in their Sermons they should not pervert the Scriptures, but preach Christ and his Gospel sincerely according to the "Scriptures, and the Tradition of Orthodox and Catholick Doctors, "and in their Prayers that they should pray first for the King, as Supreme "Head of the Church of *England*, then for the Queen and her issue, "and then for the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and the other ranks of "the Clergy. To this these Six Priors set their hands with the Seals of their Convents, and in their Subscriptions declared, that they did it freely and uncompelled, and in the name of all the Brethren in the Convent.

Collect. Numb. 50. Rot. Claus.

Those last clauses are not in the other Writing.

But Sir. *Thomas More* and the Bishop of *Rochester*, refused to take the Oath as it was conceived: Whose Fall being so remarkable, I shall shew the steps of it. There was a meeting of the Privy Council at *Lambeth*, to which many were cited to appear, and take the Oath. Sr. *Thomas More* was first called, and the Oath was tendred to him under the great Seal, then he called for the Act of Succession, to which it related, which was also shewed him: having considered of them, he said he would neither blame these that made the Act, nor those that Swore the Oath, but for his part, though he was willing to Swear to the Succession, if he might be suffered to draw an Oath concerning it, yet for the Oath that was offered him, his Conscience so moved him, that he could not without hazarding his Soul take it. Upon this, the Lord Chancellour told him, that he was the first who had refused to Swear it, and that the King would be highly offended with him for denying it, and so he was desired to withdraw, and consider better of it. Several others were called upon, and did all take the Oath, except the Bishop of *Rochester*, who answered upon the matter as *More* had done. When the Lords had dispatched all the rest, *More* was again brought before them: they shewed him how many had taken it, he answered, he judged no man for doing it, only he could not do it himself. Then they asked the reasons why he refused it? He answered, he feared it might provoke the King more against him, if he should offer reasons which would be called a disputing against Law: but when he was further pressed to give his rea-

More and *Fisher* refuse the Oath.

See his works, p. 1428.

1534. ſons, he ſaid if the King would command him to do it, he would put them in Writing.

The Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* urged him with this Argument, that ſince he ſaid he blamed no other perſon for taking it, it ſeemed he was not perſwaded it was a Sin, but was doubtful in the matter: but he did certainly know, he ought to obey the King, and the Law, ſo there was a certainty on the one hand, and only a doubt on the other; therefore he was obliged to do that about which he was certain, notwithſtanding theſe his doubtings. This did ſhake him a little, eſpecially (as himſelf writes) *coming out of ſo Noble a Prelates mouth*: but he anſwered, that, though he had examined the matter very carefully, yet his Conſcience leaned poſitively to the other ſide; and he offered to purge himſelf by his Oath, that it was purely out of a Principle of Conſcience, and out of no light Fantaſie or Obſtinacy that he thus refuſed it. The Abbot of *Weſtminſter* preſſed him, that however the matter appeared to him, he might ſee his Conſcience was Erroneous, ſince the great Council of the Realm was of another mind, and therefore he ought to change his Conſcience. (A Reaſoning very fit for ſo rich an Abbot, which diſcovers of what temper his Conſcience was) But to this *More* anſwered, that if he were alone againſt the whole Parliament, he had reaſon to ſuſpect his own underſtanding; but he thought he had the whole Council of Chriſtendome on his ſide, as well as the great Council of *England* was againſt him. Secretary *Cromwell*, who (as *More* writes) *tenderly favoured him*, ſeeing his ruin was now inevitable, was much affected at it; and proteſted with an Oath, he had rather his own only Son had loſt his head, than that he ſhould have refuſed the Oath. Thus both he and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* refuſed it, but both offered to Swear another Oath for the Succeſſion of the Crown to the iſſue of the Kings preſent Marriage, becauſe that was in the Power of the Parliament to determine it. *Cranmer*, who was a moderate and wiſe man, and foreſaw well the ill effects that would follow on contending ſo much, with perſons ſo highly eſteemed over the World, and of ſuch a temper, that ſeverity would bend them to nothing, did by an earneſt Letter to *Cromwell* dated the 27th of *April* move, that what they offered might be accepted; for if they once Swore to the Succeſſion, it would quiet the Kingdom, for they acknowledging it, all other perſons would acquieſce and ſubmit to their Judgments. But this ſage advice was not accepted.

Weavers Monuments, page 504 and 506.

And are proceeded againſt.

The King was much irritated againſt them, and reſolved to proceed with them according to Law, and therefore they were both indicted upon the Statute, and Committed Priſoners to the Tower. And it being apprehended, that if they had Books and Paper given them, they would write againſt the Kings Marriage or his Supremacy, theſe were denyed them. The Old *Biſhop* was hardly uſed, his Biſhoprick was ſeized on, and all his goods taken from him, only ſome old rags were left to cover him; and he was neither ſupplyed well in diet nor other neceſſaries, of which he made ſad complaints to *Cromwell*. But the remainder of this Tragical buſineſs, which left one of the greateſt blots on this Kings proceedings, falling within the limits of the next Book, I haſte on to the Concluſion of this.

The

The Separation from *Rome* was made in the former Seſſion of Parliament, but the Kings Supremacy was not yet fully ſetled. This was reſerved for the next Seſſion that ſate in *November* from the 3d of that month, to the 18th of *December*, about which we can have no light from the Journals, they being loſt. The firſt Act Confirmed what had been already acknowledged by the Clergy, that the King was the Supream Head in Earth, of the Church of *England*, "which was to be annexed to his other Titles: it was alſo enacted "that the King and his heirs and Succeſſors ſhould have Power to viſit and reform all Hereſies, Errors, and other Abuſes, which in the "Spiritual juriſdiction, ought to be reform'd.

1534.

Another Seſſion of Parliament.

The Kings Supremacy declared.

By the Second Act they Confirmed the Oath about the Succeſſion, concerning which ſome doubts had been made, becauſe there was no Oath ſpecified in the former Act: though both Houſes had taken it: it was now Enacted, that all the Subjects were obliged to take it when offered to them, under the pains contained in the Act paſſ'd in the former Seſſion. By the Third Act, the firſt Fruits and Tenths of all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices were given to the King, as the Supream Head of the Church. The Clergy were eaſily prevailed on, to conſent to the putting down of the *Annates*, pay'd to the Court of *Rome*, for all men readily concur to take off any Impoſition; but at that time it had perhaps abated much of their heartineſs, if they had imagined that theſe duties ſhould have been ſtill payed, therefore that was kept up till they had done all that was to be done againſt *Rome*. And now as the Commons and the Secular Lords would no doubt eaſily agree to lay a taxe on the Clergy, ſo the others having no forreign ſupport, were not in a condition to wreſtle againſt it.

The Oath about the Succeſſion confirmed.

The firſt Fruits of Benefices given to the King.

In the Thirteenth Act, among other things that were made Treaſon, one was the denying the King the Dignity, Title or name, of his Eſtate Royal: or the calling the King Heretick, Schiſmatick, Tyrant, Infidel, or Uſurper of the Crown. This was done to reſtrain the Inſolencies of ſome Friars, and all ſuch offenders were to be denyed the Priviledge of Sanctuaries. By the Fourteenth Act, proviſion was made for Suffragan Biſhops, which as is ſaid, *had been accuſtomed to be had within this Realm, for the more ſpeedy adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other good wholeſom and devout things, and laudable ceremonies, to the encreaſe of Gods honour, and for the commodity of good and devout people*, therefore they appointed for Suffragans Sees, the Towns of *Thetford*, *Ipſwich*, *Colecheſter*, *Dover*, *Gilford*, *Southampton*, *Taunton*, *Shaftbury*, *Malton*, *Marleborough*, *Bedford*, *Leiceſter*, *Gloceſter*, *Shrewsbury*, *Briſtol*, *Penreth*, *Bridgewater*, *Nottingham*, *Grantham*, *Hull*, *Huntington*, *Cambridge*, and the Towns of *Pereth* and *Berwick*, St. *Germans* in *Cornwall*, and the Iſle of *Wight*. For theſe Sees the Biſhop of the Dioceſs was to preſent two to the King, who might chooſe either of them, and preſent the perſon ſo named, to the Arch-Biſhop of the Province, to be Conſecrated; after which, they might exerciſe ſuch juriſdiction as the Biſhop of the Dioceſs ſhould give to them, or as Suffragans had been formerly uſed to do, but their Authority was to laſt no longer than the Biſhop continued his Commiſſion to them. But that the Reader may more clearly ſee how this Act was executed, he ſhall find in the Collection, a Writ for making

Sundry things are declared Treaſon.

An Act for Suffragan Biſhops.

Collect. Numb. 51.

1534. a Suffragan Bishop. These were believed to be the same with the *Chorepiscopi* in the Primitive Church, which as they were begun before the first Council of *Nice*, so they continued in the Western Church till the Ninth Century, and then a Decretal of *Damasus* being forged, that condemned them, they were put down every-where by degrees, and now revived in *England*. Then followed the grant of a Subsidy to the King: It was now Twelve years since there was any Subsidy granted. A Fiveteenth and a Tenth were given, to be payed in Three years, the final payment being to be at Allhallontide, in the year 1537. The Bill began with a most Glorious Preamble "of the Kings high Wisdom and Policy in the Government of "the Kingdom these Twenty Four years in great wealth and quiet-"ness, and the great charges he had been at in the last War with "*Scotland*, in fortifying *Callais*, and in the War of *Ireland*, and that "he intended to bring the wilful, wild, and unreasonable, and savage "people of *Ireland*, to Order and Obedience, and intended to build "Forts on the Marches of *Scotland*, for the security of the Nation, to "amend the Haven of *Calais*, and make a new one at *Dover*. By all "which they did perceive the entire love and zeal which the King bore "to his People, and that he sought not their wealth and quietness, on-"ly for his own time, being a Mortal man, but did provide for it in "all time coming, therefore they thought that of very equity, rea-"son, and good Conscience, they were bound to show like corre-"spondence of zeal, gratitude and kindness. Upon this the King sent a general pardon with some exceptions, ordinary in such cases. But *Fisher* and *More*, were not only excluded from this pardon by general Clauses, but by two particular Acts they were attainted of misprision of Treason. By the Third Act according to the Record, *John* Bishop of *Rochester*, *Christopher Plummer*, *Nicholas Wilson*, *Edward Powel*, *Richard Fetherston*, and *Miles Willyr* Clerks, were attainted for refusing the Oath of Succession, and the Bishoprick of *Rochester*, with the Benefices of the other Clerks were declared void from the 2d of *January* next, yet it seems few were fond of succeeding him in that See, for *John Hilsey* the next Bishop of *Rochester* was not Consecrated before the year 1537. By the Fourth Act Sr. *Thomas More* is by an Invidious Preamble charged with ingratitude, for the great favours he had received from the King, and for studying to sow and "make sedition among the Kings Subjects, and refusing to take the "Oath of Succession, therefore they declared the Kings Grants to him "to be void, and attaint him of misprision of Treason.

Act 26. Rot. Parl. A Subsidy granted.

More and *Fisher* attainted. Act. 3. and 4. Rot. Parl.

The Proceedings against them variously censured.

This severity though it was blamed by many, yet others thought it was necessary in so great a Change; since the Authority of these two men was such, that if some signal notice had not been taken of them, many might by their endeavors, especially encouraged by that Impunity, have been corrupted in their affections to the King. Others thought the prosecuting them in such a manner, did rather raise their reputation higher, and give them more credit with the people, who are naturally enclined to pity those that suffer, and to think well of those opinions, for which they see men resolved, to endure all extremities. But others observed the justice of God, in retaliating thus upon them their own severities to others, for as *Fisher* did grievously

prosecute

prosecute the preachers of *Luthers* Doctrine, so *Mores* hand had been very heavy on them as long as he had Power, and he had shewed them no mercy, but the extremity of the Law, which himself now felt to be very heavy. Thus ended this Session of Parliament, with which this Book is also to conclude, for now I come to a Third period of the Kings Reign, in which he did Govern his Subjects without any Competitor, but I am to stop a little, and give an account of the Progress of the Reformation in these years that I have past through. 1534.

The Cardinal was no great persecutor of Hereticks, which was generally thought to flow from his hatred of the Clergy, and that he was not ill pleased to have them depressed. During the agitation of the Kings process, there was no prosecution of the Preachers of *Luthers* Doctrine, whether this flowed from any Intimation of the Kings pleasure to the Bishops or not, I cannot tell, but it is very probable it must have been so, for these opinions were received by many, and the Popish Clergy were so inclined to severity, that as they wanted not Occasions, so they had a good mind to use those Preachers cruelly, so that it is likely the King restrained them, and that was always mixed with the other threatnings to work upon the Pope, that Heresie would prevail in *England*, if the King got not justice done him, so that till the Cardinal fell, they were put to no further trouble. The progress of the Reformation.

But as soon as *More* came into favour, he pressed the King much, to put the Laws against Hereticks in execution, and suggested that the Court of *Rome* would be more wrought upon, by the Kings supporting the Church, and defending the Faith vigorously, than by threatnings: and therefore a long Proclamation was issued out against the Hereticks, many of their Books were prohibited, and all the Laws against them were appointed to be put in execution, and great care was taken to seize them as they came into *England*, but many escaped their diligence. *Fox.*

There were some at *Antwerp*, *Tindal*, *Joye*, *Constantine*, with a few more, that were every year writing and printing new Books chiefly against the corruptions of the Clergy, the Superstition of pilgrimages, of worshiping Images, Saints, and Relicks, and against relying on these things, which were then called in the common style, *Good works*, in opposition to which they wrote much about Faith in Christ with a true Evangelical obedience, as the only mean by which men could be saved. The Book that had the greatest Authority and influence, was *Tindals* Translation of the new Testament, of which the Bishops made great complaints, and said, it was full of errors. But *Tonstall* then Bishop of *London*, being a man of invincible moderation, would do no body hurt, yet endeavoured as he could, to get their Books into his hands: So being at *Antwerp* in the year 1529. as he returned from his Embassie at the Treaty of *Cambray*, he sent for one *Packington* an *English* Merchant there, and desired him to see how many New Testaments of *Tindals* Translation he might have for Money. *Packington*, who was a secret favourer of *Tindal*, told him, what the Bishop proposed. *Tindal* was very glad of it, for being convinced of some faults in his work, *Tindal and others at Antwerp.* *Hall.*

1534. work, he was designing a new and more correct Edition; but he was poor, and the former Impression not being sold off, he could not go about it: so he gave *Packington* all the Copies that lay in his hands, for which the Bishop payed the price, and brought them over, and burnt them publickly in *Cheapside*. This had such an hateful appearance in it, being generally called a burning of the Word of God, that people from thence concluded there must be a visible contrariety, between that book and the Doctrines of those who so handled it; by which both their prejudice against the Clergy, and their desire of reading the New Testament was encreased. So that next year, when the Second Edition was finished, many more were brought over, and *Constantine* being taken in *England*, the Lord Chancellor in a private examination, promised him that no hurt should be done him if he would reveal who encouraged and supported them at *Antwerp*; which he accepted of, and told that the greatest encouragement they had, was from the Bishop of *London*, who had bought up half the Impression. This made all that heard of it laugh heartily, though more judicious persons discerned the great temper of that Learned Bishop in it. When the Clergy condemned *Tindals* Translation of the New Testament, they declared they intended to set out a true Translation of it; which many thought, was never truly designed by them, but only pretended, that they might restrain the Curiosity of seeing *Tindals* work, with the hopes of one that should be Authorized: and as they made no progress in it, so at length on the 24th of *May*, *Anno* 1530. there was a paper drawn and agreed to by Arch-Bishop *Warham*, Chancellor *More*, Bishop *Tonstall*, and many Canonists and Divines, which every Incumbent was commanded to read to his Parish, as a warning to prevent the Contagion of Heresie. The Contents of which were, that the King having called "together many of the Prelates, with other Learned men out of "both Universities, to examine some Books lately set out in the *English* tongue, they had agreed to condemn them, as containing several points of Heresie in them; and it being proposed to them, "whether it was necessary to set forth the Scriptures in the vulgar "tongue, they were of opinion, that though it had been sometimes "done, yet it was not necessary, and that the King did well, not to "set it out at that time in the *English* tongue. So by this all the hopes of a Translation of the Scriptures vanished.

The New Testament burnt.

The last Paper in Sr. *Henry Spelmans* 2d vol.

Supplication of the Beggars.

There came out another Book which took mightily, it was entituled *The Supplication of the Beggars*, written by one *Simon Fish* of *Grayes-Inn*. In it the Beggars complained to the King, that they were reduced to great misery, the Alms of the people being intercepted by companies of strong and idle Friars; for supposing that each of the Five Mendicant Orders, had but a Peny a quarter from every houshold, it did rise to a vast Sum, of which the Indigent and truly Necessitous Beggars were defrauded. Their being unprofitable to the Common-wealth, with several other things, were also complained of. He also taxed the Pope for Cruelty and Covetousness, that did not deliver all persons out of Purgatory, and that none but the Rich who payed well for it, could be discharged out of that Prison. This was written in a witty and taking Style, and the King had it put in his

his hands by *Anne Boleyn*, and lik'd it well, and would'not suffer any thing to be done to the Author. 1534.

More answers it. Chancellor *More* was the most zealous Champion the Clergy had, for I do not find that any of them wrote much, only the Bishop of *Rochester* wrote for Purgatory; but the rest left it wholly to him, either because few of them could write well, or that he being much esteemed, and a disinteressed person, things would be better received from him, than from them who were look'd on as Parties. So he answered this Supplication by another, in the name of the souls that were in Purgatory; representing the miseries they were in, and the great relief they found by the Masses the Friers said for them, and brought in every mans Ancestours calling earnestly upon him to befriend those poor Friars now, when they had so many Enemies. He confidently asserted, it had been the Doctrine of the Church for many Ages, and brought many places out of the Scriptures to prove it, besides several reasons that seemed to confirm it. This, being writ of a Subject that would allow of a great deal of popular and moving Eloquence, in which he was very eminent, took with many.

Frith replies. But it discovered to others what was the Foundation of those Religious Orders, and that if the belief of Purgatory were once rooted out, all that was built on that Foundation must needs fall with it. So *John Frith* wrote an answer to *More*'s Supplication, to shew, that there was no ground for Purgatory in Scripture; and that it was not believed in the Primitive Church. He also answered the Bishop of *Rochester*'s Book, and some Dialogues that were written on the same Subject, by *Rastal* a Printer, and Kinsman of *Mores*: He discovered the fallacy of their reasonings, which were built on the weakness, or defects of our Repentance in this Life; and that therefore there must be another state in which we must be further purified. To this he answered, That our sins were not pardoned for our Repentance, or the Perfection of it, but only for the Merits and Sufferings of Christ; and that if our Repentance is sincere, God accepts of it; and sin being once pardoned, it could not be further punished. He shewed the difference between the punishments we may suffer in this Life, and those in Purgatory; the one are either Medicinal Corrections for Reforming us more and more, or for giving Warning to others: The other are terrible Punishments without any of these ends in them: therefore the one might well consist with the free pardon of sin, the other could not. So he argued from all these places of Scripture, in which we are said to be freely pardoned our sins by the Blood of Christ, that no punishment in another state could consist with it. He also argued from all those places in which it is said, that we shall at the day of Judgment receive according to what we have done in the body, that there was no state of Purgatory beyond this life. For the places brought out of the Old Testament, he shewed they could not be meant of Purgatory, since according to the Doctrine of the School-men there was no going to Purgatory before Christ. For the places in the New Testament he appealed to *More*'s great Friend, *Erasmus*, whose Exposition of these places differed much from his Glosses. That place in the Epistle to the *Corinthians* about *the fire*, that was to try every mans work, he said, was plainly Allegorical; and since the Foundation, the building of Gold, Silver, and precious Stones; of Wood,

Hay

1534. Hay and Stubble, were Figuratively taken, there was no reaſon to take the *fire* in a literal ſenſe: therefore by *fire* was to be underſtood the Perſecution then near at hand; called in other places, *the fiery trial.*

For the Ancient Doctors, he ſhewed, that in the fourth Century, St. *Ambroſe*, *Jerome*, and St. *Auſtin*, the three great Doctors of that Age did not believe it, and cited ſeveral paſſages out of their Writings. It is true, St. *Auſtin* went further than the reſt, for though in ſome paſſages he delivered his Opinion againſt it, yet in other places he ſpake of it more doubtfully as a thing that might be enquired into, but that it could not be certainly known; and indeed before *Gregory* the *Greats* time, it was not received in the Church, and then the *Benedictine* Monks were beginning to ſpread and grow numerous, and they to draw advantages from it, told many ſtories of Viſions and Dreams, to poſſeſs the world with the belief of it; then the trade grew ſo profitable, that ever ſince it was kept up,and improved: and what ſucceeded ſo well with one Society and Order, to enrich themſelves much by it, was an encouragement to others to follow their tract in the ſame way of traffick.This Book was generally well received,and the Clergy were ſo offended at the Author, that they reſolved to make him feel a real fire whenever he was catched, for endeavoring to put out their imaginary one.

That from which *More* and others took greateſt advantage, was, that the new preachers prevailed only on ſimple Tradſemen, and women, and other illiterate perſons: but to this the others anſwered, That the *Phariſees* made the ſame objection to the followers of *Chriſt*, who were Fiſher-men, women, and rude Mechanicks; but Chriſt told them, *that to the poor the Goſpel was preached*; and when the Philoſophers and Jews objected that to the Apoſtles: They ſaid.Gods glory did the more appear, ſince not many rich, wiſe, or noble, were called, but the poor and deſpiſed were choſen: that men who had much to loſe, had not that ſimplicity of mind, nor that diſingagement from worldly things, that was a neceſſary diſpoſition to fit them for a Doctrine, which was like to bring much trouble and perſecution on them.

The cruel proceedings againſt the Reformers.

Thus I have opened ſome of theſe things, which were at that time diſputed by the pen, in which oppoſition new things were ſtill ſtarted and examined. But this was too feeble a weapon for the defence of the Clergy, therefore they ſought out ſharper tools. So there were many brought into the Biſhops Courts, ſome for teaching their Children the *Lords Prayer*, in Engliſh, ſome for reading the forbidden Books, ſome for harbouring the Preachers, ſome for ſpeaking againſt Pilgrimages, or the worſhipping and adorning of Images, ſome for not obſerving the Church Faſts, ſome for not coming to Confeſſion and the Sacrament, and ſome for ſpeaking againſt the Vices of the Clergy. Moſt of theſe were ſimple and illiterate men, and the terrour of the Biſhops Courts, and Priſons, and of a Faggot in the end, wrought ſo much on their fears and weakneſs, that they generally abjured, and were diſmiſſed. But in the end of the year, 1530. one *Thomas Hitton*, who had been Curate of *Maidſton*, and had left that place, going oft to *Antwerp*; he bringing over ſome of the Books that were printed there, was taken at *Graveſend*, and brought before *Warham* and *Fiſher*, who, after he had ſuffered much by a long and cruel Impriſonment, condemned him to be Burnt.

More. *Tindal.*

The

The most eminent person that suffered about this time, was *Thomas Bilney*, of whose Abjuration an account was given in the first Book: he after that, went to *Cambridge*, and was much troubled in his Conscience, for what he had done, so that the rest of that Society at *Cambridge*, were in great apprehensions of some violent effect, which that desperation might produce, and sometimes watched him whole nights. This continued about a year, but at length his mind was more quieted, and he resolved to expiate his Abjuration, by as publick and solemn a Confession of the Truth: and to prepare himself the better both to defend and suffer for the Doctrines, which he had formerly through fear denyed; he followed his Studies for two years. And when he found himself well fortified in this resolution, he took leave of his Friends at *Cambridge*, and went to his own Countrey of *Norfolk*, to whom he thought he owed his first endeavours.

1534. Bilneys Tryal. *Latimers* Sermons.

He preached up and down the Countrey, confessing his former sin of denying the Faith, and taught the people to beware of Idolatry, or trusting to Pilgrimages, to the Cowle of St. *Francis*, to the Prayers of Saints, or to Images; but exhorted them to stay at home, to give much Alms, to believe in Jesus Christ, and to offer up their hearts, wills, and minds, to him in the Sacrament. This being noised about he, was seized on by the Bishops Officers, and put in Prison at *Norwich*, and the Writ was sent for to burn him as a Relapse, he being first condemned and degraded from his Priesthood: while he was in Prison the Friars came oft about him to perswade him to recant again, and it was given out that he did read a Bill of Abjuration.

The things objected to him. *Fox.*

More not being satisfied to have sent the Writ for his burning, studied also to defame him, publishing this to the World; yet in that he was certainly abused, for if he had signed any such Paper, it had been put in the Bishops Register, as all things of that nature were; but no such writing was ever shewn, only some said they heard him read it, and others who denyed there was any such thing, being questioned for it, submitted and confessed their fault. But at such a time it was no strange thing, if a ly of that nature, was vented with so much Authority, that men were afraid to contradict it; and when a man is a close Prisoner, those who only have access to him, may spread what report of him they please, and when once such a thing is said, they never want officious vouchers to ly and swear for it. But since nothing was ever show'd under his hand, it is clear there was no truth in these reports, which were spread about to take away the honour of Martyrdom from the new Doctrines. It is true he had never enquired into all the other Tenets of the Church of *Rome*, and so did not differ from them about the presence of Christ in the Sacrament and some other things. But when men durst speak freely, there were several persons, that witnessed the Constancy and sincerity of *Bilney*, in these his last Conflicts; and among the rest, *Matthew Parker* afterwards Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, was an eye-witness of his sufferings, which from his relation were published afterwards: he took his death patiently and constantly, and in the little time that was allowed him to live after his Sentence, he was observed to be chearful; and the poor Victuals that were brought him, Bread and Ale, he eat up heartily, of which when one took notice, he said he must

It is given out that he abjured.

The falshood of which afterwards appeared. *Fox.*

1534. keep up that ruinous Cottage till it fell; and often repeated that passage in *Isaiah*, *When thou walk'st through the fire thou shall not be burnt*; and putting his finger in the flame of the Candle, he told those about him, that he well knew what a pain burning was, but that it should only consume the Stubble of his Body, and that his Soul should be purged by it.

The manner of his Suffering. When the day of Execution came, being the 10th of *November*, as he was led out, he said to one that exhorted him to be patient and constant, that as the Mariners endured the tossing of the Waves, hoping to arrive at their desired Port, so though he was now entring into a storm, yet he hop'd he should soon arrive at the Haven, and desired their Prayers. When he came to the Stake, he repeated the Creed, to show the People that he dyed in the Faith of the Apostles; then he put up his Prayers to God with great show's of inward devotion; which ended, he repeated the 143 *Psalm*, and paus'd on these words of it, *Enter not into Judgment with thy Servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified*, with deep recollection: and when Doctor *Warner*, that accompanied him to the Stake, took leave of him with many tears, *Bilney* with a chearful countenance exhorted him, to feed his flock, that at his Lords coming he might find him so doing. Many of the begging Friars desired him to declare to the people, that they had not procured his death; for that was got among them, and they feared the people would give them no more Alms: so he desired the Spectators not to be the worse to these men for his sake, for they had not procur'd his death. Then the fire was set to, and his Body consum'd to ashes.

Thus it appears, both what Opinion the people had of him, and in what charity he dyed even towards his enemies, doing them good for evil; but this, though it perhaps struck terror in weaker minds, yet it no less encourag'd others to endure patiently all the severities that were us'd to draw them from this Doctrine. Soon after, one *Richard Byfield* suffered, he was a Monk of St. *Edmundsbury*, and had been instructed by Doctor *Barnes*, who gave him some Books; which being discovered, he was put in Prison, but through fear abjured; yet afterward he left the Monastery and came to *London*: He went oft over to *Antwerp*, and brought in forbidden Books, which being smell'd out, he was seized on, and examined about these Books; he justified them, and said, he thought they were good and profitable, and did openly exclaim against the dissolute lives of the Clergy; so being judged Heretick, he was burnt in *Smithfield*, the 11th of *November*.

Byfield's Sufferings.

And *Tewksburies*. In *December*, one *John Tewksbury* a Shop-keeper in *London*, who had formerly abjured, was also taken and tryed in Sr. *Thomas Mores* house at *Chelsey*, where Sentence was given against him by *Stokesley* Bishop of *London*, (for *Tonstall* was translated the former year to *Duresm*) and was burnt in *Smithfield*. There were also three Burnt at *York* this year, two men and one woman.

These proceedings were complain'd of in the following Session of Parliament, as was formerly told, and the Ecclesiastical Courts being found both Arbitrary and Cruel, the House of Commons desired a redress of that from the King; but nothing was done about it till

Three

Three years after, that the new Act against Hereticks was made, as 1534.
was already told. The Clergy were not much mov'd at the address which the House of Commons made, and therefore went on in their extreme Courses, and to strike a Terror in the Gentry, they resolved to make an Example of one *James Bainham* a Gentleman of the *Temple*: he was carryed to the Lord Chancellors House, where much pains was taken to perswade him to discover such as he knew in the *Temple*, who favour'd the new Opinions; but fair means not prevailing, *More* made him be whipt in his own presence, and after that, sent him to the *Tower*, where he look't on, and saw him put to the Rack. Yet it seems nothing could be drawn from him, that might be made use of, to any other persons hurt; yet he himself afterwards overcome with fear, abjured and did penance, but had no quiet in his Conscience, till he went publickly to Church, with a New Testament in his hand, and confess'd with many tears, that he had denyed God, and prayed the people not to do as he had done, and said, that he felt an Hell in his own Conscience, for what he had done. So he was soon after carryed to the *Tower*, (for now the Bishops, to avoid the Imputation of using men cruelly in their Prisons, did put Hereticks in the Kings Prisons) he was charged for having said, "That *Thomas a Becket* was a Murderer, and damned in Hell if he did "not repent; and for speaking contemptously of praying to Saints, and "saying that the Sacrament of the Altar was only Christs Mystical Body, and that his Body was not chew'd with the Teeth, but "received by Faith. So he was judged an obstinate and relaps'd Heretick, and was burnt in *Smithfield* about the end of *April* 1532. There were also some others burnt a little before this time, of whom a particular account could not be recovered by *Fox* with all his Industry. But with *Bainham*, *Mores* persecution ended, for soon after he laid down the great Seal, which set the poor Preachers at ease.

Bainham's Sufferings.

Fox.

Crome and *Latimer* were brought before the Convocation and accus'd of Heresie. They both Subscribed the Articles offered to them, "That there was a Purgatory: That the Souls in it were profited "by Masses said for them; That the Saints are now in Heaven, and "as Mediators pray for us: That men ought to pray to them and ho- "nour them: That Pilgrimages were Pious and Meritorious: That "men who vowed Chastity might not Marry without the Popes Dis- "pensation: That the Keys of binding and loosing were given to St. "*Peter*, and to his Successors, though their lives were bad, and not at "all to the Laity: That men merited by Prayers, Fasting, and other "good Works: That Priests prohibited by the Bishop, should not "preach, till they were purged and restored: That the Seven Sacra- "ments conferr'd Grace: That Consecrations and Benedictions used by "the Church were good: That it was good and profitable to set up "the Images of Christ and the Saints in the Churches, and to adorn "them and burn Candles before them; and that Kings were not ob- "liged to give their people the Scriptures in a vulgar tongue. By these Articles it may be easily Collected, what were the Doctrines then preach'd by the Reformers. There was yet no dispute about the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, which was first called in question by *Frith*; for the Books of *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* came

Regist. *Tonst.*

Articles which some abjured.

1534. later into *England*, and hitherto they had only seen *Luthers* works with those written by his followers.

Tracy's Testament. But in the year 1532. there was another memorable instance of the Clergies cruelty against the dead bodies of those whom they suspected of Heresie. The Common style of all Wills and Testaments at that time was, First, "I bequeath my Soul to Almighty God, and to our "Lady St. *Mary*, and to all the Saints in Heaven: but one *William Tracie* of *Worcestershire* dying, left a Will of a far different strain, for he "bequeathed his Soul only to God through Jesus Christ, to whose "intercession alone he trusted, without the help of any other Saint, "therefore he left no part of his goods to have any pray for his Soul. This being brought to the Bishop of *Londons* Court, he was condemned as an Heretick, and an order was sent to *Parker* Chancellor of *Worcester* to raise his Body. The Officious Chancellor went beyond his order and burn't the Body; but the Record bears, that though he might by the Warrant he had, raise the body according to the Law of the Church, yet he had no Authority to burn it. So two years after *Tracies* heirs sued him for it, and he was turn'd out of his Office of Chancellor, and fined in 400 Pound.

Regist. *Fitz-James.*

Regist. *Stokes.* Fol. 72.

Harding's Sufferings. There is another Instance of the Cruelty of the Clergy this year. One *Thomas Harding* of *Buckinghamshire*, an Ancient man, who had abjured in the year 1506. was now observed to go often into woods, and was seen sometimes reading. Upon which his house was search'd, and some parcels of the New Testament in *English* were found in it. So he was carryed before *Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, who as he was a cruel Persecutor, so being the Kings Confessor, acted with the more Authority. This Aged man was judged a Relapse, and sent to *Chesham*, where he lived, to be burn't, which was Executed on *Corpus Christi* Eve. At this time there was an Indulgence of 40 dayes pardon proclaimed to all that carryed a Faggot to the burning of an Heretick: So dextrously did the Clergy endeavor to infect the Laity with their own cruel Spirit; and that wrought upon this occasion a signal effect, for as the fire was kindled, one flung a Faggot at the old mans head, which dash't out his brains.

Fox.

1533. In the year 1533. it was thought fit by some signal evidence to convince the World, that the King did not design to change the establish'd Religion, though he had then proceeded far in his breach with *Rome*; and the crafty Bishop of *Winchester*, *Gardiner*, as he complyed with the King in his second Marriage, and separation from *Rome*, so being an inveterate Enemy to the Reformation, and in his heart addicted to the Court of *Rome*, did by this argument often prevail with the King, to punish the Hereticks, That it would most effectually justifie his other proceedings, and convince the World that he was still a good Catholick King; which at several times drew the King to what he desired. And at this time, the steps the King had made in his Separation from the Pope, had given such heart to the new Preachers, that they grew bolder and more publick in their Assemblies.

Friths Sufferings.

John Frith, as he was an excellent Schollar, which was so taken notice of, some years before, that he was put in the list of those whom the Cardinal intended to bring from *Cambridge*, and put in his Colledge

ledge at *Oxford*; so he had offended them by several writings, and by a discourse which he wrote against the Corporal presence of Christ, in the Sacrament, had provoked the King, who continued to his death to believe that firmly. "The substance of his Arguments was, "that Christ in the Sacrament gave eternal life, but the receiving "the bare Sacrament did not give eternal life, since many took it to "their damnation; therefore Christs presence there, was only felt by "Faith. This he further proved by the Fathers before Christ, who "did eat the same spiritual food, and drink of the Rock, which was "Christ, according to St. *Paul*: since then, they and we communicate "in the same thing, and it was certain that they did not eat Christs "Flesh Corporally, but fed by Faith on a *Messias* to come, as Christi-"ans do on a *Messias* already come: therefore we now do only com-"municate by Faith. He also insisted much on the signification of "the word Sacrament, from whence he concluded, that the Elements "must be the Mystical Signs of Christs Body and Blood; for if they "were truly the Flesh and Blood of Christ, they should not be Sacra-"ments: he concluded, that the ends of the Sacrament were these three, "by a visible action to knit the Society of Christians together in one "body, to be a means of conveighing Grace upon our due participa-"ting of them, and to be Remembrances to stir up men to bless God "for that unspeakable love, which in the death of Christ appeared "to mankind. To all these ends the Corporal presence of Christ "availed nothing, they being sufficiently answered by a Mystical pre-"sence: yet he drew no other Conclusion from these Premisses, but "that the belief of the Corporal presence in the Sacrament, was no "necessary Article of our Faith. This either flowed from his not having yet arrived at a sure perswasion in the matter, or that he chose in that modest style, to encounter an opinion of which the World was so fond, that to have opposed it in down-right words, would have given prejudices against all that he could say.

1534.

His Arguments against the Corporal presence.

Frith upon a long conversation with one upon this Subject, was desired to set down the heads of it in writing, which he did. The Paper went about and was by a false Brother conveyed to Sr. *Thomas More's* hands, who set himself to answer it in his ordinary style, treating *Frith* with great contempt, calling him alwayes the young man. *Frith* was in Prison before he saw *Mores* Book, yet he wrote a reply to it, which I do not find was then published; but a Copy of it was brought afterwards to *Cranmer*, who acknowledged when he wrote his Apology against *Gardiner*, that he had received great light in that matter from *Friths* Books, and drew most of his Arguments out of it. It was afterwards Printed with his works *Anno* 1573. and by it may appear, how much Truth is Stronger than Error. For though *More* wrote with as much Wit and Eloquence as any man in that Age did, and *Frith* wrote plainly without any Art; yet there is so great a difference between their Books, that whoever compares them, will clearly perceive the one to be the Ingenious defender of an ill cause, and the other a simple asserter of Truth. *Frith* wrote with all the disadvantage that was possible, being then in the Jayl, where he could have no Books, but some Notes he might have collected formerly: he was also so loaded with Irons, that he could

1534. ſcarce ſit with any eaſe. He began with confirming what he had delivered about the Fathers before Chriſt, their feeding on his Body in the ſame manner that Chriſtians do ſince his death : This he proved from Scripture, and ſeveral places of St. *Auſtins* works ; he proved alſo from Scripture, that after the Conſecration, the Elements were ſtill *Bread* and *Wine*, and were ſo called both by our Saviour and his Apoſtles; that our Senſes ſhew they are not changed in their Natures, and that they are ſtill ſubject to Corruption, which can no way be ſaid of the body of Chriſt. He proved that the eating of Chriſts Fleſh in the 6th of St. *John*, cannot be applyed to the Sacrament; ſince the wicked receive it, who yet do not eat the Fleſh of Chriſt, otherwiſe they ſhould have eternal life. He ſhewed alſo, that the Sacrament coming in the room of the Jewiſh Paſchal Lamb, we muſt underſtand Chriſts words, *This is my Body*, in the ſame ſenſe in which it was ſaid, that the Lamb was *the Lords Paſſover*. He confirmed this by many paſſages, cited out of *Tertullian*, *Athanaſius*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Ambroſe*, *Jerome*, *Auſtin*, *Fulgentius*, *Euſebius*, and ſome later Writers, as *Beda*, *Bertram* and *Druthmar*, who did all aſſert that the Elements retained their former Natures, and were only the Myſteries, Signs, and Figures of the Body and Blood of Chriſt. But *Gelaſius*'s words ſeemed ſo remarkable, that they could not but determine the Controverſie, eſpecially conſidering he was Biſhop of *Rome* : he therefore writing againſt the *Eutichians*, who thought the humane nature of Chriſt was changed into the Divine, ſays, *that as the Elements of Bread and Wine being Conſecrated to be the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, did not ceaſe to be Bread and Wine in Subſtance, but continued in their own proper natures*; ſo the humane nature of Chriſt continued ſtill, though it was united to the Divine nature: this was a manifeſt Indication of the belief of the Church in that Age, and ought to weigh more than a hundred high Rhetorical Expreſſions. He brought likewiſe ſeveral teſtimonies out of the Fathers to ſhew that they knew nothing of the Conſequences that follow Tranſubſtantiation; of a Body being in more places at once, or being in a place after the manner of a Spirit, or of the worſhip to be given to the Sacrament. Upon this he digreſſes, and ſays, that the *German* Divines believed a Corporal preſence; yet ſince that was only an Opinion that reſted in their minds, and did not carry along with it any Corruption of the worſhip, or Idolatrous practiſe, it was to be born with, and the peace of the Church was not to be broken for it: but the caſe of the Church of *Rome* was very different, which had ſet up groſs Idolatry, building it upon this Doctrine.

Thus I have given a ſhort Abſtract of *Friths* Book, which I thought fit, the rather to do, becauſe it was the firſt Book that was written on this Subject in *England* by any of the Reformers. And from hence it may appear, upon what ſolid and weighty reaſons they then began to ſhake the received Opinion of Tranſubſtantiation : and with how much learning this Controverſie was managed by him, who firſt undertook it.

One thing was ſingular in *Friths* Opinion, that he thought there ſhould be no conteſt made about the manner of Chriſts preſence in the Sacrament; for what-ever Opinion men held in Speculation, if

it went not to a practical error (which was the Adoration of it, for that was Idolatry in his Opinion) there were no disputes to be made about it, therefore he was much against all heats between the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians*, for he thought in such a matter that was wholly speculative, every man might hold his own Opinion without making a breach of the Unity of the Church about it. 1534.

He was apprehended in *May* 1533. and kept in Prison till the 20th of *June*, and then he was brought before the Bishop of *London*, *Gardiner*, and *Longland* sitting with him. They objected to him his Opinions about the *Sacrament* and *Purgatory*; he answered, that for the first he did not find *Transubstantiation* in the Scriptures, nor in any approved Authors; and therefore he would not admit any thing as an Article of Faith, without clear and certain grounds: for he did not think the Authority of the Church reached so far. They argued with him upon some passages out of St. *Austin* and St. *Chrysostome*, to which he answered, by opposing other places of the same Fathers, and shew'd how they were to be reconciled to themselves; when it came to a Conclusion, these words are set down in the Register as his Confession.

Register Stokesl. Fol. 71. and a Letter of his in Fox.

" *Frith* thinketh and judgeth that the natural Body of Christ, is " not in the Sacrament of the Altar, but in one place only at once. " *Item* he saith, that neither part is a necessary Article of our Faith, " whether the natural Body be there in the Sacrament or not.

His Opinion of the Sacrament.

As for *Purgatory*, he said a man consisted of two parts, his Body and Soul; his Body was purged by sickness and other pains, and at last by death, and was not by their own Doctrine sent to Purgatory. And for the Soul, it was purged through the word of God received by Faith. So his Confession was written down in these words. *Item* " *Frith* thinketh and judgeth that there is no Purgatory for the Soul " after that it is departed from the Body, and as he thinketh herein, " so hath he said, written, and defended, howbeit he thinketh neither " part to be an Article of Faith, necessarily to be believed under pain of " Damnation.

And of Purgatory.

The Bishops with the Doctors that stood about them, took much pains to make him change; but he told them, that he could not be induced to believe, that these were Articles of Faith. And when they threatned to proceed to a Final Sentence, he seemed not moved with it, but said, *Let judgment be done in righteousness.* The Bishops, though none of them were guilty of great tenderness, yet seem'd to pity him much; and the Bishop of *London* professed, he gave Sentence with great grief of heart. In the end he was judged an Obstinate Heretick, and was delivered to the Secular Power: there is one clause in this Sentence, which is not in many others, therefore I shall set it down.

He is Condemned.

" Most earnestly requiring in the Bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, " that this Execution and punishment worthily to be done upon thee, " may be so moderate, that the rigor thereof be not too extreme, " nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to " the Salvation of thy Soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversi- " on of Hereticks, and to the Unity of the Catholick Faith. This was thought a scorning of God and men, when those, who knew

1534. that he was to be burnt, and intended it should be so, yet used such an Obtestation by the Bowels of Jesus Christ, that the rigor might not be extreme. This being certified, the Writ was issued out, and as the Register bears, he was burnt in *Smithfield* the 4th of *July*, and one *Andrew Hewet* with him, who also denyed the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar. This *Hewet* was an Apprentice, and went to the meetings of these Preachers, and was twice betrayed by some spies whom the Bishops Officers had among them, who discovered many. When he was examined, he would not acknowledge the Corporal Presence, but was illiterate, and resolved to do as *Frith* did, so he was also condemned and burnt with him.

His Constancy in his Sufferings. When they were brought to the Stake, *Frith* expressed great joy, at his approaching Martyrdom, and in a Transport of it, hugged the Faggots in his Arms, as the Instruments that were to send him to his eternal rest. One Doctor *Cook* a Parson of *London* called to the people, that they should not pray for them any more than they would do for a Dog. At which *Frith* smiled, and prayed God to forgive him; so the fire was set to, and they were consum'd to Ashes.

This was the last Act of the Clergies Cruelty against mens lives, and was much condemned: it was thought an unheard-of barbarity, thus to burn a moderate and learned young man, only because he would not acknowledge some of their Doctrines to be Articles of Faith; and though his private judgment was against their tenet, yet he was not positive in it, any further, than that he could not believe the contrary to be necessary to Salvation. But the Clergy were now so bathed in blood, that they seemed to have strip't themselves of those impressions of pity and compassion, which are natural to mankind; they therefore held on in their severe courses, till the Act of Parliament did effectually restrain them.

Philip's Sufferings. In the Account that was given of that Act, mention was made of one *Thomas Philips*, who put in his complaint to the House of Commons against the Bishop of *London*. The proceedings against him, had been both extreme and illegal; he was first apprehended, and put in the *Tower* upon suspition of Heresie, and when they searched him, a Copy of *Tracy's* Testament was found about him, and Butter and Cheese were found in his Chamber, it being in the time of *Lent*. There was also another Letter found about him, exhorting him to be ready to suffer constantly for the Truth. Upon these presumptions the Bishop of *London* proceeded against him, and required him to abjure. But he said, he would willingly swear to be obedient as a Christian man ought, and that he would never hold any Heresie during his life, nor favour Hereticks; but the Bishop would not accept of that, since there might be Ambiguities in it: therefore he required him to make the Abjuration in common form, which he refused to do, and appealed to the King as the Supreme Head of the Church. Yet the Bishop pronounced him *Contumax*, and did excommunicate him; but, whether he was released on his Appeal, or not, I do not find; yet perhaps this was the man of whom the Pope complained to the *English* Ambassadors 1532. that an Heretick having appealed to the King as the Supreme Head of the Church, was taken out of the Bishops hands, and judged and acquitted in the Kings Courts. It is probable this

this was the man, only the Pope was informed, that it was from the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* that he Appealed, in which there might be a mistake for the Bishop of *London*. But whatever ground there may be for that conjecture, *Philips* got his liberty, and put in a Complaint to the House of Commons, which produced the Act about Hereticks. 1534.

A stop is put to these cruel proceedings.

And now that Act being passed, together with the extirpation of the Popes Authority, and the Power being lodged in the King to correct and reform Heresies, Idolatries, and Abuses, the Standard of the Catholick Faith being also declared to be the Scriptures, the Persecuted Preachers had ease and encouragement every-where. They also saw that the necessity of the Kings Affairs, would constrain him to be gentle to them, for the Sentence which the Pope gave against the King, was committed to the Emperor to be executed by him, who was then aspiring to an universal Monarchy; and therefore as soon as his other Wars gave him leisure to look over to *England* and *Ireland*, he had now a good colour to justifie an Invasion both from the Popes Sentence, and the interests and honour of his Family in protecting his Aunt and her Daughter: Therefore the King was to give him work elsewhere, in order to which his interest obliged him to joyn himself to the Princes of *Germany*, who had at *Smalcald* entred into a League offensive and defensive, for the liberty of Religion and the Rights of the Empire. This was a thorn in the Emperor's side, which the Kings Interest would oblige him by all means to maintain. Upon which the Reformers in *England* concluded, that either the King, to recommend himself to these Princes, would relax the severities of the Law against them; or otherwise, that their Friends in *Germany* would see to it: for in these first fervours of Reformations, the Princes made that always a condition in their Treaties, that those who favoured their Doctrine, might be no more persecuted.

The Queen favoured the Reformers.

But their chief encouragement was from the Queen, who Reigned in the Kings heart, as absolutely as he did over his Subjects; and was a known favourer of them. She took *Shaxton* and *Latimer* to be her Chaplains, and soon after promoted them to the Bishopricks of *Salisbury* and *Worcester*, then vacant by the deprivation of *Campegio* and *Ghinuccii*; and in all other things cherished and protected them, and used her most effectual endeavours with the King to promote the Reformation. Next to her, *Cranmer* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* was a professed favourer of it, who besides the Authority of his Character and See, was well-fitted for carrying it on, being a very Learned and Industrious man. He was at great pains to collect the sense of Ancient Writers, upon all the Heads of Religion, by which he might be well-directed in such an Important matter. I have seen two Volumns *in Folio* written with his own Hand, containing upon all the Heads of Religion, a vast heap both of places of Scripture, and Quotations out of Ancient Fathers, and later Doctors, and School-men; by which he governed himself in that work. There is also an original Letter of the Lord *Burghly*'s extant, which I have seen, in which he writes that he had six or seven Volumns of his Writings, all which, except two other, that I have seen, are lost, for ought I can understand. From which it will appear in the sequel of this work, that he neither Copied form Forreign Writers, nor proceeded rashly in the Reformation. He was a man of great temper, and as I have seen in some of his Letters to *Osiander*, and some of *Osiander*'s

Cranmer promoted the Reformation.

1534. *der's* answers to him, he very much disliked the violence of the *German* Divines. He was gentle in his whole behaviour, and though he was a man of too great candour and simplicity to be refined in the Arts of Policy, yet he managed his Affairs with great prudence; which did so much recommend him to the King, that no ill Offices were ever able to hurt him. It is true, he had some singular opinions about Ecclesiastical Functions and Offices, which he seemed to make wholly dependent on the Magistrate, as much as the Civil were; but as he never studied to get his opinion in that made a part of the Doctrine of the Church, reserving only to himself the freedom of his own thoughts, which I have reason to think he did afterwards, either change, or at least was content to be over-ruled in it: So it is clear that he held not that opinion, to get the Kings favour by it, for in many other things, as in the business of the six Articles, he boldly and freely argued, both in the Convocation and the House of Peers, against that which he knew was the Kings mind, and took his life in his hands, which had certainly been offered at a stake, if the Kings esteem of him had not been proof against all attempts.

Assisted by *Cromwell.* Next him, or rather above him, was *Cromwell*, who was made the Kings Vice-gerent in Ecclesiastical matters. A man of mean Birth, but Noble Qualities, as appeared in two signal Instances, the one being his Pleading in Parliament so zealously and successfully for the fallen and disgrac'd Cardinal, whose Secretary he was, when *Gardiner*, though more obliged by him, had basely forsaken him. This was thought so just and generous in him, that it did not at all hinder his Preferment, but raised his Credit higher: Such a Demonstration of gratitude and friendship, in misfortune, being so rare a thing in a Court. The other was his remembring the Merchant of *Lucca*, that had pitied and relieved him, when he was a poor stranger there, and expressing most extraordinary acknowledgements and gratitude, when he was afterwards in the top of his Greatness, and the other did not so much as know him, much less pretend to any returns for passed favours, which shew'd that he had a noble and generous temper; only he made too much haste to be great and rich. He joyned himself in a firm friendship to *Cranmer*, and did promote the Reformation very vigorously.

The Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner* Opposed it. But there was another Party in the Court, that wrestled much against it; the head of it was the Duke of *Norfolk*, who though he was the Queens Uncle, yet was her mortal enemy. He was a dextrous Courtier and complied with the King, both in his Divorce and Separation from *Rome*, yet did upon all occasions perswade the King to innovate nothing in Religion: His great friend that joyned all along with him in those Counsels, was *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, who was a crafty and politick man, and understood the King well, and complied with his temper in every thing; he despised *Cranmer*, and hated all Reformation. *Longland* that had been the Kings Confessor, was also managed by them, and they had a great Party in the Court, and almost all the Church-men were on their side.

Reasons against the Reformation. That which prevailed most with the King, was, that himself had writ a Book in Defence of the Faith, and they said, would he now retract that, which all Learned men admired so much? or would he encourage *Luther* and his Party, who had treated him with so little respect? If he

went to change the Doctrines that were formerly received, all the world would say he did it in spite to the Pope, which would cast a great dishonour on him, as if his passion govern'd his Religion. Forreign Princes, who in their hearts, did not much blame him for what he had hitherto done, but rather wished for a good opportunity to do the like, would now condemn him if he medled with the Religion: And his own Subjects, who complied with that which he had done, and were glad to be delivered from Forreign Jurisdiction, and the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, would not bear a change of the Faith, but might be thereby easily set on, by the Emissaries of the Pope or Emperor, to break out in Rebellion. These things being managed skilfully, and agreeing with his own private opinion, wrought much on him; and particularly, what was said about his own Book, which had been so much commended to him, that he was almost made believe, it was written by a special Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. 1534.

But on the other side *Cranmer* represented to him, that since he had put down the Popes Authority, it was not fit to let those Doctrines be still taught, which had no other Foundation, but the Decrees of Popes: And he offered upon the greatest hazard to prove, that many things, then received as Articles of Faith, were no better grounded; therefore he pressed the King to give order, to hear and examine things freely, that when the Popes power was rejected, the people might not be obliged to believe Doctrines, which had no better warrant. And for Political Counsels, he was to do the duty of a good Christian Prince, and leave the event to God; and things might be carried on with that due care, that the justice and reasonableness of the Kings proceedings should appear to all the world. And whereas it was objected, that the Doctrines of the Catholick Church ought not to be examined by any particular Church: It was answered, that when all Christendom were under one Emperor, it was easie for him to call general Councils, and in such circumstances it was fit to stay for a one; and yet even then, particular Churches did in their Nation all Synods condemn Heresies, and reform Abuses. But the State of Christendom was now altered, it was under many Princes, who had different Interests, and therefore they thought it a vain expectation to look for any such Council. The Protestants of *Germany* had now for above ten years desired the Emperor to procure one, but to no effect; for sometimes the Pope would not grant it, and at other times the *French* King protested against it. The former year the Pope had sent to the King to offer a general Council, to be held at *Mantua* this year, but the King found that was but an illusion; for the Marquess of *Mantua* protested, he would not admit such a number of strangers, as a Council would draw together into his Town: yet the King promised to send his Ambassadors thither, when the Council met. But now the King consulting his Prelates, whether the Emperor might by his Authority summon a general Council, as the *Roman* Emperors had done: some of them gave the following answer, Copied from the Original that is yet extant, which might have been written any time between the year, 1534. in which *Thomas Goodrick* was made Bishop of *Ely*, and the year, 1540. in which *John Clark*, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, died; but I incline to think from other circumstances, that it was written about the end of the year, 1534.

Reasons for it.

Hall.

A resolution of some Bishops about the calling of a general Council.

1534.

For the General Council.

Ex MSS.D.D. *Stillingfleet.* "Though that in the Old time, when the Empire of *Rome* had his "ample dominion over the most part of the World, the First Four "General Councils (the which at all times have been of most esti- "mation in the Church of Christ) were called and gathered by the "Emperors Commandment, and for a Godly intent: That Heresies "might be extinct, Schisms put away, good Order and Manners in "the Ministers of the Church and the people of the same established. "Like as many Councils more were called: till now of late by the "negligence, as well of the Emperor, as other Princes, the Bishop of "*Rome* hath been suffered to usurp this Power; yet now, for so much "that the Empire of *Rome*, and the Monarchie of the same, hath no "such general Dominion; but many Princes have absolute Power in "their own Realms, and a whole and entire Monarchie, no one "Prince may by his Authority call any General Council, but if that "any one or moe of these Princes for the establishing of the Faith, "for the extirpation of Schisms, *&c.* Lovingly, Charitably, with a "good sincere Intent, to a sure place, require any other Prince, or "the rest of the great Princes, to be content to agree, that for the "Wealth, Quietness, and Tranquillity of all Christen people, by his "or their free consent, a General Council might be assembled: that "Prince, or those Princes so required, are bound by the Order of Cha- "rity, for the good Fruit that may come of it, to condescend and "agree thereunto, having no lawful Impediment, nor just Cause "moving to the contrary. The chief Causes of the General Councils "are before expressed.

"In all the Ancient Councils of the Church, in matters of the "Faith and interpretation of the Scripture, no man made definitive "Subscription, but Bishops and Priests, forsomuch as the Declarati- "on of the Word of God pertaineth unto them.

T. Cantuarien.

Cuthbertus Dunelmen.

Jo. Bath. wellen.

Tho. Elien.

But besides this Resolution, I have seen a long speech of *Cranmers*, written by one of his Secretaries. It was spoken soon after the Parliament had passed the Acts formerly mentioned, for it relates to them as lately done; it was delivered either in the House of Lords, the upper House of Convocation, or at the Council Board; but I rather think, it was in the House of Lords, for it begins, *My Lords?* The matter of it does so much concern the business of Reformation, that

A Speech of *Cranmers*, about a General Council.

that I know the Reader will expect I should set down the heads of it. It appears he had been Ordered to Inform the House about these things. The Preamble of his Speech runs upon this conceit. "That "as Rich men flying from their Enemies, carry away all they can "with them, and what they cannot take away, they either hide or "destroy it; so the Court of *Rome* had destroyed so many Ancient "writings. and hid the rest, having carefully preserved every thing "that was of advantage to them, that it was not easie to discover "what they had so artificially concealed: Therefore in the Canon-"Law, some honest truths were yet to be found, but so mislay'd that "they are not placed where one might expect them, but are to be "met with in some other Chapters, where one would least look for "them. And many more things said by the Ancients, of the See "of *Rome*, and against their Authority were lost, as appears by the "Fragments yet remaining. He show'd that many of the Ancients "called every thing which they thought well done, *of Divine Institution*, by a large extent of the Phrase, in which sense the passages of many Fathers that magnified the See of *Rome*, were to be "understood.

1534. Ex MSS.D. D Stillingfleet.

"Then he show'd for what end General Councils were called, to "declare the Faith and reform Errors, not that ever any Council was "truly General, for even at *Nice* there were no Bishops almost, but "out of *Egypt*, *Asia*, and *Greece*, but they were called General, be-"cause the Emperor Summon'd them, and all Christendome did a-"gree to their Definitions, which he prov'd by several Authorities: "therefore though there were many more Bishops in the Council of "*Arimini*, than at *Nice* or *Constantinople*, yet the one was not receiv-"ed as a General Council, and the others were: so that it was not "the number, nor Authority of the Bishops, but the matter of their "Decisions, which made them be received with so general a Sub-"mission.

"As for the Head of the Council. St. *Peter* and St. *James* had "the chief direction of the Council of the Apostles, but there were "no Contests then about Head-ship. Christ named no Head, which "could be no more called a defect in him, than it was one in God, "that had named no Head to Govern the World. Yet the Church "found it convenient to have one over them, so Arch-Bishops were "set over Provinces. And though St. *Peter* had been Head of the "Apostles, yet as it is not certain that he was ever in *Rome*, so it "does not appear, that he had his Headship for *Romes* sake, or that "he left it there; but he was made Head for his Faith, and not for "the Dignity of any See: Therefore the Bishops of *Rome* could pre-"tend to nothing from him, but as they followed his Faith; and "*Liberius* and some other Bishops there, had been condemned for "Heresie; and if according to St. *James*, Faith be to be tryed by "Works, the Lives of the Popes for several Ages gave shrewd pre-"sumptions, that their Faith was not good. And though it were "granted, that such a Power was given to the See of *Rome*, yet by "many instances, he show'd that positive precepts in a matter of "that nature, were not for ever Obligatory. And therefore *Gerson* "wrote a Book, *De Auferibilitate Papæ*. So that if a Pope with the

"Cardinals

1534. "Cardinals be corrupted, they ought to be tryed by a General Coun-"cil, and submit to it. St. *Peter* gave an account of his Baptizing "*Cornelius*, when he was questioned about it. So *Damasus*, *Sixtus*, "and *Leo*, purged themselves of some scandals.

"Then he showed how Corrupt the present Pope was, both in his "person and Government, for which he was abhorred, even by some "of his Cardinals, as himself had heard and seen at *Rome*. It is "true there was no Law to proceed against a vitious Pope, for it "was a thing not foreseen, and thought scarcely possible, but new "diseases required new remedies, and if a Pope that is an Heretick "may be judged in a Council, the same reason would hold against "a Symoniacal, Covetous and Impious Pope, who was Salt that had lost "its savour. And by several Authorities, he proved, that every man "who lives so, is thereby out of the Communion of the Church; "and that as the Preheminence of the See of *Rome* flowed only from "the Laws of men, so there was now good cause to repeal these, for "the Pope, as was said in the Council of *Basil*, was only Vicar of "the Church, and not of Christ, so he was accountable to the Church. "The Council of *Constance* and the Divines of *Paris* had, according "to the Doctrine of the Ancient Church, declared the Pope to be "subject to a General Council, which many Popes in former Ages "had confessed. And all that the Pope can claim even by the Canon-"Law, is only to call and preside in a General Council, but not to "overrule it, or have a Negative vote in it.

"The Power of Councils did not extend to Princes, Dominions, "or Secular Matters, but only to points of Faith, which they were to "declare, and to Condemn Hereticks: nor were their Decrees Laws, "till they were Enacted by Princes. Upon this, he enlarged much to "show, that though a Council did proceed against a King (with "which they then Threatned the King) that their Sentence was of "no force, as being without their Sphere. The determination of "Councils ought to be well considered and examined by the Scrip-"tures, and in matters indifferent, men ought to be left to their "freedom, he taxed the severity of *Victors*, Proceedings against the "Churches of the East, about the day of *Easter*. And concluded "that as a Member of the Body is not cut off, except a Gangrene "comes in it, so no part of the Church ought to be cut off, but "upon a great and inevitable cause. And he very largely show-"ed, with what moderation and charity the Church should pro-"ceed even against those that held errors. And the Standard of the "Councils definitions, should only be taken from the Scriptures, and "not from mens Traditions.

"He said, some General Councils had been rejected by others, and "it was a tender point, how much ought to be deferred to a Coun-"cil; some Decrees of Councils were not at all obeyed. The Di-"vines of *Paris* held, that a Council could not make a new Article "of Faith, that was not in the Scriptures. And as all Gods Pro-"mises to the people of *Israel*, had this condition implyed within "them, *If they kept his Commandments*; so he thought the Pro-"mises to the Christian Church, had this condition in them, *If they* "*kept the Faith.* Therefore he had much doubting in himself as to

"General

"General Councils, and he thought that only the word of God was 1534.
"the Rule of Faith, which ought to take place in all Controversies
"of Religion. The Scriptures were called Canonical, as being the on-
"ly Rules of the Faith of Christians; and these by appointment of
"the Ancient Councils, were only to be read in the Churches. The
"Fathers SS. *Ambrose*, *Jerome*, and *Austin*, did in many things differ
"from one another, but always appealed to the Scriptures, as the
"common and certain standard. And he cited some remarkable pas-
"sage out of St. *Austin*, to show, what difference he put between the
"Scriptures, and all the other Writings even of the best and holiest Fa-
"thers. But when all the Fathers agreed in the Exposition of any place of
"Scripture, he acknowledged, he looked on that as flowing from
"the Spirit of God, and it was a most dangerous thing to be wise
"in our own Conceit: Therefore he thought Councils ought to found
"their decisions on the word of God, and those expositions of it, that
"had been agreed on by the Doctors of the Church.

"Then he discoursed very largely what a person a Judge ought to
"be, he must not be Partial, nor a Judge in his own Cause, nor so much
"as sit on the Bench when it is tryed, lest his presence should over-
"awe others. Things also done upon a common error cannot bind,
"when the error upon which they were done, comes to be disco-
"vered; and all human Laws ought to be changed, when a publick
"visible inconvenience follows them. From which he concluded,
"that the Pope being a Party, and having already passed his Sen-
"tence, in things which ought to be examined by a General Council,
"could not be a Judge, nor sit in it. Princes also, who upon a
"common mistake, thinking the Pope Head of the Church, had
"sworn to him, finding that this was done upon a false ground,
"may pull their Neck out of his Yoke, as every man may make his
"escape out of the hands of a Robber. And the Court of *Rome* was
"so corrupt, that a Pope, though he mean't well, as *Hadrian* did,
"yet could never bring any good design to an issue; the Cardinals
"and the rest of that Court being so engaged to maintain their Cor-
"ruptions. These were the Heads of that Discourse, which it seems he gave them in writing after he had delivered it; but he promised to entertain them with another Discourse, of the Power the Bishops of the Christian Church have in their Sees, and of the Power of a Christian Prince to make them do their duty; but that I could never see, and I am afraid it is lost.

All this I thought necessary to open, to show the State of the Court, and the Principles that the several Parties in it went upon, when the Reformation was first brought under Consideration, in the third Period of this Kings Reign, to which I am now advanced.

The end of the Second Book.

The



pag 179. Printed for Ric: Chiswell, at the Rose and Crowne in St Pauls Church yard

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of England.

BOOK III.

Of the other Transactions about Religion and Reformation, during the rest of the Reign of King Henry *the* 8th.



He King having passed through the Traverses and tossings of his Sute of Divorce, and having with the concurrence, both of his Clergy and Parliament, brought about what he had projected, seem'd now at ease in his own Dominions. But though matters were carryed in Publick Assemblies smoothly and successfully, yet there were many secret discontents, which being fomented, both by the Pope, and the Emperors Agents, wrought him great trouble; so that the rest of his life, was full of vexation and disquiet.

1535. The rest of the Kings Reign grows troublesome.

All that were zealously addicted to that which they called the Old Religion, did conclude, that what-ever firmness the King expressed to it now, was either pretended out of Policy, for avoiding the Inconveniences, which the fears of a Change might produce : or though he really intended to perform what he professed; yet the Interests in which he must embarque, with the Princess of *Germany* against the Pope and the Emperor, together with the Power that the Queen had over him, and the credit *Cranmer* and *Cromwell* had with him, would prevail on him to change some things in Religion. And they look'd on these things, as so complicated together, that the change of any one must needs make way for change in more, since that struck at the Authority of the Church, and left people at liberty to dispute the Articles of Faith. This they thought was a Gate opened

1535. to Heresie. And therefore they were every-where meeting together, and consulting, what should be done for suppressing Heresie, and preserving the Catholick Faith.

By the practises of the Monks and Friars.

That zeal was much inflamed by the Monks and Friers, who clearly saw the Acts of Parliament, were so levelled at their Exemptions and Immunities, that they were now like to be at the Kings mercy. They were no more to plead their Bulls, nor claim any Priviledges, further than it pleased the King to allow them. No new Saints from *Rome* could draw more Riches or Honour to their Orders. Priviledges and Indulgences were out of doors; so that the Arts of drawing in the people, to enrich their Churches and Houses, were at an end. And they had also secret Intimations, that the King and the Courtiers, had an eye on their Lands, and they gave themselves for lost, if they could not so embroyl the Kings Affairs, that he should not adventure on so invidious a thing: Therefore both in Confessions and Conferences, they infused into the people a dislike of the Kings Proceedings; which though for some time it did not break out into an open Rebellion, yet the humor still fermented, and people only waited for an opportunity: So that if the Emperor had not been otherwise distracted, he might have made War upon the King, with great Advantages. For many of his discontented Subjects, would have joyned with the Enemy. But the King did so dextrously manage his Leagues with the *French* King, and the Princes of the Empire, that the Emperor could never make any impressions on his Dominions.

Which provoked the King to great severities.

But those factious Spirits, seeing nothing was to be expected from any forreign Power, could not contain themselves, but broke out into open Rebellion. And this provoked the King to great severities; His Spirit was so fretted, by the tricks the Court of *Rome* had put on him, and by the Ingratitude and seditious practises of *Reginald Pool*; that he thereby lost much of his former temper and patience, and was too ready upon slight grounds, to bring his Subjects to the Bar. Where though the matter was always so ordered, that according to Law they were Endicted and Judged; yet the severity of the Law bordering sometimes on rigor and cruelty, he came to be called a cruel Tyrant. Nor did his severity lie only on one side: but being addicted to some Tenets of the Old Religion; and impatient of Contradiction, or perhaps blown up, either with the vanity of his new Title, of *Head of the Church*, or with the praises which Flatterers bestowed on him; he thought all persons were bound, to regulate their Belief by his Dictates, which made him prosecute Protestants, as well as proceed against Papists. Yet it does not appear, that Cruelty was Natural to him. For in Twenty five years Reign, none had suffered for any Crime against the State; but *Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*. The former he prosecuted in Obedience to his Fathers last Commands at his death. His severity to the other was imputed to the *Cardinals* Malice. The Proceedings were also legal. And the Duke of *Buckingham*, had by the knavery of a Priest, to whom he gave great credit, been made believe he had a Right to the Crown; and practises of that nature, touch Princes so nearly, that no wonder the Law was executed in such a case. This

showes

shewes, that the King was not very jealous, nor desirous of the Blood of his Subjects. But though he always proceeded upon Law; yet in the last Ten years of his Life, many instances of Severity occurred, for which he is rather to be pityed, than either imitated or sharply censured. 1535.

The former Book was full of Intrigues and forreign Transactions; the greatest part of it being an account of a tedious Negotiation, with the subtlest and most refined Court in Christendome, in all the Arts of humane Policy. But now my work is confined to this Nation; and except in short touches by the way, I shall meddle no further with the Mysteries of State; but shall give as clear an account of those things that relate to Religion and Reformation, as I could possibly recover. The Suppression of Monasteries, The advance and declension of Reformation, and the Proceedings against those, who adhered to the Interests of the Court of *Rome*, must be the chief Subjects of this Book. The two former shall be opened, in the series of time as they were Transacted. But the last shall be left to the end of the Book, that it may be presented in one full view.

The Bishops swear the Kings supremacie.

After the Parliament had ended their Business, the Bishops did all renew their Allegeance to the King, and swore also to maintain his Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Matters; acknowledging that he was the Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, though there was yet no Law for the requiring of any such Oath. The first act of the Kings Supremacy was, his naming *Cromwell* Vicar-General, and General Visitor of all the Monasteries and other Priviledged places. This is commonly confounded with his following Dignity of, *Lord Vice-Gerent* in Ecclesiastical matters; but they were two different Places, and held by different Commissions. By the one he had no Authority over the Bishops, nor had he any Precedence; but the other, as it gave him the Precedence next the Royal Family, so it cloathed him with a compleat Delegation of the Kings whole Power in Ecclesiastical Affairs. For Two years he was only Vicar-General. But the tenour of his Commissions, and the nature of the Power devolved on him by them, cannot be fully known. For neither the one, nor the other are in the Rolls, though there can be no doubt made, but Commissions of such Importance were enrolled; therefore the loss of them can only be charged, on that search and rasure of Records made by *Bonner*, upon the Commission granted to him by Queen *Mary*, of which I have spoken in the Preface of this work. In the *Prerogative-Office* there is a subalterne Commission granted to Doctor (afterwards Secretary) *Petre*, on *Jan.* 13. in the Twenty Seventh year of the Kings Reign, by which it appears, that *Cromwells* Commission was at first conceived in very General words, for he is called the Kings *Vice-Gerent*, in Ecclesiastical causes, his *Vicar-General*, and *Official-Principal*. But because he could not himself attend upon all these affairs, therefore Doctor *Petre* is deputed under him, for receiving the Probates of Wills; from thence likewise it appears, that all Wills, where the Estate was 200 lib. or above, were no more to be tryed or proved in the Bishops Courts, but in the *Vicar-Generals* Court. Yet though he was called *Vice-Gerent* in that Commission, he was spoken of, and writ to, by the Name of *Vicar-General*; but

1535. after the second Commission, seen and mentioned by the Lord *Herbert*, in *July* 1536. he was alwayes designed Lord *Vice-Gerent*.

The next thing that was every-where laboured with great industry, was, to engage all the rest of the Clergy, chiefly the Regulars, to own the Kings Supremacy; To which they generally submitted. In *Oxford* the Question being put whether the Pope had any other Jurisdiction in *England*, than any other forreign Bishop, it was referred to Thirty Doctors and Batchelors, who were impowered to set the University-Seal to their Conclusion, they all agreed in the Negative, and the whole University being examined about it man by man assented to their determination. All the difficulty that I find made, was at *Richmond*, by the *Franciscan Friers*, where the Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield* (*Rowland Lee*) and *Thomas Bedyl*, tendred some Conclusions to them, among which, this was one. *That the Pope if* Rome, *has no greater jurisdiction in this Kingdom of* England, *by the Law of God, than any other Forreign Bishop.* This they told them was already subscribed, by the two Arch-Bishops, the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Duresm*, *Bath*, and all the other Prelates, and Heads of Houses, and all the famous Clerks of the Realm. And therefore they desired that the Friers, would refer the matter, to the Four Seniors of the House, and acquiesce in what they should do. But the Friers said, it concerned their Consciences, and therefore they would not submit it to a small part of their House, they added, that they had sworn to follow the Rule of St. *Francis*, and in that they would live and dy; and cited a Chapter of their Rule, "That their Order should have a Cardinal for their Protector, by whose directions they might be governed in their obedience to the Holy See. But to this the Bishop answered, That St. *Francis* lived in *Italy*, where the Monks and other Regulars that had Exemptions, were subject to the Pope, as they were in *England*, to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. And for the Chapter which they cited, it was showed them, that it was not written by St. *Francis*, but made since his time; and though it were truly a part of his Rule, it was told them that no particular Rule, ought to be preferred to the Laws of the Land, to which all Subjects were bound to give Obedience, and could not be excused from it, by any voluntary Obligation under which they brought themselves. Yet all this could not prevail on them, but they said to the Bishop, they had professed St. *Francis*'s Rule, and would still continue in the Observance of it.

Antiq. Oxon. lib. 1. Pag. 258
The Original Letter is in *Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4. Feb. 15.*
The Franciscan Friars refuse it.

But though I do not find such resistance made elsewhere, yet it appears, that some secret practises of many of those Orders against the State were discovered, therefore it was resolved, that some effectual means, must be taken for lessening their credit and Authority with the people; and so a general Visitation of all Monasteries and other Religious Houses was resolved on. This was chiefly advised, by Doctor *Leighton*, who had been in the Cardinals service with *Cromwell*, and was then taken notice of by him, as a dextrous and diligent man, and therefore was now made use of on this Occasion. He by a Letter to *Cromwell* advertised him, that upon a long Conference with the Dean of the *Arches*, he found the Dean was of Opinion, that it was not fit to make any Visitation in the Kings name yet, for Two or

A General visitation of Monasteries, is designed.
Orig. *Cott. Lib.* E. 4.

Three

Three years, till his Supremacy were better received; and that he apprehended a ſevere Viſitation ſo early, would make the Clergy more averſe to the Kings Power. But *Leighton* on the other hand, thought nothing would ſo much recommend the Supremacy, as to ſee ſuch good effects of it, as might follow upon a ſtrict and exact Viſitation. And the Abuſes of Religious perſons were now ſo great and viſible, even to the Laity, That the Correcting and Reforming theſe, would be a very popular thing. He writ further, That there had been no Viſitation in the Northern parts, ſince the Cardinal Ordered it: Therefore he adviſed one, and deſired to be employed in *York-ſhire*. And by another Letter, dated the 4th of *June*, he wrote to *Cromwell*, deſiring, that Doctor *Lee*, and he, might be imployed in Viſiting all the Monaſteries, from the Dioceſs of *Lincoln* Northwards; which they could Manage better, than any body elſe, having great kindred, and a large acquaintance in thoſe parts: ſo that they would be able to diſcover, all the diſorders or ſeditious practiſes in theſe Houſes. He complained, that former Viſitations had been ſlight and inſignificant, and promiſed great faithfulneſs and diligence both from himſelf and Doctor *Lee*. 1535.

The Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* was now making his Metropolitical Viſitation, having obtained the Kings Licence for it, which ſays, That he having deſired, that according to the Cuſtom, and the Prerogative of his Metropolitical See, he might make his Viſitation; The King granted him Licence to do it, and required all to aſſiſt and obey him; dated the 28th of *April*. Things were not yet ripe for doing great matters; ſo that which he now look'd to, was to ſee that all ſhould ſubmit to the Kings Supremacy; and renounce any dependance on the Pope, whoſe name was to be ſtruck out of all the Publick Offices of the Church. This was begun in *May* 1535. *Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London*, ſubmitted not to this Viſitation, till he had entered Three Proteſtations, for keeping up of Priviledges.

Cranmer makes his Metropolitical viſitation.

Rot. Pat. Regn. 25. *Part.* 1ſt.

Regiſt. Stokſ. Folio 44.

In *October*, began the great Viſitation of Monaſteries, which was committed to ſeveral Commiſſioners. *Leighton*, *Lee* and *London* were moſt imployed. But many others were alſo empowered to Viſit. For I find Letters from *Robert Southwell*, *Elice Price*, *John Ap-price*, *Richard Southwell*, *John Gage*, *Richard Bellaſis*, *Walter Hendle*, and ſeveral others, to *Cromwell*: giving him an account of the Progreſs they made in their ſeveral Provinces. Their Commiſſions, if they were paſſed under the great Seal, and enrolled, have been taken out of the Rolls; for there are none of them to be found there, Yet I encline to think, they were not under the great Seal. For I have ſeen an Original Commiſſion for the Viſitation, that was next year, which was only under the Kings hand and Signet. From which it may be inferred, that the Commiſſions this year, were of the ſame nature: yet whether ſuch Commiſſions, could Authorize them, to grant Diſpenſations, and Diſcharge men out of the Houſes they were in, I am not skill'd enough in Law to determine. And by their Letters to *Cromwell*, I find they did aſſume Authority for theſe things. So what their Power was, I am not able to diſcover. But beſides their Powers and Commiſſions, they got Inſtructions to direct them in their Viſitations, and Injunctions to be left in every Houſe, of which, though I could

The Kings Viſitation begun.

In MSS. D. *G. Pierpoint.*

1535. could not recover the Originals, yet Copies of very good Authority I have seen, which the Reader will find in the Collection at the end of this Book. The Instructions contain 86 Articles. The substance of them was, to try,

Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4.

Instructions for the Visitation.

"Whether Divine Service, was kept up day and night, in the right "hours? And how many were commonly present, and who were fre-"quently absent?

See Collect. *Numb.* 1st.

"Whether the full number, according to the Foundation, was in eve-"ry House? Who were the Founders? What additions have been made "since the Foundation? And what were their Revenues? Whether it "was ever changed from one Order to another? By whom? And for "what Cause?

"What Mortmains they had? And whether their Founders were suf-"ficiently Authorized to make such Donations?

"Upon what suggestions, and for what Causes they were exempted "from their Diocesans?

"Their Local Statutes were also to be seen and examined.

"The Election of their Head was to be enquired into. The Rule of "every House was to be considered. How many professed? And how "many Novices were in it? And at what time the Novices Professed?

"Whether they knew their Rule and observed it? Chiefly the "three Vows of, Poverty, Chastity and Obedience? Whether any of "them kept any money without the Masters knowledge? Whether "they kept company with women, within or without the Monastery? "Or if there were any back-doors, by which women came within the "precinct? Whether they had any boys lying by them?

"Whether they observed the Rules of Silence, Fasting, Abstinence, "and Hair-shirts? Or by what warrant they were dispenced with, in "any of these?

"Whether they did Eat, Sleep, wear their Habit, and stay within "the Monastery, according to their Rules?

"Whether the Master was too cruel, or too remiss? And whether "he used the Brethren without partiality or malice?

"Whether any of the Brethren were incorrigible?

"Whether the Master made his accompts faithfully once a year? "Whether all the other Officers made their accompts truely? And "whether the whole Revenues of the House were imployed according "to the intention of the Founders?

"Whether the Fabrick was kept up, and the Plate and Furniture "were carefully preserved?

"Whether the Covent-Seal, and the Writings of the House were "well kept? And whether Leases were made by the Master to his "Kindred and Friends, to the damage of the House? Whether Hospi-"tality was kept, and whether at the receiving of Novices, any mo-"ney or reward was demanded or promised? What care was taken to "instruct the Novices?

"Whether any had entred into the House, in hope to be once the "Master of it?

"Whether in giving Presentations to Livings, the Master had re-"served a Pension out of them? Or what sort of Bargains he made con-"cerning them?

"As

"An account was to be taken, of all the Parsonages and Vicarages 1535.
"belonging to every House, and how these Benefices were disposed of,
"and how the Cure was served.

All these things were to be inquired after in the Houses of Monks or Friars. And in the Visitation of Nunneries, they were to Search.

"Whether the House had a good Enclosure, and if the Doors and "Windows were kept shut, so that no man could enter at inconvenient "hours?

"Whether any men conversed with the Sisters alone, without the "Abbesses leave?

"Whether any Sister was forced to profess, either by her Kindred, "or by the Abbess?

"Whether they went out of their precinct without leave? And whe-"ther they wore their Habit then?

"What employment they had out of the times of Divine Service? "What familiarity they had with Religious men? Whether they "wrote Love-Letters? Or sent and received Tokens or Presents?

"Whether the Confessor was a discreet and learned man, and of good "reputation? And how oft a year the Sisters did Confess and Commu-"nicate?

They were also to visit all Collegiate Churches, Hospitals and Cathedrals, and the Order of the Knights of *Jerusalem*. But if this Copy be compleat, they were only to view their Writings and Papers, to see what could be gathered out of them, about the Reformation of Monastical Orders. And as they were to visit, according to these Instructions, so they were to give some Injunctions in the Kings Name.

Injunctions for all Religious Houses.

"That they should endeavour, all that in them lay, that the Act of "the Kings Succession should be observed, (where it is said, *that they had under their Hands and Seals confirmed it.* This showes, that all the Religious Houses of *England* had acknowledged it:) "and they should teach "the people, that the Kings Power was Supreme on Earth, under God, "and that the Bishop of *Rome's* Power was Usurped by Craft and Po-"licy, and by his ill Canons and Decretals, which had been long tole-"rated by the Prince, but was now justly taken away.

See Collect. Numb. 2d.

"The Abbot and Brethren were declared to be absolved from any Oath, "they had Sworn to the Pope, or to any Forreign Potentate; and the "Satutes of any Order, that did bind them to a Forreign Subjection, "were abrogated and ordered to be razed out of their Books.

"That no Monk should go out of the precinct, nor any woman enter "within it, without leave from the King or the Visitor, and that there "should be no entry to it, but one.

"Some Rules were given about their Meals, and a Chapter of the "Old or New Testament was ordered to be read at every one, The "Abbots Table was to be served with common Meats, and not with de-"licate and strange Dishes; and either he, or one of the Seniors, were "to be always there to entertain strangers.

"Some other Rules follow about the distribution of their Alms, their "accommodation in Health and Sickness. One or two of every House, "was to be kept at the University; that when they were well Instru-"cted, they might come and teach others: And every day, there was "to be a Lecture of Divinity for a whole hour: The Brethren must "all be well employed.

1535. "The Abbot or Head was every day to explain some part of the Rule, "and apply it according to Christ's Law; and to shew them, that their "Ceremonies were but Elements, introductory to true Christianity; "and that Religion consisted not in Habits, or in such like Rites, but in "cleanness of Heart, pureness of Living, unfeigned Faith, Brotherly "Charity, and true honouring of God in Spirit and Truth: That there-"fore they must not rest in their Ceremonies, but ascend by them to "true Religion.

"Other Rules are added about the Revenues of the House, and a-"gainst Wastes, and that none be entred into their House, nor admit-"ted under twenty four years of Age.

"Every Priest in the House was to say Mass daily; and in it, to pray "for the King and Queen.

"If any brake any of these Injunctions, he was to be denounced to "the King, or his Visitor-general. The Visitor had also Authority to "punish any, whom he should find guilty of any Crime, and to bring "the Visitor-general, such of their Books and Writings as he thought "fit.

An account of the Progress of the Monastical state in *England*.

But before I give an account of this Visitation, I presume it will not be ingrateful to the Reader, to offer him some short view of the Rise and Progress of Monastick Orders in *England*, and of the state they were in at this time. What the Ancient *British* Monks were, or by what Rule they were Governed; whether it was from the Eastern Churches, that this Constitution was brought into *Britain*, and was either suited to the Rule of St. *Anthony*, St. *Pachon*, or St. *Basil*; or whether they had it from *France*, where *Sulpitius* tells us, St. *Martin* set up Monasteries, must be left to conjecture. But from the little that remains of them, we find they were very numerous, and were obedient to the Bishop of *Caerleon*, as all the Monks of the Primitive times were to their Bishops, according to the Canons of the Council of *Chalcedon*.

The Exemptions of Monasteries. See *Monastic*on.

But upon the confusions which the *Gothick* Wars brought into *Italy*, *Benedict* and others set up Religious Houses; and more artificial Rules and Methods were found out for their Government. Not long after that, *Austin* the Monk came into *England*; and having Baptized *Ethelbert*, he perswaded him to Found a Monastery at *Canterbury*, which the King, by his Charter, exempted from the Jurisdiction of the Arch-Bishop and his Successors. This was not only done by *Austins* consent, but he by another Writing confirms this Foundation; and exempted both the Monastery and all the Churches belonging to it, from his, or his Successors Jurisdictions; and most earnestly conjures his Successors, never to give any trouble to the Monks, who were only to be subject to their own Abbot. And this was granted, that they might have no disturbance in the Service of God. But (whether this, with many other Ancient Foundations, were not latter Forgeries, which I vehemently suspect, I leave to Criticks to discuss) the next Exemption, that I find, was granted in the year 680, to the Abby of *Peterborough*, by Pope *Agatho*, and was Signed by *Theodore*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, called the Popes Legate (this I doubt was Forged afterwards.) In the year 725, King *Ina*'s Charter to the Abbey of *Glassenbury*, relates to their Ancient Charters, and exempts them from the Bishops Jurisdiction. King *Offa* Founded, and exempted the Monastery of St. *Albans*,

in

in the year 793, which Pope *Honorius* the 3d Confirmed, *Anno* 1218, *Kenulph* King of *Mercia* founded and exempted *Abington*, in the year 821. *Knut* Founded and exempted St. *Edmundsbury* in the year 1020. 1535.

About the end of the Eighth Century, the *Danes* began to make their descents into *England*, and made every-where great depredations; and finding the Monks had possessed themselves, of the greatest part of the Riches of the Nation, they made their most frequent inroads upon these places where they knew the Richest spoyl was to be found. And they did so wast and ruine these Houses, that they were generally abandon'd by the Monks, who as they loved the ease and wealth they had enjoyed formerly in their Houses, so had no mind to expose themselves, to the persecutions of those heathenish Invaders. But when they had deserted their Seats, the Secular Clergy came and possessed them; so that in King *Edgars* time, there was scarce a Monk in all *England*. He was a most dissolute and lewd Prince, but being perswaded by *Dunstan* and other Monks, that what he did towards the restoring of that decayed State, would be a matter of great Merit, became the great Promoter of the Monastical State in *England*; For he converted most of the Chapters into Monasteries; and by his Foundation of the Priory of *Worcester*, it appears, he had then founded no fewer then Fourty Seven, which he intended to encrease to Fifty, *the number of Pardon*. Yet in his Foundations, he only exempted the Monasteries, from all exactions or dues, which the Bishops claim'd. There are Exemptions of several rates and sizes: Some Houses were only Exempted from all Exactions; others from all Jurisdiction or Visitations; others had only an Exemption for their precinct; others for all the Churches that belonged to them. *Edward* the Confessor exempted many of these Houses, which *Edgar* had founded, as *Ramsey* &c. He also founded and Exempted *Coventry* and *Westminster*, and the Exemption of the last, was likewise confirmed by Pope *Nicolas*, in a Bull to King *Edward*. *William* the Conqueror Founded and Exempted the Abbey of *Battel* from all Episcopal Jurisdiction.

Monasteries generally wasted and deserted.

Antiquit. *Britan.*

But are again set up by King *Edgar*.

But after that time I do not find, that our Kings exempted Abbeys from any thing, but Episcopal Exactions; for though formerly Kings had made Laws, and given Orders about Ecclesiastical matters, yet now the claim to an Immunity from the Civil Jurisdiction, and also the Papal Authority, were grown to that height, that Princes were to meddle no more with sacred things. And henceforth all Exemptions were granted by the Popes, who claimed a Jurisdiction over the whole Church; and assumed that Power to themselves with many other Usurpations.

All the Ancient Foundations were subscribed by the King, the Queen, and Prince, with many Bishops and Abbots, and Dukes and Earls consenting. The Abbeys being exempted from all jurisdiction, both Civil and Spiritual, and from all Impositions; and having generally the Priviledge of Sanctuary for all that fled to them, were at ease, and accountable to none, so they might do what they pleased. They found also means to enrich themselves, First by the belief of Purgatory. For they perswaded all people, that the Souls departed,

Arts used by the Monks for enriching their Houses.

1535. went generally thither; few were so Holy, as to go straight to Heaven; and few so bad, as to be cast to Hell. Then people were made believe, that the saying of Masses for their Souls, gave them great relief in their Torments, and did at length deliver them out of them. This being generally received, it was thought by all a piece of piety to their Parents, and of necessary care for themselves, and their families, to give some part of their Estates towards the enriching of these Houses, for having a Mass said every day for the Souls of their Ancestors, and for their own, after their death. And this did so spread, that if some Laws had not restrained their profuseness, the greater part of all the Estates in *England*, had been given to those Houses. But the Statutes of *Mortmain* were not very effectual restraints; for what King soever had refused to grant a *Mortmain*, was sure to have an uneasie reign ever after.

Yet this did not satisfie the Monks, but they fell upon other contrivances, to get the best of all mens Jewels, Plate, and Furniture. For they perswaded them, that the protection and intercession of Saints, were of mighty use to them; so that whatsoever respect they put on the Shrines and Images, but chiefly on the Relicks of Saints, they would find their account in it, and the Saints would take it kindly at their hands, and intercede the more earnestly for them. And people who saw Courtiers much wrought on by presents, imagined the Saints were of the same temper; only with this difference, that Courtiers love to have Presents put in their own hands, but the Saints were satisfied, if they were given to others. And as in the Courts of Princes, the new Favourite commonly had greatest credit, so every new Saint was believed to have a greater force in his Addresses; and therefore every body was to run to their Shrines, and make great Presents to them. This being infused into the credulous Multitude, they brought the richest things they had, to the places where the bodies or Relicks of those Saints were laid. Some Images were also believed, to have a peculiar Excellencie in them; and Pilgrimages and Presents to these, were much magnified. But to quicken all this, the Monks found the means, either by dreams and visions, or strange Miraculous stories, to feed the devotion of the people. Relicks without number, were every-where discovered; and most wonderful relations of the Martyrdome, and other miracles of the Saints, were made and read in all places to the people; and new Improvements were daily made in a Trade, that through the craft of the Monks, and the simplicity of the people, brought in great advantages. And though there was enough got to enrich them all, yet there was strange rivalling, not only among the several Orders, but the Houses of the same Order. The Monks, especially, of *Glassenbury*, St. *Albans*, and St. *Edmundsbury*, vied one with another, who could tell the most extravagant stories, for the honour of their House, and of the Relicks in it.

They became generally corrupted.

The Monks in these Houses abounding in wealth, and living at ease, and in idleness, did so degenerate, that from the Twelfth Century downward, their reputation abated much; and the Priviledges of Sanctuaries, were a general Grievance, and oft complained of in Parliaments: For they received all that fled to them, which put a great stop to Justice, and did encourage the most criminal offenders. They

became

became lewd and dissolute, and so impudent in it, that some of their farms were let, for bringing in a yearly tribute to their Lusts: nor did they keep Hospitality and relieve the poor; but rather encouraged Vagabonds and Beggars, against whom Laws were made, both in *Edward* the 3d, King *Henry* the 7th, and this Kings Reign. 1535.

Upon which the Begging Friars grew much in credit.

But from the Twelfth Century, the Orders of Begging Friers were set up, and they by the appearance of Severity and Mortification, gained great esteem. At first they would have nothing, no real estates, but the ground on which their House stood. But afterwards distinctions were found, for satisfying their Consciences in larger Possessions. They were not so idle and lazy as the Monks, but went about and Preached, and heard Confessions, and carryed about Indulgences, with many other pretty little things, *Agnus Dei's*, *Rosaries*, and *Pebles*, which they made the World believe, had great vertue in them. And they had the esteem of the people, wholly engrossed to themselves. They were also more formidable to Princes, than the Monks, because they were poorer, and by consequence, more hardy and bold. There was also a firmer union of their whole Order, they having a General at *Rome*, and being divided into many Provinces, subject to their Provincials. They had likewise the *Schooll-Learning* wholly in their hands, and were great Preachers, so that many things concurred, to raise their esteem with the people very high; yet great Complaints lay against them, for they went more abroad than the Monks did, and were believed guilty of Corrupting Families. The Scandals that went on them, upon their relaxing the primitive strictness of their Orders, were a little rectified by some Reformations of these Orders. But that lasted not long; for they became liable to much Censure, and many visitations had been made, but to little purpose. This Concurring with their secret practices against the King, both in the matter of his Divorce and Supremacy, made him more willing to examine the truth of these reports; that if they were found guilty of such scandals, they might lose their credit with the people, and occasions be ministred to the King, to justifie the Suppression of them.

The Kings secret motives for dissolving these Houses.

There were also two other Motives, that enclined the King to this Counsel. The one was, that he apprehended a War from the Emperor, who was then the only Prince in the World, that had any considerable force at Sea; having both great Fleets in the *Indies*, and being Prince of the *Netherlands*, where the greatest trade of these parts was driven. Therefore the King judged it necessary to fortifie his Ports, and seeing the great advantages of Trade, which began then to rise much, was resolved to encourage it: For which end he intended to build many Havens and Harbors. This was a matter of great charge, and as his own revenue could not defray it, so he had no mind to lay heavie Taxes on his Subjects, therefore the Suppression of Monasteries, was thought, the easiest way of raising Money.

He also intended to erect many more Bishopricks, to which *Cranmer* advised him much, that the vastness of some Diocesses, being reduced to a narrower compass, Bishops might better discharge their duties, and oversee their Flocks, according to the Scriptures and the Primitive Rules.

1535. Cranmers design in it.

But *Cranmer* did on another reason, press the Suppression of Monasteries. He found that their Foundations, and whole State, was inconsistent with a full and true Reformation. For among the things to be reform'd, were these Abuses, which were essential to their Constitution; (such as the Belief of Purgatory, of Redeeming Souls by Masses, the worship of Saints and Images, and Pilgrimages, and the like.) And therefore those Societies, whose interest it was to oppose the Reformation, were once to be suppressed: and then he hoped, upon new Endowments and Foundations, new Houses should have been erected at every Cathedral, to be Nurseries for that whole Diocess; which he thought would be more suitable, to the primitive use of Monasteries, and more profitable to the Church. This was his Scheme, as will afterwards appear; which was in some measure effected, though not so fully as he projected, for Reasons to be told in their proper place.

First Monastery that was dissolved.

There had been a Bull sent from *Rome*, for dissolving some Monasteries, and Erecting Bishopricks out of them, as was related in the former Book, in the year 1532. And it seems it was upon that Authority, that in the year 1533. the Priory of Christs Church near *Algate* in *London*, was dissolved, and given to the Lord Chancellor Sir *Thomas Audley*; (not to make him speak shriller for his Master in the House of Commons, as *Fuller* mistakes it; for he had been Lord Chancellor a year before this was given him.) The Popes Authority not being at that time put down, nor the Kings Supremacy set up, I conjecture it was done, pursuant to the Bull for the Dissolution of some Religious Houses; but I never saw the Dissolution, and so can only guess, on what ground it was made. But in the Parliament held the former year, in which the Kings Grant of that House, to the Lord Chancellor was confirmed, it is said " in the Preamble, That the " Prior and Convent, had resigned that House to the King the 24th " of *February* 23d *Regni*. and had left their House; but no mention is made, upon what Reason they did it.

Act. 10. *Rot. Parl. Regn.* 25.

The Proceedings of the Visitors.

But now I come to Consider, how the Visitors carryed on their Visitations. Many severe things are said of their Proceedings, nor is it any wonder, that men who had traded so long in lies, as the Monks had done; should load those whom they esteemed the Instruments of their Ruin, with many Calumnies. By their Letters to *Cromwell* it appears, that in most Houses, they found Monstrous disorders. That many fell down on their knees, and prayed they might be discharged, since they had been forced to make vows against their wills; with these the Visitors dispensed, and set them at liberty. They found great Factions in the Houses, and Barbarous Cruelties exercised by one Faction, against another, as either of them prevailed. In many places, when they gave them the Kings injunctions, many cryed out, that the severity of them was intolerable, and they desired rather to be suppressed, than so reformed. They were all extremely addicted to Idolatry and Superstition. In some they found the instruments, and other tools for multiplying and coyning.

Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4.

But for the Lewdness of the Confessors of Nunneries, and the great Corruption of that State, whole Houses being found almost all with Child; for the dissoluteness of Abbots and the other Monks and Friars

ars, not only with whores, but Marryed Women; and for their unnatural Lusts and other brutal practices; these are not fit to be spoken of, much less enlarged on, in a work of this Nature. The full report of this Visitation is lost, yet I have seen an Extract of a part of it, concerning 144 Houses, that contains Abominations in it, equal to any that were in *Sodom*. 1535. *Ibid.*

One passage that is more remarkable, I shall only set down; because upon it followed the first Resignation of any Religious House, that I could ever find. Doctor *Leighton* beset the Abbot of *Langdens* House, and broke open his door of a sudden, and found his whore with him; and in the Abbots Coffer, there was an habit for her, for she went for a young Brother. Whether the shame of this discovery, or any other consideration prevailed with him, I know not; but on the 13th of *November*, he, and Ten Monks Signed a Resignation, which hath an odd kind of Preamble, to be found in the Collection. "It sayes, that the revenue of the House, was so 'much endamaged, and engaged in so much debt, that they Consi- 'dering this, and what remedies might be found for it, saw, that ex- 'cept the King, of whose Foundation the House was, did speedily 'relieve them, it must be very quickly ruined, both as to its Spiri- 'tual and Temporal concerns; therefore they surrender up their 'House to the King. They were of the Order of *Premonstre*, and their House was dedicated, to the honor of the Blessed Virgin, and St. *Thomas Becket*. This precedent was followed, by the like surrender, with the same Preamble, on the 15th of *November*, by the Prior of *Folkeston* a Benedictin, aand on the 16th, by the Prior of *Dover*, with Eight Monks. These were all of them in the County of *Kent*. But neither among the Original Surrenders, nor in the Clause Rolls, are there any other Deeds, in this year of our Lord, there are indeed in the same year of the King, (which runs till *April* 1536.) four other Surrenders, with the same Preambles. Of *Merton* in *Yorkshire*, a Covent of *Augustinians*, signed by the Prior and Five Monks, the 9th of *February*, of *Bilsingtoun* in *Kent*, Signed by the Prior and Two Monks, the 21st of *February*, of *Tilty* in *Essex*, a Covent of *Cistercians*, Signed by the Prior and Five Monks, and of *Hornby* in *York-shire*, a Covent of the *Premonstre*, Signed by the Prior and Two Monks the 23d of *March*. These were all the Surrenders, that I can discover to have been made, before the Act of Parliament, for suppressing the lesser Monasteries, passed in the next Session that was assembled in *February*.

Some Houses resigned up to the King.

Collect. *Numb.* 5. *Sect.* 1.

The Original of these Resignations are in the Augmentation Office, and enrolled. *Rot. Claus. Part.* 1st. *Regn.* 27.

But before that, the afflicted and unfortunate Queen *Katharine* died, at *Kimbolton*; She had been much disquieted, because she would not lay down her Title of Queen. Many of her servants were put from her, on that account; but she would accept of no Service, from any that did not use her as a Queen, and call her so. The King sent oft to her, to perswade her, to more Complyance. But she stood her ground, and said, since the Pope had judged her Marriage good, she would lose her life, before she did any thing in prejudice of it. She became more cheerful, than she had wont to be; and the Country people came much to her, whom she received, and used very Obligingly. The King had a mind she should go to *Fotheringhay*-Ca-

1536.

The death of Queen *Katharine*.

Originals. *Otho.* C. 10. *Cott. Lib.*

stle.

1535. ſtle: But when it was propoſed to her, ſhe plainly ſaid, ſhe would never go thither, unleſs ſhe were carryed as a Priſoner, bound with Ropes. She deſired leave to come nearer *London*; but that was not granted. She had the jointure that was aſſigned her, as *Princeſs Dowager*; and was treated with the reſpect due to that Dignity, but all the Women about her, ſtill called her Queen. I do not find ſhe had any thoughts of going out of *England*; though her Life in it was but Melancholy. Yet her care to ſupport her Daughters Title, made her bear all the Diſgraces, ſhe lay under. The Officious and practiſing Clergy, that were for the Court of *Rome*, look'd on her as the Head of their Party, and aſſerted her Intereſts much. Yet ſhe was ſo watched, that ſhe could not hold any great Correſpondence with them; though in the matter of the Maid of *Kent*, ſhe had ſome Medling.

When ſhe ſicken'd, ſhe made her Will; and appointed her Body to be buryed, in a Convent of Obſervant Friars, (who had done and ſuffered moſt for her;) and Ordered Five Hundred Maſſes to be ſaid for her Soul; and that one ſhould go a Pilgrimage, to our Lady of *Walſingham*, and give Two Hundred Nobles by the way to the poor. Some other ſmall Legacies, ſhe left to her Servants. When the King heard ſhe was ſick, he ſent a kind Meſſage to her; and the Emperors Ambaſſador went to ſee her, and to chear her up, but when ſhe found her ſickneſs like to prove Mortal; ſhe made one about her, write a Letter in her name, to the King. In the Title ſhe call'd him, '*Her dear Lord, King and Husband.* She adviſed him to look to the 'health of his Soul. She forgave him, all the Troubles he had caſt ' her into. She recommended their Danghter *Mary* to him, and de-'ſired he would be a Loving Father to her. She alſo deſired, that he 'would provide Matches for her Maids, who were but Three; and 'that he would give her Servants one years Wages, more than was 'due to them And Concluded laſtly, *I make this Vow, That mine eyes deſire you above all things.* By another Letter, ſhe recommended her Daughter to the Emperors care. On the 8th of *January* ſhe dyed, in the Fiftyeth year of her Age, Thirty Three years after ſhe came to *England*. She was a devout and pious Princeſs, and led a ſevere and mortified Life. In her Greatneſs, ſhe wrought much with her own hands, and kept her Women, well employed about her; as appeared, when the Two Legates came once to ſpeak with her. She came out to them with a Skein of ſilk about her Neck, and told them, ſhe had been within, at work with her Women. She was moſt paſſionately devoted, to the Intereſts of the Court of *Rome*, they being ſo interwoven with her own. And in a word, ſhe is repreſented as a moſt wonderful good Woman. Only I find on many occaſions, that the King complained much, of her uneaſineſs and peeviſhneſs. But whether the fault was in her humor, or in the Provocations, ſhe met with, the Reader may conjecture. The King received the news of her death, with ſome regrett. But he would not give leave to bury her, as ſhe had ordered; but made her body be laid in the Abbey Church of *Peterborough*, which he afterwards Converted to an Epiſcopal Cathedral. But Queen *Anne* did not carry her death ſo decently; for ſhe expreſs'd too much joy at it, both in her Carriage and dreſs.

On

On the 4th of *February* the Parliament ſate, upon a Prorogation of 14th Months, (for in the Record there is no mention of any intermedial Prorogation,) where a great many Laws, relating to Civil concerns, were paſſed. By the 15th Act, the Power that had been given by a former Act to the King, for naming thirty two Perſons, to make a Collection of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, was again confirmed; for nothing had been done upon the former Act. But there was no limitation of time in this Act, and ſo there was nothing done in purſuance of it. 1536. A new Seſſion of Parliament.

The great buſineſs of this Seſſion of Parliament, was the ſuppreſſing the leſſer Monaſteries. How this went thorough the two Houſes, we cannot know from the Journals, for they are loſt. But all the Hiſtorians of that time, tell us, that the report which the Viſitors made to the King, was read in Parliament; which repreſented the manners of theſe Houſes ſo odiouſly, that the Act was eaſily carried. The Preamble bears, "That ſmall Religious Houſes, under the number of "twelve Perſons, had been long and notoriouſly guilty of vicious and "abominable Living; and did much conſume and waſte their Churches, "Lands, and other things belonging to them; and that for above two "hundred years, there had been many Viſitations for reforming theſe "Abuſes, but with no ſucceſs; their vicious living encreaſing daily: "So that except ſmall Houſes were diſſolved, and the Religious put "into greater Monaſteries, there could no Reformation be expected "in that matter. Whereupon the King having received a full information of theſe Abuſes, both by his Viſitors and other credible "ways; and conſidering that there were divers great Monaſteries, in "which Religion was well kept and obſerved, which had not the full "number in them, that they might and ought to receive, had made "a full Declaration of the Premiſſes in Parliament. Whereupon it was "Enacted, That all Houſes which might ſpend yearly 200*l*. or within it, ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and their Revenues converted to better "uſes, and they compelled to reform their Lives. The Lord *Herbert* thinks it ſtrange, that the Statute in the prinred Book, has no Preamble, but begins bluntly. *Fuller* tell us, that he wonders, that Lord did not ſee the Record; and he ſets down the Preamble, and ſays, *The reſt follow as in the printed Statute, Chap.* 27th. by a miſtake for the 28th. This ſhews, that neither the one, nor the other, ever look'd on the Record. For there is a particular Statute of Diſſolution, diſtinct from the 28th Chap. And the Preamble which *Fuller* ſets down, belongs not to the 28th Chapter, as he ſays, but to the 18th Chapter, which was never printed: and the 28th relates in the Preamble, to that other Statute, which had given theſe Monaſteries to the King. The leſſer Monaſteries are ſuppreſſed.

The reaſons, that were pretended for diſſolving theſe Houſes, were: That whereas there was but a ſmall number of perſons in them, they entred into Confederacies together, and their Poverty ſet them on, to uſe many ill arts to grow Rich. They were alſo much abroad, and kept no manner of Diſcipline in their Houſes. But thoſe Houſes were generally much richer, than they ſeemed to be: For the Abbots raiſing great Fines out of them, held the Leaſes ſtill low; and by that means they were not obliged to entertain a greater number in their Houſe, and ſo enriched themſelves and their Brethren by the Fines that were raiſed: For many Houſes then rented at two hundred pounds, Reaſons for doing it.

were

1536. were worth many thouſands, as will appear to any that compares, what they were then valued at, (which is Collected by *Speed*,) with what their Eſtates are truely worth: When this was paſſing in Parliament, *Stokeſley*, Biſhop of *London* ſaid, "Theſe leſſer Houſes were as "Thorns ſoon pluck't up, but the great Abbots were like putrified old "Oaks; yet they muſt needs follow, and ſo would others do in Chri-"ſtendom, before many years were paſſed.

By another Act, all theſe Houſes, their Churches, Lands, and all their Goods were given to the King, and his Heirs and Succeſſors, together with all other Houſes, which within a year before the making of the Act, had been diſſolved or ſuppreſſed : And for the gathering the Revenues that belonged to them, a new Court was Erected, called the Court of the *Augmentations of the Kings Revenue*; which was to conſiſt of a Chancellor, a Treaſurer, an Attourney and Sollicitor, and ten Auditors, ſeventeen Receivers, a Clerk, an Uſher, and a Meſſenger. This Court was to bring in the Revenues of ſuch Houſes as were now diſſolved, excepting only ſuch as the King by his Letters-Patents, continued in their former ſtate, appointing a Seal for the Court, with full Power and Authority to diſpoſe of theſe Lands ſo as might be moſt for the Kings Service.

Thus fell the leſſer Abbeys, to the number of 376, and ſoon after, this Parliament, which had done the King ſuch eminent Service, and had now ſate ſix years, was diſſolved, on the 14th of *April*.

The Tranſlation of the Bible in *Engliſh* deſigned.

In the Convocation, a motion was made of great conſequence; That there ſhould be a Tranſlation of the Bible in *Engliſh*, to be ſet up in all the Churches of *England*. The Clergy, when they procured *Tindalls* Tranſlation to be condemned, and ſuppreſſed it, gave out that they intended to make a Tranſlation into the Vulgar-Tongue: Yet it was afterwards, upon a long Conſultation, Reſolved, that it was free for the Church to give the Bible in a Vulgar-Tongue, or not, as they pleaſed; and that the King was not obliged to it, and that at that time it was not at all expedient to do it. Upon which, thoſe that promoted the Reformation, made great complaints, and ſaid, it was viſible, the Clergy knew there was an oppoſition between the Scriptures and their Doctrine. That they had firſt condemned *Wickliffs* Tranſlation, and then *Tindalls*; and though they ought to teach men the Word of God, yet they did all they could to ſuppreſs it.

The reaſons for it.

In the times of the Old Teſtament, the Scriptures were writ in the Vulgar-Tongue, and all were charged to read and remember the Law. The Apoſtles wrote in Greek, which was then the moſt common Language in the World. Chriſt did alſo appeal to the Scriptures, and ſent the people to them. And by what St. *Paul* ſays of *Timothy*, it appears, that children were then early trained up in that ſtudy. In the Primitive Church, as Nations were converted to the Faith, the Bible was Tranſlated into their Tongue. The Latine Tranſlation was very Ancient; the Bible was afterwards put into the *Scythian*, *Dalmatian* and *Gothick* Tongues. It continued thus for ſeveral Ages, till the ſtate of Monkery roſe; And then, when they engroſſed the riches, and the Popes aſſumed the Dominion of the World, it was not conſiſtent with theſe Deſigns, nor with the Arts uſed to promote them, to let the Scriptures be much known: Therefore Legends and ſtrange ſtories of Viſi-

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ons, with other devices, were thought more proper for keeping up their Credit, and carrying on their Ends. 1536.

It was now generally desired, that if there were just exceptions against what *Tindal* had done, these might be amended in a New Translation. This was a plausible thing, and wrought much on all that heard it; who plainly concluded, that those who denyed the people the use of the Scriptures in their vulgar tongues, must needs know their own Doctrine and practices to be inconsistent with it. Upon these grounds *Cranmer*, who was projecting the most effectual means for promoting a Reformation of Doctrine, moved in Convocation, that they should Petition the King for leave to make a Translation of the Bible. But *Gardiner* and all his party opposed it, both in Convocation, and in secret with the King. It was said, that all the Heresies and extravagant Opinions, which were then in *Germany*, and from thence coming over to *England*, sprang from the free use of the Scriptures. And whereas in *May* the last year, Nineteen *Hollanders* were accused of some Heretical Opinions; 'denying 'Christ to be both God and man, or that he took Flesh and Blood 'of the Virgin *Mary*, or that the Sacraments had any effect on those that received them; in which opinions Fourteen of them remained Obstinate, and were burnt by pairs in several places; it was complained, that all those drew their Damnable errors from the indiscreet use of the Scriptures. And to offer the Bible in the *English* tongue to the whole Nation, during these distractions, would prove, as they pretended, the greatest Snare that could be. Therefore they proposed, that there should be a short exposition of the most useful and necessary Doctrines of the Christian Faith, given to the people in the *English* tongue, for the Instruction of the Nation, which would keep them in a certain Subjection to the King and the Church, in Matters of Faith.

The Opposition made to it.

The other party, though they liked well the publishing such a Treatise in the vulgar tongue, yet by no means thought that sufficient; but said, the people must be allowed to search the Scripture, by which they might be convinced that such Treatises were according to it. These Arguments prevailed with the Two Houses of Convocation. So they petitioned the King, that he would give order to some, to set about it. To this, great Opposition was made at Court. Some, on the one hand, told the King, that a diversity of opinions would arise out of it; and that he could no more Govern his Subjects, if he gave way to that. But on the other hand, it was represented, that nothing would make his Supremacy so acceptable to the Nation, and make the Pope more hateful, than to let them see, that whereas the Popes had Governed them by a blind obedience, and kept them in darkness, the King brought them into the light, and gave them the free use of the word of God. And nothing would more effectually extirpate the Popes Authority, and discover the Impostures of the Monks, than the Bible in *English*; in which all people would clearly discern, there was no Foundation for those things. These Arguments, joyned with the Power that the Queen had in his affections, were so much considered by the King, that he gave order for setting about it immediately. To whom that work was commit-

1536. ted, or how they proceeded in it, I know not. For the Account of these things has not been preserved, nor conveighed to us, with that care that the Importance of the thing required. Yet it appears that the work was carryed on at a good rate: for Three years after this, it was Printed at *Paris*; which shows they made all convenient hast, in a thing that required so much deliberation.

The fall of Queen *Anne*.

But this was the last publick good Act of this unfortunate Queen; who, the nearer she drew to her end, grew more full of good works. She had distributed, in the last Nine Moneths of her Life, between Fourteen and Fifteen Thousand Pounds to the poor, and was designing great and publick good things. And by all appearance, if she had lived, the Money that was raised by the Suppression of Religious Houses, had been better employed than it was. In *January*, she brought forth a dead Son. This was thought to have made ill Impressions on the King: and that, as he concluded from the death of his Sons by the former Queen, that the Marriage was displeasing to God; so he might upon this misfortune, begin to make the like Judgment of this Marriage. Sure enough the Popish party were earnestly set against the Queen, looking on her as the great supporter of Heresie. And at that time, *Fox* then Bishop of *Hereford* was in *Germany* at *Smalcald*, treating a League with the Protestant Princes, who insisted much on the *Ausburg* Confession. There were many Conferences between *Fox* and Doctor *Barnes*, and some others, with the *Lutheran* Divines, for accommodating the differences between them, and the thing was in a good forwardness. All which was imputed to the Queen. *Gardiner* was then Ambassador in *France*, and wrote earnestly to the King, to disswade him from entring into any Religious League with these Princes: for that would alienate all the World from him, and dispose his own Subjects to Rebel. The King thought the *German*-Princes and Divines should have submitted all things to his Judgment, and had such an Opinion of his own Learning, and was so puft up with the flattering praises that he daily heard, that he grew impatient of any opposition, and thought that his Dictates should pass for Oracles. And because the *Germans* would not receive them so, his mind was alienated from them.

The whole Popish party drove it on.

But the Duke of *Norfolk* at Court, and *Gardiner* beyond Sea, thought there might easily be found a mean to accommodate the King, both with the Emperor and the Pope, if the Queen were once out of the way; for then he might freely Marry any one whom he pleased, and that Marriage, with the Male Issue of it, could not be disputed: Whereas, as long as the Queen lived, her Marriage, as being judged Null from the beginning, could never be allowed by the Court of *Rome*, or any of that Party: with these reasons of State, others of affection concurred. The Queen had been his Wife Three years; but at this time he entertained a secret Love for *Jane Seimour*, who had all the charmes both of Beauty and Youth in her person; and her humor was tempered, between the severe gravity of Queen *Katharine*, and the gay pleasantness of Queen *Anne*. The Queen perceiving this Alienation of the Kings heart, used all possible Arts to recover that affection, of whose decay she was sadly sensible. But the Success was quite contrary to what she designed. For the

King saw her no more with those eyes, which she had formerly captivated; but grew jealous, and ascribed these caresses to some other criminal affections, of which he began to suspect her. This being one of the most memorable passages of this Reign, I was at more than ordinary pains to learn all I could concerning it, and have not only seen a great many Letters that were writ, by those that were set about the Queen, and catcht every thing that fell from her, and sent it to Court, but have also seen an account of it, which the Learned *Spelman*, who was a Judge at that time, writ with his own hand in his Common-place Book, and another account of it writ by one *Anthony Anthony* a Surveyor of the Ordnance of the *Tower*. From all which I shall give a just and faithful relation of it, without concealing the least circumstance, that may either seem favourable or unfavourable to her. 1535.

The Kings jealousie of her.

She was of a very cheerful temper, which was not always limited within the bounds of exact decency and discretion. She had rallied some of the Kings Servants, more than became her. Her Brother, the Lord *Rochford*, was her Friend as well as Brother; but his spiteful Wife was jealous of him: and being a Woman of no sort of Vertue, (as will appear afterwards by her serving Queen *Katharine Howard* in her beastly practices, for which she was attainted and executed,) she carryed many Stories to the King, or some about him, to perswade, that there was a familiarity between the Queen and her Brother, beyond what so near a Relation could justifie. All that could be said for it, was only this; that he was once seen leaning upon her Bed, which bred great suspition. *Henry Norris*, that was Groom of the Stole, *Weston*, and *Brereton*, that were of the Kings Privy-Chamber, and one *Mark Smeton*, a Musician, were all observed to have much of her favour. And their zeal in serving her, was thought too warm and diligent to flow from a less active Principle than Love. Many circumstances were brought to the King, which working upon his aversion to the Queen, together with his affection to Mistress *Seimour*, made him conclude her guilty. Yet somewhat which himself observed, or fancied, at a Tilting at *Greenwich*, is believed to have given the Crisis to her Ruin. It is said, that he spied her let her Handkerchief fall to one of her Gallants to wipe his face, being hot after a Course. Whether she dropt it carelesly, or of design; or whether there be any truth in that story, the Letters concerning her fall, making no mention of it, I cannot determine; for *Spelman* makes no mention of it, and gives a very different account of the discovery in these words. *As for the evidence of this matter, it was discovered by the Lady* Wingfield, *who had been a Servant to the Queen, and becoming on a sudden infirm sometime before her death, did swear this matter to one of her* ····· and here unluckily the rest of the Page is torn off. By this it seems, there was no legal evidence against the Queen, and that it was but a Witness at second hand, who deposed what they heard the Lady *Wingfield* swear. Who this person was we know not, nor in what temper of mind the Lady *Wingfield* might be, when she swore it. The safest sort of forgery, to one whose Conscience can swallow it, is to lay a thing on a dead persons name, where there is no fear of discovery before the great day: and

1535. when it was understood that the Queen had lost the Kings heart, many, either out of their zeal to Popery, or design to make their fortune, might be easily induced to carry a story of this Nature. And this it seems was that which was brought to the King at *Greenwich*, who did thereupon immediately return to *Whitehall*, it being the 1st of *May*. The Queen was immediately restrained to her Chamber, the other Five were also seized on: But none of them would confess any thing, but *Mark Smeton, as to any actual thing*, so *Cromwell* writ. Upon this they were carryed to the *Tower*. The poor Queen was in a sad condition; she must not only fall under the Kings displeasure, but be both defam'd and destroyed at once. At first she smiled and carryed it cheerfully; and said, she believed the King did this only to prove her. But when she saw it was in earnest; she desired to have the Sacrament in her Closet, and expressed great devotion, and seemed to be prepared for death.

The Letters about this *Cott. Lib. Otho* C. 10.

The surprize and confusion she was in, raised fits of the Mother, which those about her did not seem to understand: But Three or Four Letters, which were writ concerning her to Court, say, that she was at some times very devout, and cryed much; and of a sudden would burst out in Laughter, which are evident signs of Vapours. When she heard that those who were accused with her, were sent to the *Tower*, she then concluded her self lost; and said, she should be sent thither next; and talked idlely, saying, 'That if her Bishops "were about the King, they would all speak for her. She also said, "That she would be a Saint in Heaven, for she had done many good "deeds; and that there should be no Rain, but heavy judgments on "the Land, for what they were now doing to her. Her Enemies had now gone too far, not to destroy her. Next day she was carryed to the *Tower*, and some Lords, that met her on the River, declared to her what her Offences were. Upon which, she made deep Protestations of her Innocence, and begged leave to see the King; but that was not to be expected. When she was carryed into the *Tower*, "She fell down on her knees, and prayed God to help her, as "she was not guilty of the thing for which she was accused. That same day the King wrote to *Cranmer*, to come to *Lambeth*; but ordered him not to come into his presence. Which was procured by the Queens Enemies, who took care, that one who had such credit with the King, should not come at him, till they had fully perswad-'ed him that she was guilty. Her Uncles Lady, the Lady *Boleyn*, was appointed to lye in the Chamber with her. Which she took very ill; for, upon what reason I know not, she had been in very ill terms with her. She engaged her into much discourse, and studied to draw Confessions from her. Whatsoever she said, was presently sent to the Court. And a Woman full of Vapours, was like enough to tell every thing that was true, with a great deal more; for persons in that condition, not only have no command of themselves, but are apt to say any thing that comes in their fancy.

She is put in the *Tower*, and pleads her Innocency.

The Duke of *Norfolk*, and some of the Kings Council, were with her; but could draw nothing from her, though they made her believe, that *Norris* and *Mark* had accused her. But when they were gone, she fell down on her knees and wept, and prayed often, *Jesu*

have Mercy on me; and then fell a-laughing: when that fit was over, ſhe deſired to have the Sacrament ſtill by her, that ſhe might cry for Mercy. And ſhe ſaid to the Lieutenant of the Tower, ſhe was as clear of the company of all men, as to ſin, as ſhe was clear from him; and that ſhe was the Kings true wedded Wife. And ſhe cryed out, "O *Norris*, haſt thou accuſed me? thou art in the *Tower* "with me, and thou and I ſhall dye together; and *Mark*, ſo ſhall "thou too. She apprehended they were to put her in a Dungeon; and ſadly bemoaned her own, and her Mothers miſery; and asked them, whether ſhe muſt dye without Juſtice. But they told her, the pooreſt Subjects had Juſtice, much more would ſhe have it. The ſame Letter ſayes, that *Norris* had not accuſed her; and that he ſaid to her Almoner, that he could ſwear for her, *ſhe was a good Woman*. But ſhe being made believe that he had accuſed her, and not being then ſo free in her thoughts, as to conſider that ordinary Artifice for drawing out Confeſſions, told all ſhe knew, both of him and *Mark*. Which though it was not enough to deſtroy her, yet certainly wrought much on the jealous and alienated King. She told them, "that ſhe once asked *Norris*, why he did not go on with his "Marriage? who anſwered her, that he would yet tarry ſome time. "To which ſhe replyed, you look for dead mens ſhoes; for if ought "come to the King but good, you would look to have me. He an-"ſwered, if he had any ſuch thought, he would his head were cut "off. Upon which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe could undoe him if ſhe pleaſed, "and thereupon ſhe fell out with him. As for *Mark*, who was then laid in Irons, ſhe ſaid, he was never in her Chamber, but when the King was laſt at *Wincheſter*; and then he came in to play on the "Virginals: ſhe ſaid, that ſhe never ſpoke to him after that, but on Sa-"turday before *May* day, when ſhe ſaw him ſtanding in the Window, "and then ſhe asked him, why he was ſo ſad; he ſaid, it was no "matter: ſhe anſwered, you may not look to have me ſpeak to you, "as if you were a Nobleman, ſince you are an inferior perſon. No, "no, Madam, ſaid he, a Look ſufficeth me. She ſeemed more ap-"prehenſive of *Weſton*, than of any body. For on *Whitſun-Munday* "laſt he ſaid to her, that *Norris* came more to her Chamber upon her "account, than for any body elſe that was there. She had obſerved, "that he loved a Kinſwoman of hers, and challenged him for it, and "for not loving his Wife. But he anſwered her, that there were Wo-"men in the Houſe, whom he loved better than them both; ſhe ask-"ed who is that; your ſelf ſaid he; upon which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe de-"fied him.

1535.

But confeſſed ſome indiſcreet words.

This Miſery of the Queens, drew after it the common effects that follow perſons under ſuch a diſgrace, for now all the Court was againſt her, and every one was courting the riſing Queen. But *Cranmer* had not learned theſe Arts, and had a better Soul in him, than to be capable of ſuch baſeneſs and ingratitude. He had been much obliged by her, and had conceived an high opinion of her, and ſo could not eaſily receive ill impreſſions of her; yet he knew the Kings temper, and that a down-right Juſtification of her would provoke him: therefore he wrote the following Letter, on the 3d of *May*, with all the ſoftneſs that ſo tender a point required; in which he juſti-

fied

1536. fied her, as far as was consistent with Prudence and Charity. The Letter showes of what a Constitution he was that wrote it; and contains so many things that tend highly to her honour, that I shall insert it here, as I copied it from the Original.

Cranmers Letter to the King about her.
Cott. Lib.

"*Pleaseth it your most Noble Grace*, to be advertised, that at your "Graces Commandment by Mr. Secretary his Letters, written in "your Graces name, I came to *Lambeth* yesterday, and do there re-"main to know your Graces further pleasure. And forsomuch as "without your Graces Commandment, I dare not, contrary to the "Contents of the said Letters, presume to come unto your Graces "Presence; neverthelesś of my most bounden duty, I can do no less "than most humbly to desire your Grace, by your great Wisdom, "and by the Assistance of Gods help, somewhat to suppress the deep "sorrows of your Graces heart, and to take all Adversities of Gods "hands both patiently and thankfully. I cannot deny, but your "Grace hath great causes many ways of lamentable heaviness: and "also that in the wrongful estimation of the World, your Graces "honour of every part is so highly touched (whether the things that "commonly be spoken of, be true or not,) that I remember not that "ever Almighty God sent unto your Grace, any like occasion to try "your Graces constancy throughout, whether your Highness can be "content to take off Gods hand, as well things displeasant, as plea-"sant. And if he find in your most Noble heart such an Obedi-"ence unto his Will, that your Grace, without murmuration and o-"vermuch heaviness, do accept all adversities, not less thanking him, "than when all things succeed after your Graces Will and Pleasure, "nor less procuring his Glory and Honour; then I suppose your "Grace did never thing more acceptable unto him, since your first "Governance of this your Realm. And moreover, your Grace shall "give unto him occasion to multiply and encrease his Graces and "benefits unto your Highness, as he did unto his most faithful Ser-"vant *Job*; unto whom, after his great Calamities and heaviness, "for his obedient heart, and willing acceptation of Gods scourge and "rod, *Addidit ei Dominus cuncta duplicia.* And if it be true, that is "openly reported of the Queens Grace, if men had a right estimati-"on of things, they should not esteem any part of your Graces Ho-"nour to be touched thereby, but her Honour only to be clearly "disparaged. And I am in such a perplexity, that my mind is clean "amazed. For I never had better opinion in Woman, than I had "in her; which maketh me to think, that she should not be culpa-"ble. And again, I think your Highness would not have gon so far, "except she had surely been culpable. Now I think that your Grace "best knoweth, that next unto your Grace, I was most bound unto "her of all creatures living. Wherefore I most humbly beseech "your Grace, to suffer me in that, which both Gods Law, Nature, "and also her kindness, bindeth me unto; that is, that I may with "your Graces favour wish and pray for her, that she may declare "her self inculpable and innocent. And if she be found culpable, "considering your Graces goodness towards her, and from what con-"dition your Grace of your only meer goodness took her, and set the

"the Crown upon her head; I repute him not your Graces faith- 1536.
"ful Servant and Subject, nor true unto the Realm, that would not
"desire the offence without mercy to be punished, to the example
"of all other. And as I loved her not a little, for the Love which
"I judged her to bear towards God and his Gospel; so if she be prov-
"ed culpable, there is not one that loveth God and his Gospel,
"that ever will favour her, but must hate her above all other; and
"the more they favour the Gospel, the more they will hate her:
"For then there was never creature in our time that so much slan-
"dered the Gospel. And God hath sent her this punishment, for
"that she feignedly hath professed his Gospel in her mouth, and
"not in heart and deed. And though she have offended so, that
"she hath deserved never to be reconciled unto your Graces favour;
"yet Almighty God hath manifoldly declared his goodness towards
"your Grace, and never offended you. But your Grace, I am sure,
"knowledgeth that you haue offended him. Wherefore I trust that
"your Grace will bear no less entire favour unto the truth of the
"Gospel, than you did before: Forsomuch as your Graces favour to
"the Gospel, was not led by affection unto her, but by zeal unto the
"truth. And thus I beseech Almighty God, whose Gospel he hath
"ordained your Grace to be Defender of, ever to preserve your Grace
"from all evil, and give you at the end, the promise of his Gospel.
"From *Lambeth*, the 3d day of *May*.

"After I had written this Letter unto your Grace, my Lord *Chan-*
"*cellor*, my Lord of *Oxford*, my Lord of *Sussex*, and my Lord *Cham-*
"*berlain* of your Graces House, sent for me to come unto the Star-
"Chamber; and there declared unto me such things as your Graces
"pleasure was they should make me privie unto. For the which I
"am most bounden unto your Grace. And what Communication
"we had together, I doubt not but they will make the true report
"thereof unto your Grace. I am exceedingly sorry, that such faults
"can be proved by the Queen, as I heard of their relation. But I
"am, and ever shall be, Your faithful Subject,

Your Graces most
humble Subject,
and Chaplain.

T. Cantuariensis.

But Jealousie, and the Kings new affection, had quite defaced all the remainders of esteem for his late beloved Queen. Yet the Ministers continued practising, to get further evidence for the Tryal; which was not brought on, till the 12th of *May*; and then *Norris*, *Weston*, *Brereton*, and *Smeton*, were tryed by a Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer* in *Westminster*-Hall. They were twice indicted, and the indictments were found by two Grand Juries, in the Counties of *Kent* and *Middlesex*: The Crimes with which they were charged, being said

She is brought to a Tryal.

1536. said to be done in both these Counties. *Mark Smeton* confessed, he had known the Queen Carnally Three times: The other Three pleaded *not Guilty*, but the Jury upon the evidence formerly mentioned, found them all *Guilty*; and Judgment was given, that they should be drawn to the place of Execution, and some of them to be hanged, others to be beheaded, and all to be quartered, as Guilty of high Treason. On the 15th of *May*, the Queen and her Brother the Lord *Rochford* (who was a Peer, having been made a Viscount when his Father was Created Earl of *Wiltshire*) were brought to be Tryed by their Peers: The Duke of *Norfolk* being Lord high Steward for that occasion. With him sate the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquess of *Exeter*, the Earl of *Arundel*, and Twenty Five more Peers, of whom their Father the Earl of *Wiltshire* was one. Whether this unnatural complyance was imposed on him by the Imperious King, or officiously submitted to by himself, that he might thereby be preserved from the Ruin that fell on his Family, is not known. Here the Queen of *England* by an unheard-of president was brought to the Bar, and Indicted of high Treason. The Crimes charged on her were, *that she had procured her Brother and the other Four to lye with her, which they had done often; that she had said to them, that the King never had her heart, and had said to every one of them by themselves, that she loved them better than any person whatsoever. Which was to the slander of the issue that was begotten between the King and her.* And this was Treason, according to the Statute made in the 26th year of this Reign (so that the Law that was made for her and the issue of her Marriage, is now made use of to destroy her). It was also added in the Indictment, that she, and her complices, *had conspired the Kings death*; but this it seems was only put in to swell the charge, for if there had been any evidence for it, there was no need of stretching the other Statute, or if they could have proved the violating of the Queen, the known Statute of the Twenty Fifth year of the Reign of *Edward* the Third had been sufficient. When the Indictment was read, she held up her hand, and Pleaded *not Guilty*, and so did her Brother, and did answer the evidence was brought against her discreetly. One thing is remarkable that *Mark Smeton*, who was the only person that confessed any thing, was never confronted with the Queen, nor was kept to be an evidence against her, for he had received his Sentence Three dayes before, and so could be no witness in Law: but perhaps, though he was wrought on to confess, yet they did not think he had confidence enough to aver it to the Queens face; therefore the evidence they brought, as *Spelman* says, was the Oath of a Woman that was dead, yet this, or rather the Terror of offending the King, so wrought on the Lords, that they found her and her Brother *Guilty*: and Judgment was given, that she should be *Burnt*, or *Beheaded at the Kings pleasure*. Upon which *Spelman* observes, that whereas Burning is the death which the Law appoints for a Woman that is attainted of Treason, yet since she had been Queen of *England*, they left it to the King to determine, whether she should dye so infamous a death, or be Beheaded; but the Judges complained of this way of proceeding, and said, such a disjunctive in a Judgment of Treason, had never been seen. The Lord *Rochford* was also Condemned

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ed to be Beheaded and Quartered. Yet all this did not satisfie the enraged King, but the Marriage between him and her must be annulled, and the issue illegitimated. The King remembred an Intrigue that had been between her and the Earl of *Northumberland*, which was mentioned in the former Book; and that the then Lord *Piercy* had said to the Cardinal, 'That he had gone so far before witnesses, "that it lay upon his Conscience, so that he could not go back: this it's like might be some promise he made to Marry her, *per verba de futuro*, which though it was no Precontract in it self, yet it seems the poor Queen was either so ignorant or so ill-advised, as to be perswaded afterwards it was one, though it's certain that nothing, but a Contract *per verba de præsenti*, could be of any force to annul the subsequent Marriage. The King and his Council, reflecting upon what it seems the Cardinal had told him, resolved to try what could be made of it, and pressed the Earl of *Northumberland* to confess a Contract between him and her. But he took his Oath before the Two Arch-Bishops, that there was no Contract, nor promise of Marriage ever between them, and received the Sacrament upon it, before the Duke of *Norfolk*, and others of the Kings Privy Council; wishing it might be to his Damnation, if there was any such thing, (concerning which I have seen the Original Declaration under his own hand.) Nor could they draw any Confession from the Queen, before the Sentence, for certainly if they could have done that, the Divorce had gone before the Tryal; and then she must have been tryed only, as *Marchioness* of *Pembroke*. But now she lying under so terrible a Sentence, it is most probable, that either some hopes of Life were given her; or at least, she was wrought on by the Assurances of mitigating that cruel part of her judgment, of being *Burnt*, into the milder part of the Sentence, of *Having her head cut off*; so that she confessed a Pre-contract, and on the 17th of *May* was brought to *Lambeth*; and in Court, the afflicted Arch-Bishop sitting Judge, some persons of Quality being present, she confessed some just and lawful impediments; by which it was evident, that her Marriage with the King was not valid. Upon which Confession, the Marriage between the King and her was judged to have been null and void. The Record of the Sentence is burnt; but these particulars are repeated in the Act that passed in the next Parliament, touching the Succession to the Crown. It seems this was secretly done, for *Spelman* writes of it thus; It was said, there was a Divorce made between the King and her, upon her confessing a Precontract with another before her Marriage with the King: so then it was then only talkt of, but not generally known.

1536.

Upon an extorted Confession is divorced.

The two Sentences that were past upon the Queen, the one of Attaindor for Adultery, the other of Divorce because of a Precontract, did so contradict one another, that it was apparent, one, if not both of them must be unjust; for if the Marriage between the King and her was null from the beginning, then since she was not the Kings wedded Wife, there could be no Adultery: and her Marriage to the King was either a true Marriage, or not; if it was true, then the annulling of it was unjust, and if it was no true Marriage, then the Attainder was unjust; for there could be no breach of that Faith which was ne-

1536. ver given: So that it is plain, the King was resolved to be rid of her, and to Illegitimate her Daughter, and in that transport of his fury, did not consider that the very method he took, discovered the unjustice of his proceedings against her. Two days after this, she was ordered to be Executed in the Green on *Tower-Hill.* How she received these tidings, and how stedfast she continued in the protestations of her Innocence, will best appear by the following circumstances. The day before she suffered, upon a strict search of her past Life, she called to mind, that she had played the Step-Mother too severely to Lady *Mary*, and had done her many injuries. Upon which, she made the Lieutenant of the *Tower's* Lady sit down in the Chair of State; which the other, after some Ceremony, doing, she fell down on her knees, and with many tears charged the Lady, as she would answer it to God, to go in her name, and do, as she had done, to the Lady *Mary*, and ask her forgiveness for the wrongs she had done her. And she said, she had no quiet in her Conscience, till she had done that. But though she did in this what became a Christian, the Lady *Mary* could not so easily pardon these injuries; but retained the resentments of them her whole life.

Her Preparation for Death.

This ingenuity and tenderness of Conscience about lesser matters, is a great presumption, that if she had been guilty of more eminent faults, she had not continued to the last denying them, and making protestations of her Innocency. For that same night she sent her last message to the King, and acknowledged her self much obliged to him, that had continued still to advance her. She said, he had, from a private Gentlewoman, first made her a Marchioness, and then a Queen; and now, since he could raise her no higher, was sending her to be a Saint in Heaven: She protested her Innocence, and recommended her Daughter to his care. And her carriage that day she died, will appear from the following Letter writ by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, copied from the Original, which I insert, because the Copier imployed by the Lord *Herbert* has not writ it out faithfully; for I cannot think that any part of it was left out on design.

The Lieutenant of the *Towers* Letter.

"Sir, These shall be to advertise you, I have received your Letter, "wherein you would have strangers conveyed out of the *Tower*, and "so they be by the means of *Richard Gressum*, and *William Cooke*, and "*Wytspoll.* But the number of strangers past not thirty, and not ma-"ny of those; and the Ambassador of the Emperor had a Servant there, "and honestly put out: Sir, If we have not an hour certain, as it may "be known in *London*, I think here will be but few, and I think a rea-"sonable number were best, for I suppose she will declare her self to "be a good woman, for all men but for the King, at the hour of her "death. For this morning she sent for me, that I might be with her "at such time as she received the Good Lord, to the intent I should "hear her speak as touching her Innocency alway to be clear. And in "the writing of this, she sent for me, and at my coming she said: "Mr. *Kingston*, I hear say I shall not die aforenoon, and I am very sor-"ry therefore, for I thought to be dead by this time, and past my pain. "I told her, it should be no pain, it was so sottel. And then she said, "I heard say the Executioner was very good, and I have a little Neck,

pag. 205



Nata An.° 1507 Nupsit An.° 1532 Nov. 14.
Eliz. Filiam peperit An.° 1533 Sept. 7
Capite plexa An.° 1536 May 19.

Printed for Rich: Chiswell at ye Rose and Crown in St. Pauls Church yard.

"and put her hands about it, laughing heartily. I have seen many 1536.
"men, and also women, Executed; and that they have been in great
"sorrow, and to my knowledge this Lady has much joy and pleasure
"in death. Sir, her Almoner is continually with her, and had been
"since two a Clock after midnight. This is the effect of any thing
"that is here at this time, and thus Fare you well,

Yours

William Kingston.

A little before Noon, being the 19th of *May*, she was brought to the Scaffold, where she made a short Speech to a great company that came to look on the last Scene of this fatal Tragedy: The chief of whom, were the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Richmond*, the Lord Chancellor, and Secretary *Cromwell*, with the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs and Aldermen of *London*. "She said, She was come to die, as she was Judged by the Law; she would accuse none, nor say any thing of the ground upon which she was judged. She prayed heartily for the King; and called him a most merciful and gentle Prince, and that he had been always to her, a good, gentle, Soveraign Lord: and if any would meddle with her cause, she required them to judge the best. And so she took her leave of them, and of the world; and heartily desired they would pray for her. After she had been some time in her Devotions, being her last words, *To Christ I commend my Soul*; her Head was cut off by the Hangman of *Calais*, who was brought over as more expert at Beheading than any in *England*: her Eyes and Lips were observed to move after her Head was cut off, as *Spelman* writes; but her Body was thrown into a common Chest of Elme-tree that was made to put Arrows in, and was buried in the Chappel within the *Tower* before twelve a Clock.

Her Execution.

Her Brother with the other four did also suffer; none of them were Quartered, but they were all Beheaded, except *Smeton*, who was Hanged. It was generally said, that he was corrupted into that Confession, and had his Life promised him; but it was not fit to let him live to tell Tales. *Norris* had been much in the Kings favour, and an offer was made him of his life, if he would confess his guilt, and accuse the Queen. But he generously rejected that un-handsome proposition, and said, "That in his Conscience he thought her Innocent of these things laid to her charge; but whether she was or not, he would not accuse her of any thing, and he would die a thousand times, rather than ruin an Innocent Person.

These proceedings occasioned as great variety of Censures, as there were diversity of Interests. The Popish Party said, the justice of God was visible, that she who had supplanted Queen *Katharine*, met with the like, and harder measure, by the same means. Some took notice of her faint justifying her self on the Scaffold, as if her Conscience had then prevailed so far, that she could no longer deny a thing, for which she was so soon to answer at another Tribunal. But others thought her care of her Daughter made her speak so tenderly; for

The several Censures that were then passed on those proceedings.

1536. she had observed, that Queen *Katharines* obstinacy had drawn the Kings indignation on her Daughter; and therefore that she alone might bear her misfortunes, and derive no share of them on her Daughter, she spake in a stile, that could give the King no just offence: And as she said enough to justifie her self, so she said as much for the Kings honour, as could be expected. Yet in a Letter that she wrote to the King from the *Tower*, (which will be found in the Collection,) she pleaded her Innocence, in a strain of so much Wit, and moving passionate Eloquence, as perhaps can scarce be paralelled: certainly her spirits were much exalted when she wrote it, for it is a pitch above her ordinary stile. Yet the Copy I take it from, lying among *Cromwells* other papers, makes me believe it was truely written by her.

Collect. *Numb.* 4*th.*

Her carriage seemed too free, and all people thought that some freedoms and levities in her had encouraged those unfortunate persons to speak such bold things to her, since few attempt upon the Chastity, or make declarations of Love, to persons of so exalted a quality, except they see some invitations, at least in their carriage. Others thought that a free and jovial temper might, with great Innocence, though with no discretion, lead one to all those things that were proved against her; and therefore they concluded her chast, though indiscreet. Others blamed the King, and taxed his cruelty in proceeding so severely against a person whose Chastity he had reason to be assured of, since she had resisted his addresses near five years, till he Legitimated them by Marriage. But others excused him. It is certain her carriage had given just cause of some jealousie, and that being the rage of a man, it was no wonder if a King of his temper, conceiving it against one whom he had so signally obliged, was transported into unjustifiable excesses.

Others condemned *Cranmer*, as a man that obsequiously followed all the Kings appetites; and that he had now Divorced the King a second time, which shewed that his Conscience was governed by the Kings pleasure as his Supreme Law. But what he did was unavoidable. For whatever motives drew from her the Confession of that Precontract, he was obliged to give Sentence upon it: And that which she confessed, being such as made her incapable to contract Marriage with the King, he could not decline the giving of Sentence upon so formal a Confession. Some loaded all that favoured the Reformation: and said, It now appeared what a woman, their great Patroness and Supporter had been. But to those it was answered, That her faults, if true, being secret, could cast no reflection on those, who being ignorant of them, made use of her Protection. And the Church of *Rome* thought not their Cause suffered, by the enraged Cruelty and Ambition, of the cursed *Irene*, who had convened the second Council of *Nice*, and set up the worship of Images again in the East; whom the Popes continued to court and magnifie, after her barbarous murder of her Son, with other acts of unsatiated spite and ambition. Therefore they had no reason to think the worse of persons for claiming the Protection of a Queen, whose faults (if she was at all criminal;) were unknown to them when they made use of her.

Some have since that time concluded it a great evidence of her Guilt, that during her Daughters long and glorious Reign, there was no full nor compleat vindication of her published. For the Writers of

that time thought it enough to ſpeak honourably of her; and in general, to call her, *Innocent*. But none of them ever attempted a clear diſcuſſion of the particulars laid to her charge. This had been much to her Daughters honour, and therefore, ſince it was not done, others concluded it could not be done; and that their knowledge of her guilt reſtrained their Pens. But others do not at all allow of that Inference, and think rather,that it was the great wiſdom of that time not to ſuffer ſuch things to be called in queſtion; ſince no wiſe Government will admit of a debate about the clearneſs of the Princes Title. For the very attempting to prove it weakens it more, than any of the proofs that are brought can confirm it; therefore it was prudently done of that Queen and her great Miniſters, never to ſuffer any Vindication or Apology to be written. Some indiſcretions could not be denied, and theſe would all have been catched hold of, and improved by the buſie Emiſſaries of *Rome* and *Spain*. 1536.

But nothing did more evidently diſcover the ſecret cauſe of this Queens ruin, than the Kings Marrying *Jane Seimour*; the day after her Execution. She of all King *Henries* Wives, gained moſt on his eſteem and affection: But ſhe was happy in one thing, that ſhe did not out-live his love; otherwiſe ſhe might have fallen as ſignally as her Predeceſſor had done. Upon this turn of Affairs a great change of Counſels followed.

The Lady *Mary* endeavours a reconciliation with her Father.

There was nothing now, that kept the Emperor and the King at a diſtance, but the Illegitimation of the Lady *Mary*, and if that matter had been adjuſted, the King was in no more hazard of trouble from him: Therefore it was propoſed, that ſhe might be again reſtored to the Kings favour. She found this was the beſt opportunity ſhe could ever look for, and therefore laid hold on it, and wrote an humble ſubmiſſion to the King, and deſired again to be admitted to his preſence. But her Submiſſions had ſome reſerves in them, therefore ſhe was preſſed to be more expreſs in her acknowledgments. At this ſhe ſtuck long, and had almoſt embroyled her ſelf again with her Father. She freely offered to ſubmit to the Laws of the Land about the Succeſſion, and confeſſed the fault of her former Obſtinacy. But the King would have her acknowledge, that his Marriage to her Mother, was inceſtuous and unlawful; and to renounce the Popes Authority, and to accept him, as Supream Head of the Church of *England*. Theſe things were of hard digeſtion with her, and ſhe could not eaſily ſwallow them; ſo ſhe wrote to *Cromwell*, to befriend her at the Kings hands. Upon which many Letters paſſed between them. He wrote to her, that it was impoſſible to recover her Fathers favour, without a full and clear Submiſſion in all points. So in the end ſhe yielded, and ſent the following Paper, all written with her own hand, which is ſet down, as it was Copied from the Original yet extant.

Her ſubmiſſion under her own hand. *Cott.* Lib. *Otho.* C. 10.

"The Confeſſion of me the Lady *Mary*, made upon certain points "and Articles under written; in the which, as I do now plainly, "and with all mine heart, confeſs and declare mine inward Sentence, "Belief, and Judgment, with a due conformity of Obedience to the "Laws of the Realm; ſo minding for ever to perſiſt and continue in

"this

1536. "this determination, without change, alteration, or variance, I do "most humbly beseech the Kings Highness my Father, whom I have "obstinately and inobediently offended in the denial of the same here-"tofore, to forgive mine offences therein, and to take me to his most "gracious Mercy.

"First, I confess and knowledg the Kings Majesty, to be my So-"veraign Lord and King in the Imperial Crown of this Realm of "*England*; and do submit my self to his Highness, and to all and "singular Laws and Statutes of this Realm, as becometh a true and "faithful Subject to do; which I shall also obey, keep, observe, ad-"vance, and maintain, according to my bounden duty, with all the "power, force, and qualities, that God hath endued me with, du-"ring my Life.

"*Item*, I do recognize, accept, take, repute, and knowledg, the "Kings Highness to be *Supream Head in Earth under Christ of the Church* "*of England*; and do utterly refuse the Bishop of *Romes* pretended "Authority, Power, and Jurisdiction within this Realm heretofore "usurped, according to the Laws and Statutes made in that behalf, "and of all the Kings true Subjects humbly received, admitted, obey-"ed, kept, and observed; and also do utterly renounce and forsake "all manner of Remedy, Interest and advantage, which I may by any "means claim by the Bishop of *Rome*'s Laws, Process, Jurisdiction, "or Sentence, at this present time, or in any wise hereafter, by a-"ny manner of title, colour, mean, or case, that is, shall, or can be "devised for that purpose.

Mary.

"*Item*, I do freely, frankly, and for the Discharge of my duty to-"wards God, the Kings Highness, and his Laws, without other re-"spect, recognize and knowledg, that the Marriage heretofore had "between his Majesty, and my Mother the late Princess Dowager, "was by Gods Law, and Mans Law, incestuous and unlawful.

Mary.

She is restored to his favour.

Upon this she was again received into favour. One circumstance I shall add, that shows the frugality of that time. In the Establishment that was made for her Family, there was only 40 *l.* a quarter assigned for her privy purse. I have seen a Letter of hers to *Cromwell*, at the *Christsmas*-quarter, desiring him to let the King know, that she must be at some Extraordinary expence that season, that so he might encrease her allowance, since the 40 *l.* would not defray the Charge of that quarter.

The Lady *Elizabeth* well used by the King and Queen.

For the Lady *Elizabeth*, though the King devested her of the Title of Princess of *Wales*, yet he continued still to breed her up in the Court, with all the care and tenderness of a Father. And the new

new Queen, what from the ſweetneſs of her diſpoſition, and what out of compliance with the King, who loved her much, was as kind to her, as if ſhe had been her Mother. Of which I ſhall add one pretty evidence, though the childiſhneſs of it may be thought below the Gravity of a Hiſtory: Yet by it the Reader will ſee, both the kindneſs that the King and Queen had for her, and that they allowed her to ſubſcribe, Daughter. There are two Original Letters of hers yet remaining, writ to the Queen when ſhe was with Child of King *Edward*: the one in *Italian*, the other in *Engliſh*; both writ in a fair hand, the ſame that ſhe wrote all the reſt of her life. But the conceits in that writ in *Engliſh*, are ſo pretty, that it will not be unacceptable to the Reader, to ſee this firſt Bloſſome of ſo great a Princeſs, when ſhe was not full Four years of Age; She being born in *September* 1533. and this writ in *July* 1537. 1536.

"Although your Highneſs Letters be moſt joyful to me in abſence, "yet conſidering what pain it is to you to write, your Grace being "ſo great with Child, and ſo ſickly, your Commendation were e-"nough in my Lords Letter. I much rejoyce at your health, with "the well liking of the Countrey; with my humble thanks that your "Grace wiſhed me with you till I were weary of that Countrey. "Your Highneſs were like to be combered, if I ſhould not depart till "I were weary being with you: although it were in the worſt ſoil "in the World, your preſence would make it pleaſant. I cannot "reprove my Lord for not doing your Commendations in his Let-"ter, for he did it; and although he had not, yet I will not com-"plain on him, for that he ſhall be diligent to give me knowledg "from time to time, how his buſie child doth; and if I were at "his birth, no doubt I would ſee him beaten, for the trouble he has "put you to. Mr *Denny*, and my Lady, with humble thanks pray-"eth moſt entirely for your Grace, praying the Almighty God to "ſend you a moſt lucky deliverance. And my Miſtreſs wiſheth no "leſs, giving your Highneſs moſt humble thanks for her commen-"dations. Writ with very little leiſure, this laſt day of *July*.

Her Letter to the Queen when not Four years of Age.

Your Humble Daughter

Elizabeth.

But to proceed to more ſerious matters. A Parliament was Summoned to meet the 8th of *June*. If full Forty days be neceſſary for a Summons, then the Writs muſt have been iſſued forth the day before the late Queens diſgrace; ſo that it was deſigned before the Juſts at *Greenwich*, and did not flow from any thing that then appeared. When the Parliament met, the Lord Chancellor *Audley*, in his ſpeech, told them, "That when the former Parliament was diſ-"ſolved, the King had no thoughts of Summoning a new one ſo "ſoon. But for two reaſons, he had now called them. The one "was, that he finding himſelf ſubject to ſo many infirmities, and "conſidering that he was Mortal, (a rare thought in a Prince) he de-

A new Parliament called.

Journal Procerum.

ſired

1536. "sired to settle an apparent heir to the Crown, in case he should die "without Children lawfully begotten. The other was, to repeal "an Act of the former Parliament, concerning the Succession of the "Crown, to the issue of the King by Queen *Anne Boleyn*. He de-"sired them to reflect on the great troubles and vexation the King "was involved in, by his first unlawful Marriage, and the dangers he "was in by his second; which might well have frighted any body "from a third Marriage. But *Anne*, and her Conspirators, being put "to death, as they well deserved; the King at the humble request of "the Nobility, and not out of any Carnal concupiscence, was pleas-"ed to Marry again, a Queen, by whom there were very probable "hopes of his having children: Therefore he recommended to them, "to provide an heir to the Crown by the Kings direction, who if the "King dyed without children lawfully begotten, might Rule over "them. He desired they would pray God earnestly, that he would "grant the King issue of his own body; and return thanks to Almigh-"ty God, that preserved such a King to them out of so many emi-"nent dangers, who imployed all his care and endeavours, that he "might keep his whole people in quiet, peace, and perfect charity, "and leave them so to those that should succeed him.

The Act of Succession. But though this was the chief cause of calling the Parliament, it seems the Ministers met with great difficulties, and therefore spent much time, in preparing mens minds. For the Bill about the Succession to the Crown, was not brought into the House of Lords before the 30th day of *June*, that the Lord Chancellor offered it to the House. It went through both Houses without any Opposition. It contained first, "a repeal of the former Act of Succession, and a Confirmation "of the two Sentences of Divorce, the issue of both the Kings for-"mer Marriages being declared illegitimate, and for ever excluded "from claiming the inheritance of the Crown, as the Kings Lawful "heirs by lineal descent. The Attainder of Queen *Anne* and her Com-"plices is confirmed. Quen *Anne* is said, to have been inflamed with "pride, and Carnal desires of her body; and, having confederated "her self with her complices, to have committed divers Treasons, "to the danger of the Kings Royal person; (with other aggrava-"ting words,) for which she had justly suffered death, and is now "attainted by Act of Parliament. And all things that had been said "or done against her, or her Daughter, being contrary to an Act of "Parliament then in force, are pardoned; and the inheritance of the "Crown is established, on the issue of Queen *Jane*, whether Male or "Female, or the Kings issue by any other Wife whom he might Mar-"ry afterwards.

"But since it was not fit to declare, to whom the Succession of the "Crown belonged after the Kings death lest the person, so de-"signed, might be thereby enabled to raise trouble and Commotions; "therefore they considering the Kings wise and excellent Govern-"ment, and confiding in the love and affection which he bore to his "Subjects, did give him full Power to declare the Succession to the "Crown, either by his Letters Patents under the great Seal, or by "his last will, Signed with his hand; and promised all faithful o-"bedience to the persons named by him. And if any, so designed

to

"to ſucceed in default of others, ſhould endeavor to uſurp upon thoſe 1536.
"before them, or to exclude them, they are declared Traytors, and
"were to forfeit all the Right they might thereafter claim to the Crown.
"And if any ſhould maintain the Lawfulneſs of the former Marriages,
"or that the iſſue by them was legitimate, or refuſed to ſwear to
"the Kings iſſue by Queen *Jane*, they were alſo declared Traytors.

By this Act it may appear how abſolutely this King Reigned in *England*. Many queſtion'd much the validity of it, and (as ſhall afterwards appear,) the *Scots* ſaid, that the Succeſſion to the Crown was not within the Parliaments Power to determine about it, but muſt go by inheritance to their King, in default of iſſue by this King. Yet by this, the King was enabled to ſettle the Crown on his Children whom he had now declared Illegitimate, by which he brought them more abſolutely to depend upon himſelf. He neither made them deſperate, nor gave them any further Right, than what they were to derive purely from his own good pleaſure. This did alſo much pacifie the Emperor, ſince his Kinſwoman was, though not reſtored in blood, yet put in a capacity to ſucceed to the Crown.

The Pope endeavoured a reconciliation with the King.

At this time there came a new Propoſition from *Rome*, to try if the King would accommodate matters with the Pope. Pope *Clement* the Seventh dyed two years before this, in the year 1534. and Cardinal *Farneſe* ſucceeded him, called Pope *Paul* the Third. He had before this made one unſucceſsful attempt upon the King; but, upon the beheading of the Biſhop (and declared Cardinal) of *Rocheſter*, he had Thundered a moſt terrible Sentence of Depoſition againſt the King, and deſigned to commit the Execution of it to the Emperor: Yet now, when Queen *Katharine* and Queen *Anne*, who were the occaſions of the Rupture, were both out of the way, he thought it was a proper conjuncture to try if a Reconciliation could be effected. This he propoſed to Sir *Gregory Caſſali*, who was no more the Kings Ambaſſador at *Rome*, but was ſtill his Correſpondent there. The Pope deſired he would move the King in it, and let him know that he had ever favoured his Cauſe in the former Popes time, and though he was forced to give out a Sentence againſt him, yet he had never any intention to proceed upon it to further Extremities.

But in vain.

But the King was now ſo entirely alienated from the Court of *Rome*, that to cut off all hopes of reconciliation, he procured two Acts to be paſſed in this Parliament. The one was for the utter extinguiſhing the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*. It was brought into the Houſe of Lords on the 4th of *July*: And was read the firſt time the 5th, and the ſecond time on the 6th of *July*, and lay at the Committee till the 12th. And on the 14th, it was ſent down to the Commons; who, if there be no miſtake in the Journal, ſent it up that ſame day: They certainly made great haſte, for the Parliament was diſſolved within Four days.

"The Preamble of this firſt Act contains ſevere Reflections on the
"Biſhop of *Rome*, (whom ſome called the Pope,) who had long dark-
"ned Gods word, that it might ſerve his Pomp, Glory, Avarice, Am-
"bition, and Tyranny; both upon the Souls, Bodies, and Goods, of
"all Chriſtians; excluding Chriſt out of the Rule of mans Soul,
"and Princes out of their Dominions: And had exacted in *England*

1536. "great Sums, by dreams, and vanities, and other Superstitious ways. "Upon these reasons his Usurpations had been by Law put down in "this Nation; yet many of his Emissaries were still practising up and "down the Kingdom, and perswading people to acknowledg his pre- "tended Authority. Therefore every person so offending after the "last of *July* next to come, was to incur the pains of a *Premunire*; "and all Officers, both Civil, and Ecclesiastical, were commanded to "make enquiry about such offences, under several penalties.

On the 12th of *July*, a Bill was brought in, concerning Priviledges obtained from the See of *Rome*, and was read the First time. And on the 17th it was agreed to, and sent down to the Commons, who sent it up again the next day. It bears, that the Popes had, during their Usurpation, "granted many Immunities to several Bodies and "Societies in *England*, which upon that Grant had been now long "in use: Therefore all these Bulls, Breves, and every thing depend- "ing on, or flowing from them, were declared void and of no force. "Yet all Marriages celebrated by vertue of them, that were not other- "wise contrary to the Law of God, were declared good in Law; and "all Consecrations of Bishops by vertue of them, were confirmed. "And for the future, all who enjoyed any Priviledges by Bulls, were "to bring them in to the Chancery, or to such persons as the King "should appoint for that end. And the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* "was Lawfully to grant anew the effects contained in them, which "Grant was to pass under the great Seal, and to be of full force in "Law.

This struck at the Abbots Rights. But they were glad to bear a Diminution of their Greatness, so they might save the whole, which now lay at stake. By the Thirteenth Act, they corrected an Abuse which had come in, to evade the force of a Statute made in the Twenty First year of this King, about the Residence of all Ecclesiastical persons in their Livings. One qualification, that did excuse from Residence, was their staying at the University for the compleating of their Studies. Now it was found, that many dissolute Clergymen went and lived at the Universities, not for their Studies, but to be excused from serving their Cures. So it was Enacted, that none above the Age of Forty, that were not either Heads of Houses, or Publick Readers, should have any Exemption from their Residence, by vertue of that Clause in the former Act. And those under that Age should not have the Benefit of it, except they were present at the Lectures, and perform'd their Exercises in the Schools.

By another Act, there was Provision made against the prejudice the Kings Heirs might receive, before they were of Age, by Parliaments held in their Non-Age; That whatsoever Acts were made before they were Twenty Four years of Age, they might at any time of their lives after that, Repeal and Annul, by their Letters Patents, which should have equal force with a Repeal by Act of Parliament. From these Acts it appears, that the King was absolute Master, both of the affections and fears of his Subjects; when in a new Parliament called on a sudden, and in a Session of six weeks, from the 8th of *June*, to the 18th of *July*, Acts of this Importance were passed without any Protest or publick Opposition.

But

But having now opened the business of the Parliament, as it relates to the State, I must next give an account of the Convocation, which sate at this time, and was very busie, as appears by the Journal of the House of Lords, in which this is given for a reason of many Adjournments, because the Spiritual Lords were busie in the Convocation. It sate down on the 9th of *June*, according to *Fullers* Extract, it being the Custom of all this Reign, for that Court to meet two or three days after the Parliament. Hither *Cromwell* came as the Kings Vicar-General: But he was not yet Vice-Gerent. For he sate next the Arch-Bishop; but when he had that Dignity he sate above him. Nor do I find him Stiled in any Writing Vice-gerent for some time after this; though the Lord *Herbert* says, He was made Vice-gerent the 18th of *July* this year, the same day in which the Parliament was Dissolved. 1536. The Proceedings in the Convocation.

Latimer, Bishop of *Worcester*, preached the Latine Sermon, on these words. *The Children of this World are wiser in their Generation, than the Children of Light.* He was the most Celebrated Preacher of that time. The simplicity and plainness of his matter, with a serious and fervent Action that accompanied it, being preferred to more learned and elaborate Composures. On the 21st of *June*, *Cromwell* moved, that they would Confirm the Sentence of the Invalidity of the Kings Marriage with Queen *Anne*, which was accordingly done by both Houses of Convocation. But certainly *Fuller* was asleep when he wrote; *That Ten days before that, the Arch-Bishop had passed the Sentence of Divorce, on the day before the Queen was beheaded.* Whereas if he had considered this more fully, he must have seen that the Queen was put to death a Month before this, and was Divorced two days before she dyed. Yet, with this animadversion, I must give him my thanks for his pains in copying out of the Journals of Convocation many remarkable things, which had been otherwise irrecoverably lost.

On the 23d of *June*, the lower House of Convocation sent to the upper House a Collection of many opinions, that were then in the Realm; which, as they thought, were abuses, and errors, worthy of special Reformation. But they began this Representation with a Protestation: "That they intended not to do, or speak any thing, "which might be unpleasant to the King; whom they acknowledg-"ed their Supream Head, and were resolved to obey his Commands, "renouncing the Popes usurp'd Authority, with all his Laws and In-"ventions, now extinguisht and abolisht, and did addict themselves "to Almighty God, and his Laws, and unto the King, and the Laws "made within this Kingdom. *Fuller.*

There are Sixty Seven opinions set down, and are either the Tenets of the Old *Lollards*, or the New Reformers, together with the Anabaptists opinions. Besides all which, they complained of many unsavory and indiscreet expressions, which were either feigned on design to disgrace the New Preachers, or were perhaps the extravagant Reflexions of some illiterate and injudicious persons; who are apt upon all occasions, by their heat and folly, rather to prejudice, than advance their party; and affect some petulant jeers, which they think witty, and are perhaps well entertained by some others, who though they

1536. are more judicious themselves, yet imagining that such jests on the contrary opinions will take with the people, do give them too much Encouragement. Many of these jests, about Confession, praying to Saints, Holy Water, and the other Ceremonies of the Church, were complained of. And the last Articles contained sharp reflexions on some of the Bishops, as if they had been wanting in their Duty to suppress such things. This was clearly levelled at *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, and *Shaxton*, who were noted as the great Promoters of these opinions. The first did it prudently and solidly. The second zealously and simply. And the third with much indiscreet pride and vanity. But now that the Queen was gone, who had either raised or supported them, their Enemies hoped to have advantages against them, and to lay the growth of these opinions to their charge. But this whole Project failed, and *Cranmer* had as much of the Kings favour as ever; for in stead of that which they had projected, *Cromwell*, by the Kings order, coming to the Convocation, Declared to them, that it was the Kings pleasure, that the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, should be Reformed by the Rules of Scripture, and that nothing was to be maintained which did not rest on that Authority, for it was absurd, since that was acknowledged to contain the Laws of Religion, that recourse should rather be had to Glosses, or the Decrees of Popes, than to these. There was at that time one *Alexander Alesse*, a Scotch-man, much esteemed for his Learning and Piety, whom *Cranmer* entertained at *Lambeth*. Him *Cromwell* brought with him to the Convocation, and desired him to deliver his opinion about the Sacraments. He enlarged himself much to Convince them, that only Baptism and the Lords Supper were Instituted by Christ.

Antiq. Britt. in vita Cranm.

Stokesley Bishop of *London* answered him in a long Discourse, in which he shewed he was better acquainted with the Learning of the Schools, and the Canon-Law, than with the Gospel; He was Seconded by the Arch-Bishop of *York*, and others of that Party.

But *Cranmer* in a long and learned Speech, shewed how useless these niceties of the Schools were, and of how little Authority they ought to be; and discoursed largely of the Authority of the Scriptures, of the use of the Sacraments, of the uncertainty of Tradition, and of the Corruption which the Monks and Friars had brought into the Christian Doctrine. He was vigorously seconded by the Bishop of *Hereford*, who told them, the world would be no longer deceived with such Sophisticated stuff as the Clergy had formerly vented: The Laity were now in all Nations studying the Scriptures, and that, not only in the vulgar Translations, but in the original Tongues; and therefore it was a vain imagination to think they would be any longer governed by those arts which in the former Ages of Ignorance had been so effectual. Not many days after this, there were several Articles brought in to the upper House of Convocation, devised by the King himself, about which there were great debates among them. The two Arch-Bishops, heading two Parties, *Cranmer* was for a Reformation, and with him joyned *Thomas Goodrich*, Bishop of *Ely*, *Shaxton*, of *Sarum*; *Latimer*, of *Worcester*, *Fox*, of *Hereford*, *Hilsey*, of *Rochester*, and *Barlow*, of St. *Davids*.

But *Lee*, Arch-Bishop of *York*, was a known favourer of the Popes Interests; which, as it first appeared in his scrupling so much, with

the whole Convocation of *York*, the acknowledging the King to be Supreme Head of the Church of England; so he had since discovered it on all occasions, in which he durst do it without the fear of losing the Kings favour: So he, and *Stokesley*, Bishop of *London*, *Tonstall*, of *Duresm*, *Gardiner*, of *Winchester*, *Longland*, of *Lincoln*, *Sherburn*, of *Chichester*, *Nix*, of *Norwich*, and *Kite*, of *Carlisle*, had been still against all changes. But the King discovered, that those did in their hearts love the Papal Authority, though *Gardiner* dissembled it most artificially. *Sherburn*, Bishop of *Chichester*, upon what inducement I cannot understand, resigned his Bishoprick, which was given to *Richard Sampson*, Dean of the Chappel; a Pension of 400 *l.* being reserved to *Sherburn* for his Life, which was confirmed by an Act of this Parliament. *Nix*, of *Norwich*, had also offended the King signally, by some correspondence with *Rome*, and was kept long in the *Marshalsea*, and was convicted and found in a *Premunire*: The King considering his great Age, had upon his humble submission discharged him out of Prison, and pardon'd him. But he died the former year; though *Fuller*, in his slight way, makes him sit in this Convocation: For by the 17th Act of the last Parliament, it appears that the Bishoprick of *Norwich* being vacant, the King had recommended *William Abbot* of St. *Bennets* to it; but took into his own hands all the Lands and Manours of the Bishoprick, and gave the Bishop several of the Priories in *Norfolk* in exchange, which was confirmed in Parliament.

1536

Act 17. 2[illegible]. Regni.

I shall next give a short abstract of the Articles about Religion, which were after much consultation and long debating agreed to.

Articles agreed on about Religion. Printed by Fuller.

" *First*, All Bishops and Preachers must instruct the people to be-" lieve the whole Bible, and the three Creeds, that made by the Apo-" stles, the *Nicene*, and the *Athanasian*; and interpret all things ac-" cording to them, and in the very same words, and condemn all He-" resies contrary to them, particularly those condemned by the first " four general Councils.

" *Secondly*, Of *Baptism* the people must be instructed; That it is a " Sacrament instituted by Christ, for the Remission of sins, without " which none could attain Everlasting Life: And that, not only those " of full Age, but Infants, may, and must be Baptized, for the pardon " of Original sin, and obtaining the gift of the Holy Ghost, by which " they became the Sons of God. That none Baptized, ought to be Bap-" tized again. That the opinions of the *Anabaptists* and *Pelagians*, were " detestable Heresies: And that those of ripe Age, who desired Bap-" tism, must with it joyn Repentance and Contrition for their sins, with " a firm Belief of the Articles of the Faith.

" *Thirdly*, Concerning *Penance*, they were to instruct the people, " that it was instituted by Christ, and was absolutely necessary to Salvati-" on. That it consisted of Contrition, Confession and Amendment of " Life; with exterior works of Charity, which were the worthy *Fruits* " *of Pennance*. For Contrition, it was an inward shame and sorrow " for sin, because it is an offence of God, which provokes his displea-" sure. To this must be joyned, a Faith of the mercy and goodness " of God, whereby the penitent must hope, that God will forgive " him, and repute him justified, and of the number of his Elect Chil-" dren, not for the worthiness of any merit or work done by him, but " for

1536. "for the only Merits of the Blood and Passion of our Saviour Jesus "Christ. That this Faith is got and confirmed, by the Applicati-"tion of the Promises of the Gospel, and the use of the Sacraments: "And for that end, Confession to a Priest is necessary, if it may be had, "whose Absolution was instituted by Christ, to apply the promises of "Gods Grace to the penitent: Therefore the people were to be taught, "That the Absolution is spoken by an Authority given by Christ in "the Gospel to the Priest, and must be believed, as if it were spoken "by God himself, according to our Saviours words; and therefore "none were to condemn auricular Confession, but use it for the com-"fort of their Consciences. The people were also to be instructed, "that though God pardoned sin, only for the satisfaction of Christ; "yet they must bring forth the Fruits of Penance, Prayer, Fasting, "Almsdeeds, with restitution and satisfaction for wrongs done to o-"thers, with other works of Mercy and Charity, and Obedience to "Gods Commandments, else they could not be saved; and that by do-"ing these, they should both obtain Everlasting Life, and mitigation "of their Afflictions in this present life, according to the Scriptures.

"*Fourthly*, As touching the Sacrament of the Altar, people were to "be instructed, that under the Forms of Bread and Wine, there was "truly and substantially given, the very same Body of Christ, that "was born of the Virgin *Mary*; and therefore it was to be received "with all Reverence, every one duly Examining himself, according to "the words of St. *Paul*.

"*Fifthly*, The people were to be instructed, That Justification "signifieth Remission of sins, and acceptation into the favour of "God; that is to say, a perfect Renovation in Christ. To the at-"taining which, they were to have, Contrition, Faith, Charity, which "were both to concur in it, and follow it; and that the good works "necessary to Salvation, were not only outward Civil works, but the "inward motions and graces of Gods Holy Spirit, to dread, fear, and "love him, to have firm confidence in God, to call upon him, and to "have patience in all adversities, to hate sin, and have purposes and "wills not to sin again; with such other motions and vertues, con-"senting and agreeable to the Law of God.

"The other Articles were about the Ceremonies of the Church. "*First*, of Images. The people were to be instructed, That the use of "them was warranted by the Scriptures, and that they served to re-"present to them good Examples, and to stir up Devotion; and there-"fore it was meet that they should stand in the Churches. But that "the people might not fall into such Superstition as it was thought "they had done in time past, they were to be taught, to reform such "Abuses, lest Idolatry might ensue, and that in censing, kneeling, "offering, or worshipping them, the people were to be instructed, not "to do it to the Image, but to God and his honour.

"*Secondly*, For the honouring of Saints, they were not to think to "attain these things at their hands, which were only obtained of God, "but that they were to honour them, as persons now in glory, to "praise God for them; and imitate their vertues, and not fear to die "for the Truth, as many of them had done.

"*Thirdly*, For praying to Saints, The people were to be taught,

"that

"that it was good to pray to them, to pray for, and with us. And to 1536.
"correct all Superstitious Abuses in this matter, they were to keep the
"days appointed by the Church for their Memories, unless the King
"should lessen the number of them, which if he did, it was to be obeyed.

"*Fourthly*, Of Ceremonies. The people were to be taught, That
"they were not to be condemned and cast away, but to be kept as
"good and laudable, having mystical significations in them, and being
"useful to lift up our minds to God. Such were the Vestments in the
"worship of God: The sprinkling holy-water to put us in mind of our
"Baptism and the Blood of Christ: Giving holy Bread, in sign of our
"Union in Christ, and to remember us of the Sacrament: Bearing
"Candles on *Candlemas*-day, in remembrance, that Christ was the spi-
"ritual Light: Giving Ashes on *Ash-wednes*-day, to put us in mind of
"Penance, and of our Mortality: Bearing Palms on *Palm-sunday*, to
"show our desire to receive Christ in our hearts, as he entred into *Je-*
"*rusalem*: Creeping to the Cross on *Good-friday*, and kissing it, in
"memory of his death, with the setting up the Sepulchre on that day:
"The Hallowing the Font, and other Exorcisms and Benedictions.

"*And lastly*, As to Purgatory, They were to declare it good and cha-
"ritable to pray for the Souls departed, which was said to have con-
"tinued in the Church from the beginning: And therefore the people
"were to be instructed, That it consisted well with the due order of
"Charity, to pray for them, and to make others pray for them, in
"Masses and Exequies, and to give Alms to them for that end. But
"since the place they were in, and the pains they suffered, were
"uncertain by the Scripture, we ought to remit them wholly to
"Gods mercy: Therefore all these Abuses were to be put away,
"which, under the pretence of Purgatory, had been advanced, as if the
"Popes pardons did deliver Souls out of it, or Masses said in certain
"places, or before certain Images, had such efficiency: with other
"such-like Abuses.

These Articles being thus conceived, and in several places corrected, and tempered by the Kings own hand, were signed by *Cromwell*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and seventeen other Bishops, forty Abbots and Priors, and fifty Arch-Deacons and Proctors of the lower House of Convocation. Among whom, *Polidor Virgil* and *Peter Vannes*, signed with the rest, as appears by the Original yet extant. They being tendered to the King, he confirmed them, and ordered them to be published with a Preface in his name. "It is said in the Preface, "that he, accounting it the chief part of his Charge, that the Word "and Commandments of God should be believed and observed, and to "maintain unity and concord in opinion; and understanding, to his "great regret, that there was great diversity of opinion arisen among "his Subjects, both about Articles of Faith and Ceremonies, had in "his own Person taken great pains and study about these things, and "had ordered also the Bishops, and other Learned men of the Clergy, "to examine them; who after long deliberation had concluded on the "most special Points, which, the King thought, proceeded from a "good, right, and true judgment, according to the Laws of God; "these would also be profitable, for establishing unity in the Church "of *England*: Therefore he had ordered them to be published, requi-

Published by the Kings Authority.

"ring

1536. "ring all to accept of them, praying God so to illuminate their hearts, "that they might have no less zeal and love to unity and concord in "reading them, than he had in making them to be devised, set forth, "and published; which good acceptance should encourage him to "take further pains for the future, as should be most for the honour "of God, and the profit, and the quietness of his Subjects.

And variously censured. This being published, occasion'd great variety of Censures. Those that desired Reformation, were glad to see so great a step once made; and did not doubt, but this would make way for further Changes. They rejoyced to see the Scriptures, and the ancient Creeds, made the Standards of the Faith, without mentioning Tradition, or the Decrees of the Church. Then the Foundation of Christian Faith was truly stated, and the terms of the Covenant between God and man in Christ were rightly opened, without the niceties of the Schools of either side. Immediate worship of Images and Saints was also removed, and Purgatory was declared uncertain by the Scripture. These were great advantages to them, but the establishing the necessity of Auricular Confession, the Corporal presence in the Sacrament, the keeping up and doing reverence to Images, and the praying to Saints, did allay their joy, yet they still counted it a victory, to have things brought under debate, and to have some Grosser abuses taken away.

The other Party were unspeakably troubled. Four Sacraments were passed over, which would encourage ill-affected people to neglect them. The gainful trade by the Belief of Purgatory was put down; for though it was said to be good to give Alms for praying for the dead, yet since both the dreadful Stories of the Miseries of Purgatory, and the Certainty of Redeeming Souls out of them by Masses, were made doubtful, the peoples Charity and bounty that way would soon abate. And in a word, the bringing matters under dispute, was a great Mortification to them, for all concluded, that this was but a Preamble to what they might expect afterwards.

When these things were seen beyond Sea, the Papal party made every-where great use of it, to show the Necessity of adhering to the Pope; since the King of *England*, though, when he broke off from his Obedience to the Apostolick See, he pretended, he would maintain the Catholick Faith entire, yet was now making great Changes in it. But others, that were more moderate, acknowledged that there was great temper and prudence in contriving these Articles. And it seems, the Emperor, and the more Learned Divines about him, both approved of the Precedent, and liked the particulars so well, that not many years after, the Emperor published a work not unlike this, called, *The Interim*; because it was to be in force in that *Interim*, till all things were more fully debated and determined by a General Council, which, in many particulars, agreed with these Articles. Yet some stricter persons censured this work much, as being a Political dawbing, in which, they said, there was more pains taken to gratifie persons, and serve particular ends, than to assert Truth in a free and un-biassed way, such as became Divines. This was again excused, and it was said, that all things, could not

be

be attained on a sudden: that some of the Bishops and Divines, who afterwards arrived at a clearer understanding of some matters, were not then so fully convinced about them, and so it was their ignorance, and not their Cowardice or Policy, that made them compliant in some things. Besides, it was said, that as our Savior did not reveal all things to his Disciples, till they were able to bear them; and as the Apostles did not of a sudden abolish all the Rites of Judaisme, but for some time, to gain the Jews, complyed with them, and went to the Temple, and offered Sacrifices: so the people were not to be over driven in this Change. The Clergy must be brought out of their ignorance by degrees, and then the people were to be better instructed; but to drive furiously, and do all at once, might have spoiled the whole design, and totally alienated those who were to be drawn on by degrees; it might have also much endangered the peace of the Nation, the people being much disposed by the practices of the Friers to rise in Arms: Therefore these slow steps were thought the surer and better method. 1536.

On the last day of the Convocation, there was another Writing brought in by *Fox* Bishop of *Hereford*, occasioned by the Summons for a General Council to sit at *Mantua*, to which the Pope had cited the King to appear. The King had made his appeal from the Pope to a General Council, but there was no reason to expect any Justice in an assembly so constituted, as this was like to be. Therefore it was thought fit to publish somewhat of the Reasons why the King could not submit his matter to the Decision of such a Council, as was then intended. And it was moved, that the Convocation should give their sense of it.

The Convocation declares against the Council called by the Pope.

The Substance of their Answer, (which the Reader will find in the Collection,) was, "That as nothing was better Instituted by the "Ancient Fathers, for the Establishment of the Faith, the Extirpa-"tion of Heresies, the Healing of Schisms, and the Unity of the "Christian Church, than General Councils, gathered in the Holy "Ghost, duely called to an indifferent place; with other necessary "requisites: So on the other hand nothing could produce more pe-"stiferous effects, than a General Council called upon private malice, "or Ambition, or other carnal respects; which *Gregory Nazianzen* "so well observed in his time, that he thought *all Assemblies of Bi-*"*shops were to be eschewed, for he never saw good come of any of them,* "*and they had encreased, rather than healed the distempers of the Church.* "*For the appetite of vain-glory, and a contentious humor bore down rea-*"*son*: Therefore they thought Christian Princes ought to employ all "their endeavors to prevent so great a mischief. And it was to be "considered, First, who had Authority to call one. Secondly, If the "Reasons for calling one were weighty. Thirdly, who should be the "Judges. Fourthly, what should be the manner of Proceeding. Fifth-"ly, what things should be treated of in it. And as to the first of "these, they thought neither the Pope, nor any one Prince of what "dignity soever, had Authority to call one, without the Consent of "all other Christian Princes: especially such as had entire and su-"pream Government over all their Subjects. This was Signed on the 20th of *July*, by *Cromwell*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*,

Collect. Numb. 5.

1536. with 14 Bishops, and 40 Abbots, Priors, and Clerks, of the Convocation of *Canterbury*. Whether this and the former Articles were also Signed by the Convocation of the Province of *York*, does not appear by any Record, but that I think is not to be doubted. This being obtained, the King published a long and sharp Protestation against the Council now Summoned to *Mantua*. In which he shewes, that the Pope had no Power to call one; "for as it was done by the "Emperors of old; so it pertained to Christian Princes now. That "the Pope had no Jurisdiction in *England*, and so could Summon none "of this Nation to come to any such meeting. That the place was "neither safe nor proper: That nothing could be done in a Coun-"cil to any purpose, if the Pope sate Judge in chief in it, since one "of the true ends, why a Council was to be desired, was to reduce "his Power within its old limits. A free General Council was that "which he much desired; but he was sure this could not be such: "And the present distractions of Christendom, and the Wars between "the Emperor and the *French* King, shewed this was no proper "time for one. The Pope who had long refused or delayed to call "one, did now choose this Conjuncture of affairs, knowing that few "would come to it, and so they might carry things as they pleased. "But the World was now awake; the Scriptures were again in "mens hands, and people would not be so tamely couzen'd as they "had been. Then he shewes how unsafe it was, for any *English* "man to go to *Mantua*, how little regard was to be had to the "Popes safe Conduct, they having so oft broken their Oaths and "Promises. He also shew's how little reason he had to trust him-"self to the Pope, how kind he had been to that See formerly, and "how basely they had requited it: And that now these Three years "past, they had been stirring up all Christian Princes against him, "and using all possible means to create him trouble. Therefore he "declared, he would not go to any Council called by the Bishop of "*Rome*; but when there was a General peace among Christian Prin-"ces, he would most gladly hearken to the motion of a true Ge-"neral Council: and in the mean-while, he would preserve all the "Articles of the Faith in his Kingdom, and sooner lose his Life and "his Crown, than suffer any of them to be put down. And so he "protested against any Council to be held at *Mantua*, or any where "else, by the Bishop of *Romes* Authority: That he would not ac-"knowledg it, nor receive any of their Decrees.

The King publishes his reasons against it.

Fox.

At this time *Reginald Pool*, who was of the Royal Bllood, being by his Mother descended from the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward* the Fourth, and in the same degree of kindred with the King by his Fathers side, was in great esteem for his Learning, and other Excellent vertues. It seems the King had determined to breed him up to the greatest dignity in the Church; and to make him as Eminent in Learning, and other acquired parts, as he was for Quality, and a Natural Sweetness and Nobleness of temper. Therefore the King had given him the Deanery of *Excester*, with several other dignities, towards his maintenance beyond Sea; and sent him to *Paris*, where he stayed several years: There he first incurred the Kings displeasure. For, being desired by him to concur with his A-

Cardinal *Pool* opposes the Kings proceedings.

gents,

gents, in procuring the Subſcriptions and Seals of the *French* Univerſities, he excuſed himſelf; yet it was in ſuch terms, that he did not openly declare himſelf againſt the King: After that, he came over to *England*, and *as he writes himſelf*, was preſent when the Clergy made their Submiſſion, and acknowledged the King *Supream Head*: In which, ſince he was then Dean of *Exeter*, and kept his Deanry ſeveral years after that, it is not to be doubted, but that, as he was by his place obliged to ſit in the Convocation, ſo he concurred with the reſt in making that Submiſſion. From thence he went to *Padua*, where he lived long, and was received into the Friendſhip and Society of ſome celebrated perſons, who gave themſelves much to the Study of Eloquence and of the *Roman* Authors. Theſe were *Centareno*, *Bembo*, *Caraffa*, *Sadoletti*, with a great many more, that became afterwards well known over the World: But all thoſe gave *Pool* the Preheminence, and that juſtly too, for he was accounted one of the moſt Eloquent men of his time. 1536.

The King called him oft home to aſſiſt him in his affairs, but he ſtill declined it; at length finding delays could prevail no longer, he wrote the King word, that he did not approve of what he had done, neither in the matter of his Divorce, nor his ſeparation from the Apoſtolick See. To this the King anſwered, deſiring his reaſons why he diſagreed from him, and ſent him over a Book which Doctor *Sampſon* had writ in defence of the Proceedings in *England*. Upon which he wrote his Book *De unione Eccleſiaſtica*, and ſent it over to the King; and ſoon after Printed it this year. In which Book he condemned the Kings Actions,and preſſed him to return to the obedience he owed the See of *Rome*, with many ſharp reflections; but the Book was more conſidered for the Author, and the Wit and Eloquence of it, than for any great Learning, or deep reaſoning in it. He did alſo very much depreſs the Royal, and exalt the Papal Authority: He compared the King to *Nebuchadonoſor*, and addreſſed himſelf in the Concluſion to the Emperor, whom he conjured to turn his Arms rather againſt the King than the Turk. And indeed the indecencies of his expreſſions againſt the King, not to mention the ſcurrilous Language he beſtows on *Sampſon*, whoſe Book he undertakes to anſwer, are ſuch, that it appears how much the *Italian* Air had changed him; and that his Converſe at *Padua* had for ſome time defac'd that generous temper of mind, which was otherwiſe ſo natural to him.

And writes his Book againſt him.

Upon this, the King deſired him at firſt to come over, and explain ſome paſſages in his Book: But when he could not thus draw him into his toyles, he proceeded ſeverely againſt him, and deveſted him of all his Dignities; but theſe were plentifully made up to him by the Popes bounty, and the Emperors. He was afterwards rewarded with a Cardinals hat, but he did not riſe above the degree of a Deacon. Some believe that the Spring of this oppoſition he made to the King was a ſecret affection he had for the Lady *Mary*. The publiſhing of this Book, made the King ſet the Biſhops on work to write Vindications of his Actions: which *Stokeſley* and *Tonſtal* did in a long and Learned Letter, that they wrote to *Pool*. And *Gardiner* publiſhed his Book of *true obedience*: To which *Bonner*, who was hot on

Many Books are written for the King.

1536. the ſcent of Preferment, added a Preface. But the King deſigned ſharper tools for *Pool's* puniſhment: Yet an Attaindor in abſence was all he could do againſt himſelf. But his Family and kindred felt the weight of the Kings diſpleaſure very ſenſibly.

But now I muſt give an account of the diſſolution of the Monaſteries, purſuant to the Act of Parliament, though I cannot fix the exact time in which it was done. I have ſeen the Original Inſtructions with the Commiſſion, given to thoſe who were to viſit the Monaſteries in and about *Briſtol*. All the reſt were of the ſame kind: They bear date the 28th of *April*, after the Seſſion of Parliament was over; and the report was to be made in the Octaves of St. *Michael* the Arch-Angel. But I am inclined to think that the great concuſſion and diſorder things were in by the Queens death, made the Commiſſioners unwilling to proceed in ſo invidious a matter, till they ſaw the Iſſue of the new-Parliament. Therefore I have delayed giving any account of the Proceedings in that matter till this place. The Inſtructions will be found in the Collection. The Subſtance of them was as follows.

Collect. Numb. 6. Instructions about the diſſolution of Monaſteries.

"The Auditors of the Court of Augmentations, were the perſons "that were employed. Four, or any Three of them, were Commiſ-"ſioned to execute the Inſtructions in every particular Viſitation. One "Auditor, or Receiver, and one of the Clerks of the former Viſita-"tion, were to call for Three diſcreet perſons in the County, who "were alſo named by the King. They were to ſignifie to every "Houſe the Statute of Diſſolution, and ſhew them their Commiſſion. "Then they were to put the Governor, or any other officer of the Houſe, "to declare upon Oath the true State of it: And to require him "ſpeedily to appear before the Court of Augmentations, and in the "mean time not to meddle with any thing belonging to the Houſe. "Then to examine how many Religious perſons were in the Houſe, "and what lives they led; how many of them were Prieſts, how ma-"ny of them would go to other Religious Houſes, and how many of "them would take Capacities and go into the World. They were to "eſtimate the State and Fabrick of the Houſe, and the number of "the Servants they kept: and to call for the Covent-Seal, and Wri-"tings, and put them in ſome ſure place, and take an Inventory of all "their Plate, and their Movable goods, and to know the value of all, "that before the 1ſt of *March* laſt belonged to the Houſe, and what "debts they owed. They were to put the Covent-Seal, with the "Jewels and Plate in ſafe keeping, and to leave the reſt (an Inven-"tory being firſt taken) in the Governors hands, to be kept by them "till further Order. And the Governors were to meddle with none "of the Rents of the Houſe, except for neceſſary Suſtenance, till "they were another way diſpoſed of. They were to try what Leaſ-"es and Deeds had been made for a whole year before the 4th of "*February* laſt. Such as would ſtill live in Monaſteries, were to be "recommended to ſome of the great Monaſteries that lay next: and "ſuch as would live in the world, muſt come to the Arch-Biſhop of "*Canterbury*, or the Lord Chancellor, to receive Capacities. (From "which it appears that *Cromwell* was not at this time Lord Vice-ge-"rent, for he granted theſe Capacities when he was in that Power.)

And

"And the Commissioners were to give them a reasonable allowance 1536.
"for their Journey, according to the distance they lived at. The
"Governor was to be sent to the Court of Augmentations, who were
"to assign him a yearly pension for his Life.

What Report those Commissioners made, or how they obeyed their Instructions, we know not; for the Account of it is razed out of the Records. The Writers that lived near that time represent the matter very odiously, and say; about ten Thousand persons were set to seek for their Livings; only Forty Shillings in Money, and a Gown, being given to every Religious man. The Rents of them all, rose to about Thirty Two Thousand Pound: And the Goods, Plate, Jewels, and other movables, were valued at an Hundred Thousand Pound: And it is generally said, and not improbably, that the Commissioners were as careful to enrich themselves, as to encrease the Kings Revenue. The Churches and Cloysters were for the most part pulled down; and the Lead, Bells, and other Materials were sold; and this must needs have raised great discontents every-where.

Great discontents among all sorts of people.

The Religious persons that were undone, went about complaining of the Sacriledge and Injustice of this Suppression; That what the piety of their Ancestors had dedicated to God and his Saints, was now invaded and converted to secular ends. They said, the Kings severity fell first upon some particular persons of their Orders, who were found delinquents; but now, upon the pretended miscarriages of some Individual persons, to proceed against their Houses, and suppress them, was an unheard-of practice. The Nobility, and Gentry, whose Ancestors had founded or enriched these Houses, and who provided for their younger Children, or empoverished Friends, by putting them into these Sanctuaries, complained much of the prejudice they sustained by it. The people, that had been well entertained at the Abbots Tables, were sensible of their loss: for generally, as they Travelled over the Countrey, the Abbies were their Stages, and were Houses of Reception to Travellers and Strangers. The Devouter sort of people of their perswasion, thought their friends must now lie in Purgatory without relief, except they were at the charge to keep a Priest, who should daily say Mass for their Souls. The poor, that fed on their daily Alms, were deprived of that supply.

Endeavors are used to quiet these.

But to compose these discontents, first many Books were published, to shew what Crimes, Cheats, and Impostures, those Religious persons were guilty of. Yet that wrought not much on the people; for they said, why were not these Abuses severely punished and reformed? But must whole Houses, and the Succeeding Generations, be punished for the faults of a few? Most of these reports were also denyed, and even those who before envyed the ease and plenty in which the Abbots and Monks lived, began now to pity them, and condemned the proceedings against them. But to allay this General discontent; *Cromwell* advised the King to sell their Lands at very easie rates to the Gentry in the several Counties, obliging them, since they had them upon such terms, to keep up the wonted Hospitality. This drew in the Gentry a-pace both to be satisfied with what was done; and to Assist the Crown for ever in the defence of these Laws: their own interest being so enterwoven with the Rights

of

1536. of the Crown. The commoner sort, who, like those of old that followed Christ for the Loaves, were most concerned for the loss of a good dinner on a Holy-day, or when they went over the Countrey about their business, were now also in a great measure satisfied, when they heard that all to whom these Lands were given, were obliged under heavy Forfeitures to keep up the Hospitality; and when they saw that put in practice, their discontent, which lay chiefly in their Stomach, was appeased.

And to quiet other people, who could not be satisfied with such things, the King made use of a Clause in the Act that gave him the lesser Monasteries, which Empowered him to continue such as he should think fit. Therefore on the 17th of *August*, he by his Letters Patents, did of new give back *in perpetuam Eleemosynam* for perpetual Alms, Five Abbies. The first of these, was the Abbey of St. *Mary* of *Betlesden* of the *Cistertian* order in *Bedfordshire*, ten more were afterwards confirmed. Sixteen Nunneries, were also confirmed; In all Thirty one Houses. The Patents (in most of which some mannors are excepted, that had been otherwise disposed of,) are all enrolled, and yet none of our Writers have taken any notice of this. It seems these Houses had been more regular than the rest: So that in a General Calamity they were rather reprieved than excepted: for two years after this, in the Suppression of the rest of the Monasteries, they fell under the common fate of other Houses. By these new Endowments, they were obliged to pay Tenthes and first-Fruits, and to obey all the Statutes and Rules that should be sent to them from the King, as Supream Head of the Church. But it is not unlike, that some presents, to the Commissioners, or to *Cromwell*, made these Houses outlive this ruin: for I find great trading in Bribes at this time, which is not to be wondred at, when there was so much to be shared.

Collect. Numb. 3. sect. 2.

Yet people generally encline to Rebel.

But great disorders followed upon the Dissolution of the other Houses. People were still generally discontented. The Suppression of Religious Houses occasioned much out-crying, and the Articles then lately published about Religion, encreased the distaste they had conceived at the Government. The old Clergy were also very watchful to improve all opportunities, and to blow upon every spark. And the Popes Power of deposing Kings had been for almost five hundred years received as an Article of Faith. The same Council that established Transubstantiation, had asserted it: and there were many Precedents, not only in *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, but also in *England*, of Kings that were Deposed by Popes, whose Dominions were given to other Princes. This had begun in the Eighth Century, in two famous Deprivations. The one in *France*, of *Childeric* the 3d, who was deprived, and the Crown given to *Pepin*: and about the same time, those Dominions in *Italy* which were under the Eastern Emperors, renounced their alleagance to them. In both these the Popes had a great hand, yet they rather confirmed and approved of those Treasonable Mutations, than gave the first rise to them. But after Pope *Gregory* the 7th's time, it was clearly assumed, as a Right and Prerogative of the Papal Crown, to Depose Princes, and absolve Subjects from the Oaths of Alleagance, and set up others in their

stead.

stead. And all those Emperors or Kings, that contested any thing with Popes, sat very uneasie and unsafe in their Thrones, ever after that. But if they were tractable to the demands of the Court of *Rome*, then they might oppress their Subjects, and Govern as unjustly as they pleased : for they had a mighty support from that Court. This made Princes more easily bear the Popes usurpations, because they were assisted by them in all their other Proceedings. And the Friers, having the Consciences of people generally in their hands, as they had the word given by their General at *Rome*, so they disposed people, either to be obedient, or seditious, as they pleased. 1536.

Now, not only their own Interests, mixed with their zeal for the ancient Religion, but the Popes Authority, gave them as good a Warrant to encline the people to Rebel, as any had in former times, of whom some were Canonized for the like practices. For in *August* the former year, the Pope had Summoned the King to appear within Ninety days, and to answer for putting away his Queen, and taking another Wife ; and for the Laws he had made against the Church, and putting the Bishop of *Rochester* and others to death for not obeying these Laws : and if he did not reform these faults, or did not appear to answer for them, the Pope Excommunicated him, and all that favoured him, deprived the King, put the Kingdom under an Interdict, forbade all his Subjects to obey, and other States to hold Commerce with him, dissolved all his Leagues with forreign Princes, commanded all the Clergy to depart out of *England*, and his Nobility to rise in Arms against him. But now, the force of those Thunders, which had formerly produced great Earth-quakes and Commotions, was much abated ; yet some storms were raised by this, though not so violent as had been in former times.

The people were quiet till they had reaped their Harvest. And though some Injunctions were published a little before, to help it the better forward, most of the Holy days in Harvest being abolished by the Kings Authority ; yet that rather Inflamed them the more. Other Injunctions were also published in the Kings name by *Cromwell* his Vice-gerent, which was the first Act of pure Supremacy done by the King. For in all that went before, he had the Concurrence of the two Convocations. But these, it is like, were penned by *Cranmer*. The Reader is referred to the Collection of Papers for them, as I transcribed them out of the Register. The Kings injunctions about Religion.

" The Substance of them was, that first, all Ecclesiastical Incum-
" bents were for a quarter of an year after that, once every Sunday, Collect Numb. 7.
" and ever after that, twice every quarter, to publish to the people :
" That the Bishop of *Romes* usurped Power, had no ground in the
" Law of God : and therefore was on good reasons abolished in this
" Kingdom : And that the Kings Power was by the Law of God, Su-
" pream over all persons in his Dominions. And they were to do
" their uttermost endeavour, to extirpate the Popes Authority, and to
" establish the Kings.

" *Secondly*, They were to declare the Articles lately published, and
" agreed to, by the Convocation : and to make the people know which
" of them were Articles of Faith, and which of them Rules for the
" decent and politick Order of the Church.

Thirdly,

1536. "*Thirdly*, They were to declare the Articles lately set forth, for "the Abrogation of some superfluous Holy days, particularly in Har-"vest time.

"*Fourthly*, They were no more to extol Images or Relicks, for su-"perstition or gain; nor to exhort people to make Pilgrimages, as "if blessings and good things were to be obtained of this or that "Saint or Image. But in stead of that, the people were to be instru-"cted to apply themselves to the keeping of Gods Commandments, "and doing works of Charity; and to believe that God was better "served by them, when they stayed at home and provided for their "Families, than when they went Pilgrimages: and that the Moneys "laid out on these, were better given to the poor.

"*Fifthly*, They were to exhort the people to teach their Children "the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and the ten Commandments, in *En-"glish*: and every Incumbent was to explain these, one Article a day, "till the people were Instructed in them. And to take great care, "that all Children were bred up to some trade or way of Living.

"*Sixthly*, They must take care that the Sacraments and Sacra-"mentals be reverently administred in their Parishes, from which "when at any time they were absent, they were to Commit the "Cure to a Learned and expert Curate; who might instruct the peo-"ple in wholsome Doctrine: that they might all see, that their Pa-"stors did not pursue their own profits or interests, so much as the "Glory of God, and the good of the Souls under their Cure.

"*Seventhly*, They should not, except on urgent occasion, go to "Taverns or Ale-houses: nor sit too long at any sort of Games after "their Meals: but give themselves to the Study of the Scripture, or "some other honest exercise; and remember that they must excel "others in purity of life, and be examples to all others to live well "and Christianly.

"*Eighthly*, Because the goods of the Church, were the goods of "the poor; every Beneficed person that had twenty Pound or above, "and did not reside, was yearly to distribute the Fortieth part of "his Benefice to the poor of the Parish.

"*Ninthly*, Every Incumbent that had an hundred Pound a year, must "give an Exhibition for one Schollar at some Grammar School, or "University; who after he had compleated his Studies, was to be "Partner of the Cure and Charge, both in Preaching, and other du-"ties: And so many hundred Pounds as any had, so many Students he "was to breed up.

"*Tenthly*, Where Parsonage or Vicarage-Houses were in great de-"cay, the Incumbent was every year to give a fifth part of his pro-"fits to the repairing of them, till they were finished; and then to "maintain them in the State they were in.

"*Eleventhly*, All these Injunctions were to be observed, under pain "of suspension and sequestration of the mean profits till they were ob-"served.

Which were much censured. These were equally ingrateful to the Corrupt Clergy, and to the Laity that adhered to the old Doctrine. The very same opinions, about Pilgrimages, Images, and Saints departed, and instructing the people in the Principles of Christian Religion in the Vulgar tongue, for

for which the *Lollards* were not long ago, either burnt or forced to abjure them, were now set up by the Kings Authority. From whence they concluded, that whatsoever the King said of his maintaining the old Doctrine, yet he was now changing it. The Clergy also were much troubled at this Precedent, of the Kings giving such Injunctions to them, without the consent of the Convocation: From which they concluded, they were now to be slaves to the Lord Vice-gerent. The matter of these Injunctions was also very uneasie to them. The great profits they made by their Images, and Relicks, and the Pilgrimages to them, were now taken away: and yet severe Impositions and heavy Taxes were laid on them; a fifth-part for Repairs, a tenth at least for an Exhibitioner, and a fortieth for Charity, which were cryed out on as intolerable burdens. Their Labour was also increased, and they were bound up to many severities of Life: All these things touched the Secular Clergy to the quick, and made them concur with the Regular Clergy in disposing the people to Rebel. 1536.

This was secretly fomented by the great Abbots. For though they were not yet struck at, yet the way was prepared to it; and their Houses were oppressed with crouds of those who were sent to them from the suppressed Houses. There was some pains taken to remove their fears. For a Letter was sent to them all in the Kings name, to silence the reports that were spread abroad, as if all Monasteries were to be quite suppressed. This they were required not to believe but to serve God according to their Order, to obey the Kings Injunctions, to keep Hospitality, and make no wastes nor dilapidations. Yet this gave them small comfort; and as all such things do, rather encreased than quieted their jealousies and fears. So many secret causes concurring, no wonder the people fell into mutinous and seditious practices.

A Rebellion in *Lincolnshire*.

The first rising was in *Lincolnshire* in the beginning of *October*, where a Church-man, disguised into a Cobler, and directed by a Monk, drew a great body of men after him. About 20000 were gathered together. They swore to be true, to God, the King, and the Common-wealth, and digested their Grievances into a few Articles, which they sent to the King, desiring a redress of them.

Their Demands.

" They complained of some things that related to secular concerns, " and some Acts of Parliament that were uneasie to them: They also " complained of the suppression of so many Religious Houses: that " the King had mean persons in high places about him, who were " ill Councellors: They also complained of some Bishops who had " subverted the Faith; and they apprehended the Jewels and Plate of " their Churches, should be taken away. Therefore they desired the " King would call to him the Nobility of the Realm, and by their " advice redress their Grievances: Concluding with an acknowledgment of the Kings being their Supream Head, and that the Tenthes " and first Fruits of all Livings, belonged to him of Right.

The Kings answer.

When the King heard of this Insurrection, he presently sent the Duke of *Suffolk* with a Commission to raise forces for dispersing them: But with him he sent an answer to their Petition. " He began with " that about his Councellors, and said; It was never before heard of " that the Rabble presumed to Dictate to their Prince, what Coun-

1536. "cellors he should choose. That was the Princes work and not theirs. "The Suppression of Religious Houses was done pursuant to an Act "of Parliament, and was not set forth by any of his Counsellors. "The Heads of these Religious Houses, had under their own hands "confessed those horrid scandals, which made them a reproach to the "Nation. And in many Houses there were not above Four or Five "Religious persons. So it seemed they were better pleased, that "such dissolute persons should consume their Rents in riotous and idle "living, than that their Prince should have them for the Common good "of the whole Kingdom. He also answered their other Demands in "the same high and commanding strain; and required them to sub-"mit themselves to his mercy, and to deliver their Captains and Lieu-"tenants into the hands of his Lieutenants; and to disperse, and car-"ry themselves as became good and obedient Subjects, and to put an "hundred of their number into the hands of his Lieutenants, to be "ordered as they had deserved.

When this answer was brought to them, it raised their Spirits higher. The practising Clergy-men continued to inflame them. They perswaded them that the Christian Religion would be very soon defaced, and taken away quite, if they did not vigorously defend it: That it would come to that, that no man should marry a Wife, receive any of the Sacraments, nor eat a piece of rost meat, but he should pay for it: That it were better to live under the *Turk*, than under such oppression. Therefore there was no cause in which they could with more honour and a better conscience hazard their Lives, than for the Holy Faith. This encouraged and kept them together a little longer. They had forced many of the Gentry of the Countrey to go along with them. These sent a secret Message to the Duke of *Suffolk*, letting him know what ill effects the Kings rough answer had produced: That they had joyned with the people only to moderate them a little, and they knew nothing that would be so effectual as the offer of a general pardon. So the Duke of *Suffolk*, as he moved towards them with the forces which he had drawn together, sent to the King to know his pleasure, and earnestly advised a gentle composing of the matter without blood. At that same time the King was advertised from the North, that there was a general and formidable Rising there. Of which he had the greater apprehensions, because of their neighbourhood to *Scotland*; whose King, being the Kings Nephew, was the Heir presumptive of the Crown, since the King had Illegitimated both his Daughters. And though the Kings firm Alliance with *France* made him less apprehensive of trouble from *Scotland*, and their King was at this time in *France*, to marry the Daughter of *Francis*; yet he did not know how far a general Rising might invite that King, to send orders to head and assist the Rebels in the North. Therefore he resolved first to quiet *Lincolnshire*. And as he had raised a great force about *London*, with which he was marching in person against them; so he sent a new Proclamation, Requiring them to return to their obedience, with secret assurances of mercy. By these means they were melted away. Those who had been carryed in the Stream, submitted to the Kings mercy, and promised all obedience for the future: Others, that were

It's quieted by the Duke of *Suffolk*.

A new Rebellion in the North.

obstinate,

obſtinate, and knew themſelves unpardonable, fled Northward, and joyned themſelves to the Rebels there: Some of their other Leaders were apprehended, in particular the Cobler, and were Executed. 1536.

But for the Northern Rebellion, as the parties concerned, being at a greater diſtance from the Court, had larger opportunities to gather themſelves into a huge Body; ſo the whole Contrivance of it was better laid. One *Ask* Commanded in chief. He was a Gentleman of an ordinary condition, but underſtood well how to draw on and Govern a Multitude. Their march was called the *Pilgrimage of Grace*. And to inveigle the people, ſome Prieſts marched before them with Croſſes in their hands. In their Banners they had a Crucifix with the Five wounds, and a Chalice: and every one wore on his ſleeve as the badge of the Party, an Emblem of the Five wounds of Chriſt, with the name *Jeſus* wrought in the midſt. All that joyned to them took an Oath, "That they entered into this *Pilgrimage of Grace*, for "the love of God, the preſervation of the Kings perſon, and iſſue, "the purifying the Nobility, and driving away all baſe born and ill "Counſellors; and for no particular profit of their own, nor to do "diſpleaſure to any, nor to kill any for envy; but to take before "them the Croſs of Chriſt, his Faith, the Reſtitution of the Church, "and the Suppreſſion of Hereticks, and their opinions. Theſe were ſpecious pretences, and very apt to work upon a giddy and diſcontented multitude. So people flocked about their Croſſes and Standards in great numbers; and they grew to be 40000 ſtrong. They went over the Countrey without any great oppoſition. The Arch-Biſhop of *York* and the Lord *Darcy* were in *Pomfret* Caſtle; which they yielded to them, and were made to ſwear their Covenant. They were both ſuſpected of being ſecret Promoters of the Rebellion: the latter ſuffered for it, but how the former excuſed himſelf I cannot give any account. They alſo took *York*, and *Hull*; but though they ſummoned the Caſtle of *Skipton*, yet the Earl of *Cumberland*, who would not degenerate from his Noble Anceſtors, held it out againſt all their force: and though many of the Gentlemen, whom he had entertained at his own coſt, deſerted him, yet he made a brave reſiſtance. *Scarborough* Caſtle was alſo long beſieged; but there Sir *Ralph Evers*, that Commanded it, gave an un-exampled inſtance of his fidelity and courage; for though his proviſions fell ſhort, ſo that for twenty days he and his men had nothing but bread and water, yet they ſtood out till they were relieved.

Which grew very formidable.

This Riſing in *Yorkſhire* encouraged thoſe of *Lancaſhire*, the Biſhoprick of *Duresme*, and *Weſtmoreland*, to Arm. Againſt theſe the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, that he might not fall ſhort of the Gallantry and Loyalty of his renownd Anceſtors, made head: though he had no Commiſſion from the King. But he knew his zeal and fidelity would eaſily procure him a pardon, which he modeſtly asked for the ſervice he had done. The King ſent him not only that, but a Commiſſion to command in chief all his forces in the North. To his Aſſiſtance he ordered the Earl of *Derby* to march; and ſent *Courtney* Marqueſs of *Exeter*, and the Earls of *Huntington*, and *Rutland*, to joyn him. He alſo ordered the Duke of *Suffolk*, with the force that he had led into *Lincolnſhire*, to lye ſtill there; leſt they, being but newly quieted, ſhould

1536. break out again, and fall upon his Armies behind; when the *Yorkshire* men met them before.

The Duke of Norfolk and others sent against them.

On the 20th of *October*, he sent the Duke of *Norfolk* with more forces to joyn the Earl of *Shrewsbury*: But the Rebels were very numerous and desperate. When the Duke of *Norfolk* understood their strength, he saw great reason to proceed with much caution: for if they had got the least advantage of the Kings Troops, all the discontents in *England* would upon the report of that have broken out. He saw their numbers were now such, that the gaining some time was their ruin: for such a great Body could not subsist long together, without much provisions; and that must be very hard for them to bring in: So he set forward a Treaty. It was both honourable for the King to offer mercy to his distracted Subjects, and of great advantage to his affairs: for as their numbers did every day lessen; so the Kings forces were still encreasing. He wrote to the King, that considering the season of the year, he thought the offering some fair conditions might perswade them to lay down their Arms, and disperse themselves: Yet when the Earl of *Shrewsbury* sent a Herald with a Proclamation, ordering them to lay down their Arms, and submit to the Kings mercy; *Ask* received him sitting in State, with the Arch-Bishop on the one hand, and the Lord *Darcy* on the other, but would not suffer any Proclamation to be made, till he knew the Contents of it. And when the Herauld told what they were, he sent him away without suffering him to publish it. And then the Priests used all their endeavours, to engage the people to a firm resolution of not dispersing themselves, till all matters about Religion were fully setled.

As they went forward, they every-where repossessed the ejected Monks of their Houses; and this encouraged the rest, who had a great mind to be in their old Nests again. They published also many stories among them of the growing burdens of the Kings Government, and made them believe that Impositions would be laid on every thing that was either bought or sold. But the King hearing how strong they were, sent out a general Summons to all the Nobility to meet him at *Northampton* the 7th of *November*. And the forces sent against the Rebels advanced to *Doncaster*, to hinder them from coming further southward; and took the Bridge, which they fortified, and laid their forces along the River to maintain that Pass.

They advance to Doncaster.

The Writers of that time say, that the day of Battel was agreed on; but that the night before, excessive Rains falling, the River swelled so, that it was unpassable next day, and they could not force the Bridge. Yet it is not likely the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, having in all but 5000 men about him, would agree to a pitched Battel with those who were Six times his number, being then 30000. Therefore it is more likely that the Rebels only intended to pass the River the next day, which the Rain that fell hindred: But the Duke of *Norfolk* continued to press a Treaty, which was hearkned to by the other side; who were reduced to great straits; for their Captain would not suffer them to spoyl the Countrey, and they were no longer able to subsist without doing that. The Duke of *Norfolk* directed some that were secretly gained, or had been sent over to them as

Deserters

Deserters, to spread reports among them; that their Leaders were making Terms for themselves, and would leave the rest to be undone. This joyned to their necessities, made many fall off every day. The Duke of *Norfolk* finding his Arts had so good an operation, offered to go to Court, with any whom they would send with their demands, and to intercede for them. This he knew would take up some time, and most of them would be dispersed before he could return. So they sent two Gentlemen, whom they had forced to go with them, to the King to *Windsor*. Upon this, the King discharged the Rendezvous at *Northampton*, and delayed the sending an answer as much as could be: But at last, hearing that though most of them were dispersed; yet they had engaged to return upon warning, and that they took it ill that no answer came; he sent the Duke of *Norfolk* to them with a general pardon, six only excepted by name, and four others that were not named. But in this the Kings Counsels were generally censured, for every one was now in fear, and so the Rebels rejected the Proposition. The King also sent them word by their own Messenger "That he took it very ill at their hands, that they "had chosen rather to rise in Arms against him, than to Petition him "about these things which were uneasie to them. And to appease them a little, the King by new Injunctions, commanded the Clergy to continue the use of all the Ceremonies of the Church. This, it is like, was intended for keeping up the four Sacraments, which had not been mentioned in the former Articles. The Clergy, that were with the Rebels, met at *Pomfret* to draw up Articles to be offered at the Treaty that was to be at *Doncaster*: where three hundred were ordered to come from the Rebels to treat with the Kings Commissioners. So great a number was called, in hopes that they would disagree about their Demands, and so fall out among themselves. On the 6th of *December* they met to treat, and it seems had so laid their matter before, that they agreed upon these following Demands. 1536.

The Duke of *Norfolk* breaks them by delays.

" A general Pardon to be granted: a Parliament to be held at "*York*; and Courts of justice to be there; that none on the North "of *Trent* might be brought to *London* upon any Law-sute. They "desired a Repeal of some Acts of Parliament: Those for the last "Subsidy, for uses, for making words misprision of Treason, and for "the Clergies paying their Tenthes and first Fruits to the King. They "desired the Princess *Mary* might be restored to her right of Succes- "sion; the Pope to his wonted Jurisdiction, and the Monks to their "Houses again: that the *Lutherans* might be punished, that *Audley* "the Lord Chancellor, and *Cromwell* the Lord Privy-Seal, might be ex- "cluded from the next Parliament; and *Lee* and *Leighton*, that had "visited the Monasteries, might be imprisoned for Bribery and Ex- "tortion.

Their Demands.

But the Lords, who knew that the King would by no means agree to these Propositions, rejected them. Upon which the Rebels took heart again, and were growing more enraged and desperate; so that the Duke of *Norfolk* wrote to the King, that if some content were not given them, it might end very ill, for they were much stronger than his Forces were: And both he, and the other Commanders of the Kings Forces, in their hearts wished that most of their Demands were granted

1536. granted; being persons, who though they complied with the King, and were against that Rebellion, yet were great Enemies to *Lutheranism*, and wished a Reconciliation with *Rome*; of which the Duke of *Norfolk* was afterwards accused by the Lord *Darcy*, as if he had secretly encouraged them to insist on these Demands. The King seeing the humour was so obstinate, resolved to use gentler Remedies; and so sent to the Duke of *Norfolk* a general Pardon, with a promise of a Parliament, ordering him not to make use of these, except in extremity. This was no easie thing to that Duke, since he might be afterwards made to answer for it, whether the extremity was really such, as to justifie his granting these things. But the Rebels were become again as numerous as ever, and had resolved to cross the River, and to force the Kings Camp, which was still much inferiour to theirs in number. But Rains falling the second time, made the Foords again unpassable. This was spoken of by the Kings Party, as little less than a a Miracle, that Gods Providence had twice so opportunely interposed for the stopping of the progress of the Rebels: And it is very probable that on the other side, it made great impression on the Superstitious multitude; and both discouraged them, and disposed them, to accept of the offer of Pardon, and a Parliament to be soon called, for considering their other Demands. The King signed the Pardon at *Richmond*, the 9th of *December*: by which all their Treasons and Rebellion to that day, were pardoned, provided they made their submission to the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and lived in all due obedience for the future. "The King sent likewise a long answer to their Demands, as to what they complained about the subversion of the Faith; "He protested his zeal for the true Christian Faith, and that he would "live and die in the defence and preservation of it. But the ignorant "multitude were not to instruct him what the true Faith was, nor to "presume to correct what he and the whole Convocation had agreed "on. That as he had preserved the Church of *England* in her true Li-"berties, so he would do still; and that he had done nothing that was so "oppressive, as many of his Progenitours had done upon lesser grounds. "But that he took it very ill of them, who had rather one Churl or "two should enjoy the Profits of their Monasteries, to support them "in their dissolute and abominable course of living, than that their "King should have them for defraying the great Charge he was at for "their defence against Forreign Enemies. For the Laws, it was high "presumption in a rude multitude to take on them to judge what Laws "were good, and what not. They had more reason to think, that he "after twenty eight years Reign should know it better than they "could. And for his Government, he had so long preserved his Sub-"jects in Peace and Justice, had so defended them from their Enemies, "had so secured his Frontier, had granted so many general Pardons, "had been so unwilling to punish his Subjects, and so ready to receive "them into mercy; that they could shew no paralel to his Govern-"ment among all their former Kings. And whereas it was said, That "he had many of the Nobility of his Council, in the beginning of his "Reign, and few now; he shewed them in that one instance how "they were abused by the lying slanders of some disaffected Persons: "For when he came to the Crown, there were none that were born

The Kings answer to them.

"Noble

"Noble, of his Council, but only the Earl of *Surrey*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*; whereas now, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Marquess of *Exeter*, the Lord *Steward*, the Earls of *Oxford* and *Sussex*, "and the Lord *Sands*, were of the Privy-Council: And for the Spirituality, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, "*Hereford* and *Chichester*, were also of it: And he and his whole Council judging it necessary to have some at the board who understood "the Law of *England*, and the Treaties with Forreign Princes; he "had by their Unanimous advice brought in his Chancellor, and "the Lord Privy-Seal. He thought it strange, that they who were but "brutes, should think they could better judg who should be his Counsellors than himself and his whole Council: Therefore he would "bear no such thing at their hands; it being inconsistent with the duty "of good Subjects, to meddle in such matters. But if they or any of "his other Subjects, could bring any just complaint against any about "him, he was ready to hear it; and if it were proved, he would punish "it according to Law. As for the complaints against some of the Prelates "for preaching against the Faith, they could know none of these things "but by the report of others; since they lived at such a distance, that "they themselves had not heard any of them preach. Therefore he "required them not to give credit to Lies, nor be misled by those who "spread such Calumnies and ill reports: And he concluded all with a "severe Expostulation; adding that such was his love to his Subjects, "that imputing this Insurrection, rather to their folly and lightness, "than to any malice or rancour, he was willing to pass it over more "gently, as they would perceive by his Proclamation. 1536.

Now the people were come to themselves again, and glad to get off so easily; and they all chearfully accepted the Kings offers, and went home again to their several dwellings. Yet the Clergy were no way satisfied, but continued still to practise amongst them, and kept the Rebellion still on foot; so that it broke out soon after. The Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, were ordered to lie still in the Country with their Forces, till all things were more fully composed. They made them all come to a full submission; and first, to revoke all Oaths and Promises made, during the Rebellion, for which they asked the Kings Pardon on their knees; 2ly, To swear to be true to the King, and his Heirs and Successors; 3ly, To obey and maintain all the Acts of Parliament made during the Kings Reign. 4ly, Not to take Arms again but by the Kings Authority. 5ly, To apprehend all Seditious persons. 6ly, To remove all the Monks, Nuns, and Friars, whom they had placed again in the dissolved Monasteries. There were also Orders given to send *Ask* their Captain, and the Lord *Darcy*, to Court. *Ask* was kindly received, and well used by the King. He had shewed great conduct in Commanding the Rebels; and it seems the King had a mind, either to gain him to his service, or, which I suspect was the true Cause, to draw from him a discovery of all those, who, in the other parts of the Kingdom, had favoured or relieved them. For he suspected, not without cause, that some of the great Abbots had given secret supplies of Money to the Rebels: For which many of them were afterwards tryed and attainted. The Lord *Darcy* was under great apprehensions, and studied to purge himself,

1537. The Rebellion is quieted.

1537. himself, that he was forced to a Compliance with them; but pleaded, that the long and important services, he had done the Crown for fifty years, he being then fourscore, together with his great Age and Infirmity, might mitigate the Kings displeasure. But he was made Prisoner. Whether this gave those who had been in Arms, new jealousies, that the Kings Pardon would not be inviolably observed; or whether the Clergy had of new, prevailed on them to rise in Arms, I cannot determine: But it broke out again, though not so dangerously as before. Two Gentlemen of the North, *Musgrave* and *Tilby*, raised a body of 8000 men; and thought to have surprised *Carlisle*; but were repulsed by those within. And in their return the Duke of *Norfolk* fell upon them, and routed them. He took many prisoners, and by Martial Law hanged up all their Captains, and Seventy other Prisoners on the Walls of *Carlisle*. Others at that same time thought to have surprised *Hull*; but it was prevented, and the leaders of that Party were also taken and Executed.

New risings but soon dispersed.

Many other Risings were in several places of the Countrey, which were all soon repressed; the ground of them all was, that the Parliament which was promised, was not called: But the King said, they had not kept conditions with him, nor would he call a Parliament till all things were quieted. But the Duke of *Norfolks* vigilance every-where, prevented their gathering together in any great Body. And after several un-succesful attempts, at length the Countrey was absolutely quieted in *January* following. And then the Duke of *Norfolk* proceeded according to the Martial Law against many whom he had taken. *Ask* had also left the Court without leave, and had gone amongst them, but was quickly taken. So he and many others were sent to several places, to be made publick Examples. He suffered at *York*, others at *Hull*, and in other Towns in *Yorkshire*. But the Lord *Darcy*, and the Lord *Hussy*, were arraigned at *Westminster*, and attainted of Treason; The former for the Northern, and the other for the *Lincolnshire* Insurrection. The Lord *Darcy* was beheaded at *Towerhill*; and was much lamented. Every body thought that considering his Merits, his Age, and former services, he had hard measure. The Lord *Hussy* was beheaded at *Lincoln*. The Lord *Darcy* in his Tryal, accused the Duke of *Norfolk*; that in the Treaty at *Doncaster*, he had encouraged the Rebels to continue in their demands. This the Duke denyed, and desired a Tryal by Combate, and gave some presumptions to shew that the Lord *Darcy* bore him ill-will, and said this out of Malice. The King either did not believe this, or would not seem to believe it: And the Dukes great diligence in the Suppression of these Commotions set him beyond all jealousies. But after those Executions, the King wrote to the Duke in *July* next, to Proclaim an absolute Amnesty over all the North; which was received with great joy, every body being in fear of himself: and so this threatning storm was dissipated without the effusion of much blood, save what the sword of justice drew. At the same time the King of *Scotland* returning from *France* with his Queen, and touching on the Coast of *England*; many of the people fell down at his feet, praying him to assist them, and he should have all. But he was, it seems, bound up by the *French* King: and so went home without giving them

The chief of the Rebels executed.

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any encouragement. And thus ended this Rebellion, which was chiefly carryed on by the Clergy, under pretence of Religion. 1537.

And now the King was delivered of all his apprehensions that he had been in, for some years in fear of Stirs at home. But they being now happily composed; as he knew it would so overawe the rest of his discontented Subjects, that he needed fear nothing from them for a great while; so it encouraged him to go on in his other designs, of suppressing the rest of the Monasteries, and reforming some other Points of Religion. Therefore there was a new Visitation appointed for all the Monasteries of *England*. And the Visiters were ordered, to Examine all things that related either to their Conversation, to their affection to the King, and the Supremacy, or to their Superstition, in their several Houses: To discover what Cheats and Impostures there were, either in their Images, Relicks, or other miraculous things, by which they had drawn people to their Houses on Pilgrimages, and gotten from them any great Presents. Also to try how they were affected during the late Commotions, and to discover every thing that was amiss in them, and report it to the Lord Vice-gerent. In the Records of the whole Twenty Eighth year of the Kings Reign, I find but one Original Surrender of any Religious House. The Abbot of *Furnese* in *Lincolnshire* valued at 960 *lib.* with Thirty Monks resigning up that House to the King, on the 9th of *April*, which was very near the end of the year of the Kings Reign, for it commenced on the 22d of *April*. Two other Surrenders are enrolled that year. The one was of *Bermondsey* in *Surrey*, the first of *June* in the twenty eighth of the Kings Reign. The Preamble was, that they Surrendred in hopes of greater Benevolence from the King. But this was the effect of some secret practice, and not of the Act of Parliament. For it was valued at 548 *lib.* and so fell not within the Act. The other was of *Bushlisham* or *Bissam* in *Berkshire*, made by *Barlow* Bishop of St. *Davids*, that was Commendator of it, and a great Promoter of the Reformation. It was valued at 327 *lib.* But in the following year they made a quicker Progress, and found strange Enormities in the greater Houses. It seems all the Houses under 200 *lib.* of Rent were not yet suppressed. For I find many within that value afterwards resigning their Houses. So that I am enclined to believe, that the first visitation being made towards the Suppression of the lesser Monasteries, and that (as appears by their Instructions) being not to be finished till they had made a report of what they had done to the Court of Augmentations, who were after the report made to determine what pensions were to be reserved to the Abbot and other Officers; (which report was to be made in the Octaves of St. *Michael*, and after that, a new Commission was to be given for their Suppression;) when that was done, they went no further at that time, that so I cannot think there were many Houses Suppressed when these Stirres began: and after their first rising, it is not likely that great Progress would be made in a business that was like to inflame the people more, and encrease the number of the Rebels. Neither do I find any Houses suppressed by vertue of the former Act of Parliament till the twenty ninth year of the Kings Reign.

A new Visitation of Monasteries.

And yet they made no great hast this year. For there are but

Some of the great Abbots surrender their Houses.

1537. twenty one Surrenders all this year, either in the Rolls, or Augmentation-Office. And now, not only ſmall Abbeys, but greater ones, were ſurrendred to the King. The Abbots were brought to do it upon ſeveral Motives. Some had been faulty during the late Rebellion, and were liable to the Kings diſpleaſure: and theſe, to redeem themſelves, compounded the matter by a Reſignation of their Houſe. Others began to like the Reformation, and that made them the more willing to ſurrender their Houſes: ſuch as *Barlow* Biſhop of St. *Davids*, who not only ſurrendered up his own Houſe of *Buſhliſham*, but prevailed on many others to do the like: Others were convicted of great diſorders in their Converſation; and theſe not daring to ſtand a Tryal, were glad to accept of a Penſion for life, and deliver up their Houſe. Others were guilty of making great waſtes and Dilapidations. For they all ſaw the Diſſolution of their Houſes approaching, and ſo every one was induced to take all the care he could to provide for himſelf, and his kindred; ſo that the Viſitors found in ſome of the Richeſt Abbies of *England*, as St. *Albans*, and *Battell*, ſuch depredations made, that at St. *Albans* an Abbot could not ſubſiſt any longer, the rents were ſo low; and in *Battell*, as all their furniture was old and torn, not worth an 100 *lib.* ſo both in Houſe and Chappel, they had not 400 Marks worth of Plate. In other Houſes they found not above twelve or fifteen Ounces of Plate, and no furniture at all, but only ſuch things as they could not embezel; as the Walls, and Windows, Bells, and Lead. In other Houſes, the Abbot and Monks were glad to accept of a Penſion for themſelves during life: and ſo being only concerned for their own particular intereſt, reſigned their Houſe to the King. Generally, the Monks had eight Marks a year Penſion, till they were provided for. The Abbots Penſions were proportioned to the Value of their Houſe, and to their Innocence. The Abbots of St. *Albans*, and *Tewksbury*, had 400 Marks a year a piece. The Abbot of St. *Edmundsbury* was more Innocent, for the Viſitors wrote from thence, that they could find no ſcandals in that Houſe: So he (it ſeems) was not eaſily brought to Reſign his Houſe, and had 500 Marks Penſion reſerved to him. And for their inferior Officers ſome had 30. ſome 10. or 8. and the loweſt 6 *lib.* Penſion.

In other places, upon a vacancy, either by death, or deprivation, they did put in an Abbot only to reſign up the Houſe. For after the Kings Supremacy was eſtabliſhed, all thoſe Abbots that had been formerly confirmed by the Pope, were placed in this manner. The King granted a *Conge d'elire* to the Prior and Convent, with a Miſſive Letter, declaring the name of the perſon whom they ſhould chooſe: then they returned an election to the King, who, upon that, gave his aſſent to it by a Warrant under the great Seal, which was certified to the Lord Vice-gerent; who thereupon Confirmed the Election, and returned him back to the King, to take the Oaths: upon which, the Temporalities were reſtored. Thus all the Abbots were now placed by the King, and were generally pickt out to ſerve this turn. Others, in hope of advancement to Biſhopricks, or to be Suffragan Biſhops, as the inferior ſort of them were made generally, were glad to recommend themſelves to the Kings favour, by a quick and cheerful Surrender of their Monaſterie. Upon ſome of theſe inducements

ducements it was, that the greatest number of the Religious Houses were resigned to the King, before there was any Act of Parliament made for their Suppression. In several Houses, the Visitors, who were generally, either Masters of Chancery, or Auditors of the Court of Augmentations, studied not only to bring them to resign their Houses, but to Sign Confessions of their passed lewd and dissolute lives. Of these, there is only one now extant, which (it is like) escaped the general rasure and destruction of all Papers of that kind, in Queen *Maries* time. But from the Letters that I have seen, I perceive there were such Confessions made by many other Houses. That Confession of the Prior and Benedictins of St. *Andrews* in *Northampton* is to be seen in the Records of the Court of Augmentations. In which, with the most aggravating expressions that could be devised, they acknowledged their past ill life, "for which the Pitt of Hell was ready to "swallow them up. They confessed that they had neglected the Worship of God, lived in Idleness, Gluttony, and Sensuality, with many "other woful expressions to that purpose.

1538.

Confessions of horrid Crimes made in several Houses.

Other Houses, as the Monastery of *Betlesden*, resigned with this Preamble, "That they did profoundly consider, that the manner and "trade of living, which they, and others of their pretended Religion, had for a long time followed, consisted in some dumb ceremonies, and other Constitutions, of the Bishops of *Rome*, and other "forreign Potentates; as the Abbot of *Cisteaux*, by which they were "blindly led, having no true knowledg of Gods Laws; procuring "exemptions from their Ordinary and Diocesan, by the Power of the "Bishop of *Rome*, and submitting themselves wholly to a forreign "Power, who never came hither to reform their abuses, which were "now found among them. But that now knowing the most perfect way of living is sufficiently declared by Christ and his Apostles; and that it was most fit for them to be Governed by the "King, who was their Supream Head on earth; they Submitted themselves to his Mercy, and surrendered up their Monastery to him on the "25th of *September* in the 30th year of his Reign. This writing was signed by the Abbot, the Sub-prior, and nine Monks. There are five other Surrenders to the same purpose; by the *Gray*, and *White Friars* of *Stamford*, the *Gray-Friars* of *Coventry*, *Bedford*, and *Ailesbury*, yet to be seen. Some are resigned upon this Preamble, "That they "hoped the King would of new found their House; which was otherwise like to be ruined, both in Spirituals and Temporals. So did the Abbot of *Chertsey* in *Surrey*, with fourteen Monks, on the 14th of *July* in the 29th year of this Reign, whose House was valued at 744 *lib.* I have some reason to think that this Abbot was for the Reformation, and intended to have had his House new founded to be a House of true and well regulated devotion: And so I find the Prior of great *Malverne* in *Worcestershire* offered such a Resignation. He was recommended by Bishop *Latimer* to *Cromwell*, with an earnest desire that his House might stand, *not in Monkery, but so as to be converted to Preaching, Study, and Prayer.* And the good Prior was willing to compound for his House by a Present of 500 Marks to the King, and of 200 to *Cromwell*. He is commended, for being an old worthy man, a good Housekeeper, and one that daily fed many poor

Collect. Numb. 3. til 4.

 people.

1538. people. To this *Latimer* adds; *Alas my good Lord! Shall we not see Two or Three in every shire changed to such remedy?*

But the Resolution was taken once to extirpate all. And therefore though the Visitors interceded earnestly for one Nunnery in *Oxfordshire*, *Godstow*, where there was great strictness of life; and to which were most of the young Gentlewomen of the County were sent to be bred; so that the Gentrey of the Country desired the King would spare the House, yet all was uneffectual.

The form of most surrenders. Collect. *Numb.* 3. *Sect.* 1.

The General Form, in which most of these Resignations begins, is, "That the Abbot and Brethren, upon full deliberation, certain knowledg, of their own proper motion, for certain just and reasonable "causes, specially moving them in their Souls and Consciences, did "freely, and of their own accord, give and grant their Houses to the "King. Others (it seems) did not so well like this preamble; and therefore did, without any reason or preamble, give away their Houses to the Visitors, as Feoffees in trust for the Kings use. And thus they went on, procuring daily more surrenders. So that in the thirtieth year of the Kings Reign there were 159 Resignations enrolled, of which the Originals of 155 do yet remain. And for the Readers further satisfaction, he shall find, in the Collection at the end of this Book, the names of all these Houses so surrendred, with other particulars relating to them, which would too much weary him, if inserted in the thread of this Work. But there was no Law to force any to make such Resignations. So that many of the great Abbots would not comply with the King in this matter, and stood it out till after the following Parliament that was in the 31th year of his Reign.

Collect. *Numb.* 3. *Sect.* 5.

It was questioned by many, whether these surrenders could be good in Law, since the Abbots were but Trustees and Tenants for Life. It was thought they could not absolutely alienate, and give away their House for ever. But the Parliament afterwards declared the Resignations were good in Law. For by their Foundations all was trusted to the Abbot and the Senior Brethren of the House; who putting the Covent-Seal to any Deed, it was of force in Law. It was also said, that they thus surrendering, had forfeited their Charters and Foundations; and so the King might seize and possess them with a good Title, if not upon the Resignation, yet upon Forfeiture. But others thought, that, whatsoever the Nicety of Law might give the King, yet there was no sort of equity in it, that a few Trustees, who were either bribed, or frighted, should pass away that which was none of theirs, but only given them in Trust and for Life. Other Abbots were more roughly handled. The Prior of *Wooburn* was suspected of favouring the Rebels, of being against the Kings Supremacy, and for the Popes; and of being for the General Council then summoned to *Mantua*. And he was dealt with to make a submission and acknowledgment. In an account of a long Conference which he had with a Privy Counsellor under his own hand, I find that the great thing which he took offence at, was, That *Latimer* and some other Bishops preached against the Veneration of the Blessed Virgin, and the other Saints: and that the *English* Bible then set out, differed in many things from the *Latin*; with several lesser matters. So that they looked on their Religion as changed,

Divers opinions about these.

Some Abbots attainted of Treason.

changed, and wondered that the Judgments of God upon Queen *Anne* had not terrified others from going on to subvert the Faith: yet he was prevailed with, and did again submit to the King, and acknowledg his Supremacy; but he afterwards joyned himself to the Rebels and was taken with them, together with the Abbot of *Whaley*, and two Monks of his House; and the Abbot of *Gervaux*, with a monk of his House; and the Abbot of *Sawley* in *Lancashire*, with the Prior of that House; and the Prior of *Burlington*; who were all attainted of High Treason, and Executed. The Abbots of *Glastenbury* and *Reading*, were men of great power and Wealth. The one was rated at 3508. *lib.* and the the other at 2116. *lib.* They seeing the storm like to break out on themselves, sent a great deal of the Plate and Money that they had in their House, to the Rebels in the North. Which being afterwards discovered, they were attainted of High Treason a year after this; but I mention it here for the affinity of the matter: Further particulars about the Abbot of *Reading* I have not yet discovered. But there is an account given to *Cromwel* of the proceedings against the Abbot of *Glastenbury* in two Letters which I have seen, the one was writ by the Sheriff of the County, the other by Sir *John Russell*, who was present at his Trial, and was reputed a man of as great Integrity and Virtue as any in that time; which he seems to have left as an inheritance to that Noble Family that has descended from him. These inform, that he was indicted of Burglary, as well as Treason; for having broken the House in his Monastery where the Plate was kept, and taken it out, which as Sir *William Thomas* says, was sent to the Rebels. The evidence being brought to the Jury, who (as Sir *John Russel* writes,) were as good and worthy men as had ever been on any Jury in that County; they found him guilty. He was carried to the place of Execution, near his own Monastery; where (as the Sheriff writes) he acknowledged his guilt, and begged God and the King pardon for it. The Abbot of *Colchester* was also attainted of High Treason. What the particulars were I cannot tell. For the Record of their Attainders was lost; But some of our own Writers deservs a severe censure, who Write it was for denying the King Supremacy; whereas, if they had not undertaken to write the History without any information at all, they must have seen that the whole Clergy, but most particularly the Abbots, had over and over again acknowledged the Kings Supremacy.

1538

For clearing which and discovering the Impudence of *Sanders* Relation of this matter, I shall lay before the Reader, the Evidences that I find of the Submission of these and all the other Abbots to the Kings Supremacy: First, in the Convocation, in the 22d year of this Reign, they all acknowledged the King, *Supream Head of the Church of England.* They did all also swear to maintain the Act of the Succession of the Crown, made in the 25th year of his Reign, in which the Popes Power was plainly condemned. For in the proceedings against *More and Fisher*, it was frequently repeated to them, that all the Clergy had sworn it. It is also entred in the Journal of the House of Lords, that all the members of both Houses swore it at their breaking up: And the same Journals inform us, that the Abbots of *Colchester* and *Reading* sate in that Parliament, and as

there

1537. there was no Protestation made against any of the Acts passed in that Session, so it is often entred, that the Acts were agreed to by the Unanimous consent of the Lords. It appears also by several Original Letters, that the heads of all the Religious Houses in *England* had Signed that Position, *that the Pope had no more Jurisdiction in this Kingdom, than any forreign Bishop whatsoever.* And it was rejected by none but some *Carthusians*, and *Franciscans* of the *Observance*, who were proceeded against, for refusing to acknowledg it: When they were so pressed in it, none can imagine that a Parliamentary Abbot would have been dispenced with. And in the last Parliament, in which the second Oath about the Succession to the Crown was enacted, it was added, that they should also swear the King to be the Supream head of the Church. The Abbots of *Glassenbury* and *Reading* were then present, as appears by the Journals, and consented to it: So little reason there is for Imagining that they refused that, or any other Complyance that might secure them in their Abbies.

In particular, the Abbot of *Reading* had so got into *Cromwels* good opinion, that in some differences between him and *Shaxton* Bishop of *Salisbury*, that was *Cromwels* creature, he had the better of the Bishop. Upon which, *Shaxton*, who was a proud ill-natured man, wrote an high expostulating Letter to *Cromwell*, "Complaining of an Injun-"ction he had granted against him at the Abbots desire. He also "shewed that in some contests between him and his Residentiaries, "and between him and the Major of *Salisbury*, *Cromwel* was always "against him: he likewise challenged him, for not answering "his Letters. He tells him, God will judge him for abusing his "Power as he did; he prays God to have pity on him, and to turn "his heart, with a great deal more provoking Language. He also adds many insolent praises of himself; and his whole Letter is as extravagant a piece of vanity and insolence, as ever I saw. To this *Cromwel* wrote an answer, that shews him to have been indeed a great man. The Reader will find it in the Collection, and see from it how

Collect. Numb. 8. modestly and discreetly he carryed his Greatness.

But how justly soever these Abbots were attainted, the seizing on their Abbey-Lands, pursuant to those Attainders, was thought a great stretch of Law; since the Offence of an Ecclesiastical Incumbent is a Personal thing, and cannot prejudice the Church; no more than a secular man, who is in an Office, does by being Attainted, bring any diminution of the Rights of his Office on his successors. It is true there were some words cast into the thirteenth Act of the Parliament, in the 26th year of this Reign, by which divers Offences were made Treason, that seemed to have been designed for such a purpose. The words are, that whatsoever Lands any Traytor had *of any Estate of Inheritance in use or possession, by any Right, Title or Means*, should be forfeited to the King. By which, as it is certain, Estates in Tayl were comprehended, so the Lands that any Traytor had in Possession or use, seem to be included; and that the rather, because by some following words their heirs and Successors are for ever excluded. This either was not thought on when the Bishop of *Rochester* was Attainted, or perhaps was not claimed, since

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the King intended not to lessen the number of Bishopricks, but rather to increase them. Besides, the words of the Statute seem only to belong to an *Estate of Inheritance*: within which, Church-Benefices could not be included, without a great force put on them. 'Tis true the word *Successor* favoured these seisures, except that be thought an expletory word put in, out of form, but still to be limited to an Estate of Inheritance. That word does also import, that such Criminals might have successors. But if the whole Abbey was forfeited, these Abbots could have no successors: Yet it seems the seizures of these Abbeys were founded on that Statute, and this stretch of the Law occasioned that Explanation, which was added of the words *Estate of Inheritance*, in the Statute made in *Edward* the Sixth's Reign about Treasons: Where it is expressed, that Traitors should forfeit to the Crown, what Lands they had of any *Estate of Inheritance*, to which is added *in their own Right*, it seems, on design to cut off all Pretence for such Proceedings for the future, as had been in this Reign. But if there was any Illegality in these seizures, the following Parliament did at least tacitly Justifie them. For they excepted out of the Provisos made concerning the Abbies that were suppressed, such as had been *forfeited and seized on by any Attaindors of Treason.* 1537.

Another Surrender is not unlike these, but rather less Justifiable. Many of the *Carthusian* Monks of *London* were executed for their open denying of the Kings Supremacy, and for receiving Books from forreign parts against his Marriage and other proceedings; divers also of the same House, that favoured them, but so secretly, that clear proof could not be found to convict them, were kept Prisoners in their Cells, till they dyed. But the Prior was a worthy man, of whom *Thomas Bedyl*, one of the Visitors, writes, *that he was a man of such Charity that he had not seen the like, and that the eyes of the people were much on that House, and therefore he advised that the House might be converted to some good use.* But the Prior was made to resign, with this Preamble, "That many of that House had offended the King, "so that their goods might be justly confiscated, and themselves "adjudged to a severe death: which they desired to avoid, by an "humble Submission, and Surrender of their House to the King. But there were great Complaints made of the Visitors, as if they had practised with the Abbots and Priors to make these Surrenders: and that they had conspired with them to cheat the King, and had privately embezeled most of the Plate and furniture. The Abbess of *Cheapstow* complained in particular of Doctor *London* one of the Visitors, that he had been corrupting her Nuns: and generally it was cryed out on, that under-hand and ill practices were used. Therefore to quiet these reports, and to give some colour to justifie what they were about, all the foul Stories that could be found out were published to defame these Houses. *Battel*-Abbey was represented to be a little *Sodom*; so was Christ Church in *Canterbury*, with several other Houses. But for Whoredom and Adultery they found Instances without number; and of many other unnatural practices and secret Lusts, with arts to hinder Conceptions and make Abortions. But no story became so publick, as a discovery made of the Prior of the *Crossed Friars* in *London*; who on a Friday at eleven a Clock in the day was found in bed

1536. bed with a Whore. He fell down on his knees, and prayed those who surprised him, not to publish his shame: But they had a mind to make some advantage by it, and asked him Money. He gave them 30 *lib.* which he protested was all he had, but he promised them 30 *lib.* more: yet failing in the payment, a Sute followed on it: and in a Bill which I have seen given to *Cromwel*, then Master of the Rolls, the case is related.

The Superstition and cheats of these Houses discovered.

But all stories of this Kings served only to disgrace those Abbots or Monks that were so faulty. And the people generally said, these were personal crimes which ought to be punished: but they were no way satisfied with the Justice of the Kings proceedings, against whole Houses for the faults of a few. Therefore another way was thought on, which indeed proved more effectual, both for recovering the people out of the Superstitious fondness they had for their Images and Relicks, and for discovering the secret Impostures that had been long practised in these Houses. And this was, to order the Visitors to examine well all the Relicks, and feigned Images, to which Pilgrimages were wont to be made. In this, Doctor *London* did great service. From *Reading* he writes, "That the chief Relicks of "Idolatry in the Nation was there: an Angel with one wing, that "brought over the Spears head that pierced our Saviors side. To "which he adds a long Inventory of their other Relicks, and says "there were as many more as would fill Four Sheets of Paper. He "also writes from other places that he had every-where taken down "their Images and Trinkets. At St. *Edmundsbury*, as *John ap Rice* Informed, they found some of the Coals that Roasted St. *Laurence*, the Parings of St. *Edmunds* Toes, St. *Thomas Becket's* Penknife, and Boots; with as many pieces of the Cross of our Savior, as would make a large whole Cross. They had also Relicks against Rain, and for hindring weeds to spring. But to pursue this further were endless, the Relicks were so innumerable. And the value which the people had of them may be gathered from this; that a piece of St. *Andrews* finger set in an ounce of silver, was laid to pledge by the House of *Westacre* for 40 *lib.* but the Visitors, when they suppressed that House, did not think fit to redeem it at so high a rate.

Images publickly broken.

For their Images, some of them were brought to *London*, and were there at St. *Paul's* Cross in the sight of all the people, broken; that they might be fully convinced of the jugling Impostures of the Monks. And in particular, the Crucifix of *Boxley* in *Kent*, commonly called *the Rood of Grace*; to which many Pilgrimages had been made, because it was observed sometimes to bow, and to lift it self up, to shake, and to stir head, hands, and feet, to roul the eyes, move the lips, and bend the brows: All which were looked on by the abused multitude, as the effects of a Divine Power. These were now publickly discovered to have been cheats: For the Springs were shewed, by which all these motions were made. Upon which *John Hilsey* then Bishop of *Rochester*, made a Sermon, and Broke the Rood in pieces. There was also another famous Imposture discovered at *Hales* in *Glocestershire*; where the Blood of Christ was shewed in a viol of Christal, which the people sometimes saw but sometimes they could not see it: So they were made believe, that they were

not capable of ſo ſignal a favour, as long as they were in Mortal ſin; and ſo they continued to make preſents, till they bribed Heaven to give them the ſight of ſo Bleſſed a Relick. This was now diſcovered to have been the Blood of a Duck, which they renewed every week: and the one ſide of the Viol, was ſo thick that there was no ſeeing through it, but the other was clear and tranſparent: And it was ſo placed near the Altar, that one in a ſecret place behind, could turn either ſide of it outward. So when they had drained the Pilgrims that came thither, of all they had brought with them, then they afforded them the favour of turning the clear ſide outward; who upon that went home very well-ſatisfied with their journey and the expence they had been at. There was brought out of *Wales* a huge Image of wood, called *Darvel Gatheren*, of which one *Ellis Price* Viſitor of the Dioceſs of St. *Aſaph* gave this account. On the 6th of *April* 1537. "That the people of the Countrey had "a great Superſtition for it, and many Pilgrimages were made to it: "ſo that the day before he wrote, there were reckoned to be above "five or ſix hundred Pilgrims there: Some brought Oxen and Cattel, "and ſome brought Money; and it was generally believed, that if "any offered to that Image, he had Power to deliver his Soul from "Hell. So it was ordered to be brought to *London*, where it ſerved for fewel to burn Friar *Forreſt*. There was an huge Image of our Lady at *Worceſter*, that was had in great reverence; which when it was ſtript of ſome veils that covered it, was found to be the Statue of a Biſhop.

1538.

Pilgrims Ingage.

Barlow Biſhop of St. *Davids* did alſo give many advertiſements of the Superſtition of his Countrey, and of the Clergy and Monks of that Dioceſs, who were guilty of Heatheniſh Idolatry, groſs Impiety, and Ignorance, and of abuſing the people with many evident forgeries: about which he ſaid, he had good evidence when it ſhould be called for. But that which drew moſt Pilgrims and preſents in thoſe parts, was an Image of our Lady with a Taper in her hand; which was believed to have burnt nine years, till one forſwearing himſelf upon it, it went out: and was then much Reverenced and Worſhipped. He found all about the Cathedral ſo full of Superſtitious conceits, that there was no hope of working on them; therefore he propoſed the Tranſlating the Epiſcopal Seat from St. *Davids* to *Caermaerden*; which he preſſed by many Arguments, and in ſeveral Letters, but with no ſucceſs. Then many rich Shrines of our Lady of *Walſingham*, of *Ipſwich*, and *Iſlington*, with a great many more, were brought up to *London*, and burnt by *Cromwels* Orders.

Thomas Becket's ſhrine broken.

But the richeſt Shrine of *England*, was that of *Thomas Becket*, called *St. Thomas of Canterbury the Martyr*: who being raiſed up by King *Henry* the 2d, to the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury*, did afterwards give that King much trouble; by oppoſing his Authority, and exalting the Popes. And though he once conſented to the Articles agreed on at *Clarendon*, for bearing down the Papal, and ſecuring the Regal Power; yet he ſoon after repented, of that only piece of Loyalty, of which he was guilty all the while he was Arch-Biſhop. He fled to the Pope, who received him as a Confeſſor for the deareſt Article of the *Roman* Belief: The King and Kingdoms were Excommuni-

1538. cated, and put under an Interdict upon his Account. But afterwards, upon the Intercession of the *French* King, King *Henry* and he were reconciled, and the Interdict was taken off. Yet his unquiet Spirit could take no rest, for he was no sooner at *Canterbury*, than he began to Embroyl the Kingdom again: and was proceeding by Censures against the Arch-Bishop of *York*, and some other Bishops, for Crowning the Kings Son in his Absence. Upon the news of that, the King being then in *Normandy*, said, *If he had faithful Servants he would not be so troubled with such a Priest*; whereupon some zealous or officious Courtiers, came over and killed him: For which, as the King was made to undergoe a severe pennance, so the Monks were not wanting in their ordinary Arts to give out many miraculous stories concerning his Blood. This soon drew a Canonization from *Rome*; and he being a Martyr for the Papacy, was more extolled than all the Apostles or Primitive Saints had ever been. So that for 300 years, he was accounted one of the greatest Saints in Heaven, as may appear from the accounts in the leger-Books, of the offerings made to the three greatest Altars in Christs Church in *Canterbury*. The one was to Christ, the other to the Virgin, and the third to St. *Thomas*. In one year there was offered at Christ's Altar, 3*lib.* 2*s.* 6*d.* To the Virgins Altar, 63*lib.* 5*s.* 6*d.* But to St. *Thomas*'s Altar 832*lib.* 12*s.* 3*d.* But the next year the odds grew greater; for there was not a penny offered at Christs Altar, and at the Virgins, only 4*lib.* 1*s.* 8*d.* But at St. *Thomas*'s 954 *lib.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.* By such offerings it came, that his Shrine was of inestimable value. There was one Stone offered there by *Lewis* the 7th of *France*, who came over to visit it, in a Pilgrimage, that was believed the Richest in *Europe*. Nor did they think it enough to give him one day in the Calendar the 29th of *December*; but unusual honours were devised, for this Martyr of the liberties of the Church greater than any that had been given to the Martyrs for Christianity. The day of raising his body, or as they called it, of his Translation, being the 7th of *July*, was not only a holy-day, but every 50th year, there was a Jubilee for 15 days together, and Indulgence was granted, to all that came to visit his shrine: as appears from the Record of the sixth Jubilee, after his Translation, *Anno.* 1420; which bears, that there were then about an hundred thousand strangers come to visit his Tomb. The Jubilee began at twelve a clock on the Vigil of the feast, and lasted 15 days, by such Arts they drew an incredible deal of wealth to his shrine. The Riches of that, together with his disloyal practices, made the King resolve both to un-shrine and un-Saint him at once. And then his skull, which had been much worshipped, was found an Imposture. For the true skull was lying with the rest of his bones in his grave. The shrine was broken down, and carryed away; the Gold that was about it, filling two Chests, which were so heavy that they were a load to Eight strong men to carry them out of the Church. And his bones were as some say burnt, so it was understood at *Rome*, but others say they were so mixed with other dead bones, that it would have been a Miracle indeed to have distinguished them afterwards. The King also ordered his name to be struck out of the Kalendar, and the office for his Festivity to be dasht out of all Breviaries.

Sonmers Antiquities of *Canterbury*.

And

And thus was the Superſtition of *England* to Images and Relicks extirpated. 1538.

Yet the King took care to qualifie the diſtaſte which the Articles publiſhed the former year had given. And though there was no Parliament in the year 1537. yet there was a Convocation; upon the Concluſion of which, there was Printed an Explanation of the chief points of Religion, Signed by nineteen Biſhops, eight Arch-Deacons, and ſeventeen Doctors of Divinity and Law. In which there was an Expoſition of the Creed, the ſeven Sacraments, the ten Commandments, the Lords Prayer, and the Salutation of the Virgin, with an Account of Juſtification and Purgatory. But this work was put in a better Form afterwards, where the Reader will find a more particular account of it. When all theſe Proceedings of the Kings were known at *Rome*, all the Satyrical Penns there were employed to paint him out, as the moſt Infamous Sacrilegious Tyrant that ever was. They repreſented him as one that made War with Heaven and the Saints that were there: That committed outrages on the bodies of the Saints, which the Heatheniſh Romans would have puniſhed ſeverely for any that committed the like on thoſe that were dead, how mean or bad ſoever they had been. All his proceedings againſt the Prieſts or Monks that were Attainted and Executed for high Treaſon, were repreſented as the effects of ſavage and barbarous Cruelty. His ſuppreſſing the Monaſteries, and devouring what the Devotion of former Ages had Conſecrated to God, and his Saints, was called Ravenous and Impious Sacrilege; nor was there any thing omitted that could make him appear to poſterity, the blackeſt Tyrant that ever wore a Crown. They compared him to *Pharaoh*, *Nabuchadonoſor*, *Belſhazar*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, and *Dioclesian*; but chiefly to *Julian* the Apoſtate. This laſt Paralel liked them beſt, and his Learning, his Apoſtacy, and pretence of Reforming, were all thought copied from *Julian*; only they ſaid his manners were worſe. Theſe things were every day Printed at *Rome*, and the Informations that were brought out of *England* were generally addreſſed to Cardinal *Pool*, whoſe ſtyle was alſo known in ſome of them: All which poſſeſt the King with the deepeſt and moſt implacable hatred to him that ever he bore to any perſon, and did provoke him to all theſe ſeverities that followed on his Kindred and Family.

New Articles about Religion publiſhed.

Invectives againſt the King Printed at *Rome*.

But the malice of the Court of *Rome* did not ſtop there. For now the Pope publiſhed all theſe Thunders which he had threatned three years before. The Bull of Depoſition is Printed in *Cherubins Bullarum Romanum*, which ſince many have the confidence to deny matters of fact; tho Moſt publickly acted, ſhall be found in the Collection Papers, the ſubſtance of it is as follows. "The Pope being Gods "Vicar on Earth; and according to *Jeremyes* Prophecy, ſet over Na-"tions and Kingdoms, *to root out and deſtroy*; and having *the ſupream* "*power over all the Kings in the whole World*; was bound to proceed "to due correction, when milder courſes were ineffectual; therefore "ſince King *Henry*, who had been formerly a *Defender of the Faith*, "had fallen from it; had contrary to an Inhibition made, put away "his Queen, and married one *Anne Bollein*, and had made Impious "and hurtful Laws; denying the Pope to be the Supream Head of the

Collect. *Numb.* 9.

The Popes Bulls againſt the King.

1538. "the Church, but assuming that Title to himself; and had required "all his Subjects under pain of death to swear it; and had put the "Cardinal of *Rochester* to death, because he would not consent to "these Heresies; and by all these things had rendred himself unwor- "thy of his Regal Dignity; and had hardened his heart (as *Pharoah* "did) against all the Admonitions of Pope *Clement* the 7th; there- "fore since these his crimes were so notorious, he in imitation of what "the Apostle did to *Elimas* the Magician, proceeds to such Censures "as he had deserved; and with the advice of his Cardinals, does "first exhort him and all his Complices, to return from their errours, "to annull the Acts lately made; and to proceed no farther upon "them: which he requires him and them to do, under the pains of "Excommunication and Rebellion, and of the Kings losing his King- "dom; whom he required within 90 dayes, to appear at *Rome*, by "himself or Proxy, and his Complices within 60 dayes, to give an "account of their Actions; otherwise he would then proceed to a fur- "ther sentence against them. And Declares, that if the King and his "Complices do not appear, he has fallen from the right to his Crown, "and they from the right to their Estates; and when they die, they "were to be denied Christian Burial. He puts the whole Kingdom "under an Interdict; and declares all the Kings Children by the said "*Anne*, and the Children of all his Complices, to be under the "same pains, though they be now under age; and Incapacitates them "for all honours or employments; and declares all the Subjects or "Vassals of the Kings or his Complices, absolved from all Oaths or "Obligations to them, and requires them to acknowledg them no "more. And declares him and them Infamous, so that they might nei- "ther be witnesses nor make Wills. He requires all other persons "to have no dealings with him or them, neither by Trading, nor any "other way, under the pain of Excommunication; the annulling their "Contracts, and the exposing goods so Traded in, to all that should "catch them. And that all Clergymen should within five dayes after "the expiration of the time prefixed, go out of the Kingdom; (lea- "ving only so many Priests as would be necessary for Baptizing In- "fants, and giving the Sacrament to such as died in Penitence) un- "der the pains of Excommunication and Deprivation. And Charges "all Noble-men and others in his Dominions, under the same pains, "to rise up in Arms against him, and to drive him out of his King- "dom; and that none should take Arms for him, or any way assist "him: and Declares all other Princes absolved from any Confede- "racies made, or to be made, with him; and earnestly obtests the Em- "perour and all Kings, and requires other Princes under the former "pains, to trade no more with him; and in case of their disobedience "he puts their Kingdomes under an Interdict. And requires all "Princes and Military persons, in the vertue of Holy Obedience, to "make War upon him, and to force him to return to the Obedience "of the Apostolick See; and to seize on all Goods, or Merchandizes "belonging to the King or his Complices, where-ever they could find "them; and that such of his Subjects that were seized on, should "be made Slaves. And requires all Bishops, Three dayes after the "time that was set down was elapsed, to intimate this Sentence in all

their

" their Churches, with putting out of Candles, and other Ceremonies that ought to be used, in the most solemn and publick manner that might be. And all who hindered the Publication of this Sentence, are put under the same Pains. He ordained this Sentence to be affixed at *Rome*, *Tournay*, and *Dunkirk*; which should stand for a sufficient publication; and concludes, that if any should endeavour to oppose, or enervate any of the premises, he should incur the indignation of Almighty God, and the Holy Apostles, St. *Peter* and *Paul*. Dated at *Rome* the 30th of *August*, 1635. But the Pope found the Princes of Christendom liked the precedent, of using a King in that manner, so ill, that he suspended the Execution of this Bull till this time, that the suppression of Abbies, and the burning of *Thomas Beckets* Bones (for it was so represented at *Rome*, though our writers say they were buried;) did so inflame the Pope, that he could forbear no longer; and therefore by a new sentence he did all he could to shake him in his Throne. 1538.

" The Preamble of it was, That as our Saviour had pity on St. *Peter* after his fall, so it became St. *Peters* successors to imitate our Saviour in his Clemency; and that therefore though he having heard of King *Henry's* crimes, had proceeded to a sentence against him; (Here the former Bull was recited.) Yet some other Princes who hoped he might be reclaimed by gentler methods, had interposed for a suspension of the Sentence: and he being easie to believe, what he so earnestly desired, had upon their Intercession suspended it. But now he found they had been deceived in their hopes, and that he grew worse and worse; and had done such dishonour to the Saints, as to raise St. *Thomas* of *Canterburies* body, to arraign him of High Treason, and to burn his Body, and Sacrilegiously to rob the Riches that had been offered to his Shrine, as also to suppress St. *Austins* Abbey in *Canterbury*; and that having thrust out the Monks, he had put in wild Beasts into their grounds, having transformed himself into a Beast. Therefore he takes off the Suspension, and publishes the Bull, commanding it to be executed: Declaring that the affixing it at *Diepe* or *Bulloign* in *France*, at St. *Andrews* or *Callstren*, (that is *Callstream*, a Town near the border of *England*,) in *Scotland* or *Tuam*, or *Artifert* in *Ireland*, or any two of these, should be a sufficient Publication. Dated the 7th of *December*, *Anno Dom.* 1538.

No man can read these Bulls, but he must conclude that if the Pope be the Infallible and Universal Pastor of the Church, whom all are bound to obey, he has a full authority over all Kings, to proceed to the highest Censures possible: and since the matters of fact, enumerated in the Sentence as the grounds of it, were certainly true; then the Pope is either cloathed with the powers of Deposing Princes, or if otherwise, he lied to the world when he pretended to it thus, and taught false Doctrine, which cannot stand with Infallibility: And the pretended grounds of the sentence as to matter of fact, being evidently true, this must be a just Sentence; and therefore all that acknowledged the Infallibility of that See, were bound to obey it, and all the Rebellions that followed, during the reign of the King or his Children, were founded on this sentence, and must be justified by it; otherwise the

Popes

1538. Popes Infallibility must fall to the ground. But this was to be said for the Pope, that though he had raised the several branches of this Sentence, higher than any of his Predecessors had ever done; yet as to the main, he had very good and Authentick Precedents for what he did, from the Depositions of Emperours or Kings; that were made by former Popes for about 500 years together. This I thought needful to be more fully opened, because of the present Circumstances we are now in; since hereby every one that will consider things, must needs see that the belief of the Popes Infallibility does necessarily inferr the acknowledgment of their power of deposing Heretical Kings. For it is plain, the Pope did this *ex Cathedra*, and as a Pastor Feeding and Correcting his Flock.

But not content with this he also Wrote to other Princes, inflaming them against the King; Particularly to the Kings of *France*, and *Scotland*. To the last of these he sent a *Breve*; declaring King *Henry* a Heretique, a Schismatique, a manifest Adulterer, a publick

Lesley, Hist. Scot.

Murtherer, a Rebel, and convict of High Treason against him, the Pope his Lord; for which Crimes he had deposed him, and offered his Dominions to him, if he would go and Invade them. And thus the breach between him and the Pope was past reconciling: and at *Rome* it was declared equally meritorious to fight against him, as against the *Turk*. But *Card. Pool* made it more meritorious in his Book. Yet the Thunders of the *Vatican* had now lost their force; so that these had no other effect but to enrage the King more against all such as were suspected to fevour their interests, or to hold any correspondence with Cardinal *Pool*. Therefore he first procured a Declaration against the Popes pretentions, to be Signed by all the Bishops of *England*: In which, after they declared against the Popes Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, upon the grounds formerly touched, they concluded, "That the People ought to be Instructed, that Christ did expresly forbid his "Apostles or their Successors to take to themselves the power of "the Sword, or the authority of Kings. And that, if the Bishop of "*Rome*, or any other Bishop assumed any such power, he was a Tyrant and Usurper of other mens Rights, and a subverter of the "Kingdom of Christ. This was subscribed by 19 Bishops, (all that were then in *England*,) and 25 Doctors of Divinity and Law. It was at some time before *May* 1538. For *Edward Fox* Bishop of *Hereford* who was one that signed it [illegible] died the 8th. of *May* that year. There was no Convocation called by Writ for doing this. For as there is no mention of any such Writ in the Registers, so if it had been done by Convocation, *Cromwell* had signed it first; but his hand not being at it, it is more probable that a meeting of the Clergy was called by the Kings Missive Letters; or that as was once done before; the Paper was drawn at *London*, and sent over the Kingdom to the Episcopal Sees, for the Bishops hands to it.

The Clergy in *England* declared against these.

There is another original Paper extant, Signed at this time by eight Bishops: from which I conjecture those were all that were then about *London*. It was to shew, "That by the Commission which "Christ gave to Church-men, they were only Ministers of his Gospel, to Instruct the people in the purity of the Faith: But that by "other places of Scripture, the Authority of Christian Princes over all

Collect. *Numb.* 10.

"all their Subjects, as well Bishops and Priests, as others, was also "clear. And that the Bishops and Priests have charge of Souls with- "in their Cures, Power to administer Sacraments, and to teach the "word of God: To the which word of God, Christian Princes ac- "knowledg themselves subject; and that in case the Bishops be neg- "ligent, it is the Christian Princes Office to see them do their du- ty. This, being Signed by *John Hilsey* Bishop of *Rochester*, must be after the year 1537. in which he was consecrated; and *Latimer* and *Shaxton* also Signing, it must be before the year 1539. in which they resigned. But I believe it was Signed at the same time that the other was: And the design of it was to refuse those Calumnies spread at *Rome*, as if the King had wholly Suppressed all Ecclesiastical Offices, and denyed them any divine Authority, making them wholly dependent on the Civil Power, and Acting by Commission only from him. And therefore they explained the limits of both these Powers, in so clear and moderate a way, that it must have stopt the Mouths of all Opposers. But whether there was any publick use made of this Paper, I can by no means discover. 1538.



The King did also set forward the Printing of the *English* Bible, which was finished this year, at *London*, by *Grafton* the Printer, who Printed 1500 of them at his own Charge. This Bible *Cromwel* presented to the King, and procured his Warrant, allowing all his Subjects in all his Dominions to read it, without controul or hazard. For which, the Arch-Bishop wrote *Cromwel* a Letter of most hearty thanks, "dated the 13th of *August*. Who did now rejoyce that he "saw this day of Reformation, which he concluded was now risen in "*England*, since the Light of Gods word did shine over it with- "out any Cloud. The Translation had been sent over to *France* to be Printed at *Paris*: the workmen in *England* not being judged able to do it, as it ought to be. Therefore in the year 1537. it was recommended to *Bonners* care, who was then Ambassador at *Paris*, and was much in *Cromwels* favour, who was setting him up against *Gardiner*. He procured the King of *France*'s leave to Print it at *Paris*, in a large Volume: but upon a complaint made by the *French* Clergy, the Press was stopt, and most of the Copies were seized on and publickly burnt: but some Copies were conveyed out of the way, and the work-men and fourms were brought over to *England*: where it was now finished and published. And Injunctions were given out in the Kings name, by *Cromwel* to all Incumbents, "to pro- "vide one of these Bibles, and set it up publickly in the Church, "and not to hinder or discourage the reading of it, but to encourage "all persons to peruse it, as being the true lively word of God, which "every Christian ought to believe, embrace, and follow, if he expected "to be saved. And all were exhorted, not to make contests about "the Exposition or sense of any difficult place, but to refer that to "men of higher judgment in the Scriptures. Then some other Rules "were added, about the Instructing the people in the Principles of "Religion, by teaching the Creed, the Lords Prayer, and ten Com- "mandments in *English*: And that in every Church there should be "a Sermon, made every quarter of an year, at least, to declare to "the people the true Gospel of Christ, and to exhort them to the "works

The Bible Printed in English.

New injunctions set out by the King.

Collect. Numb. 11.

1538. "works of Charity, Mercy, and Faith: and not to trust in other "mens works, or Pilgrimages, to Images, or Relicks, or saying o-"ver Beads, which they did not understand; since these things tend-"ed to Idolatry and Superstition, which of all offences did most pro-"voke Gods Indignation. They were to take down all Images, which "were abused by Pilgrimages, or offerings made to them; and to "suffer no Candles to be set before any Image; only there might be "Candles before the Cross, and before the Sacrament, and about the Se-"pulchre: And they were to Instruct the people, that Images serv-"ed only as the Books of the un-learned, to be remembrances of the "Conversations of them whom they represented: but if they made "any other use of Images, it was Idolatry: for remedying whereof, "as the King had already done in part, so he intended to do more "for the abolishing such Images, which might be a great offence to "God, and a danger to the Souls of his Subjects. And if any of "them had formerly Magnified such Images, or Pilgrimages, to such "purposes; They were ordered openly to recant, and acknowledg, "that in saying such things they had been led by no ground in Scrip-"ture; but where deceived by a vulgar error, which had crept in-"to the Church, through the Avarice of those who had profit by "it. They were also to discover all such as were Letters of the read-"ing of Gods word in *English*, or hindred the Execution of these "Injunctions. Then followed orders for keeping of Registers in their "Parishes, for Reading all the Kings Injunctions once every quarter "at least: That none were to alter any of the Holy-days without di-"rections from the King: And all the Eves of the Holy-days for-"merly abrogated, were declared to be no Fasting-days: The "Commemoration of *Thomas Becket* was to be clean omitted: The "kneeling for the Avies after Sermon were also forbidden; which "were said in hope to obtain the Popes Pardon. And whereas in "their Processions they used to say so many Suffrages with an *Ora* "*pro nobis* to the Saints, by which they had not time to say the Suf-"frages to God himself, they were to teach the people, that it were "better to omit the *Ora pro nobis*, and to sing the other Suffrages which "were most necessary and most effectual.

These Injunctions struck at three main Points of Popery: containing encouragements to the vulgar, to Read the Scriptures in a known tongue, and putting down all worship of Images, and leaving it free for any Curate to leave out the Suffrages to the Saints. So that they were looked on as a deadly blow to that Religion. But now those of that party did so Artificially comply with the King, that no advantages could be found against any of them for their disobedience. The King was Master at home, and no more to be disobeyed. He had not only broken the Rebellion of his own Subjects, and secured himself by Alliance from the dangers threatned him by the Pope; but all their expectations from the Lady *Mary* were now clouded: For on the 12th of *October* 1537. Queen *Jane* had born him a Son; who was Christned *Edward*; the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* being one of his God-Fathers. This very much encouraged all that were for Reformation, and disheartned those who were against it. But the joy for this young Prince was qualified by the Queens death,

Prince *Edward* born.

two

two days after; which afflicted the King very much: for of all his Wives, she was the dearest to him. And his grief for that loss is given as the reason, why he continued two years a Widower. But others thought he had not so much tenderness in his Nature, as to be much or long troubled for any thing. Therefore the slowness of his Marrying was ascribed to some reasons of State. But the Birth of the Prince was a great disappointment to all those whose hopes rested on the Lady *Maries* succeeding her Father: Therefore they submitted themselves with more than ordinary Compliance to the King. 1538.

Great Compliances by the Popish party.

Gardiner was as busie as any in declaiming against the Religious Houses, and took occasion in many of his Sermons to commend the King for suppressing them: The Arch-Bishop of *York* had recovered himself at Court: And I do not find that he interposed in the Suppression of any of the Religious Houses, except *Hexham*, about which he wrote to *Cromwel*, that it was a great Sanctuary when the *Scots* made Inroads: And so he thought that the continuing of it might be of great use to the King. He added in that Letter, "that he did "carefully silence all the Preachers of Novelties. But some of these "boasted, that they would shortly have Licences from the King, as "he heard they had already from the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; "but he desired *Cromwel* to prevent that mischief. This is all that I find of him.

There is a Pardon granted to *Stokesly* Bishop of *London*, on the 3d of *July*, in the 30th year of his Reign being this year, for having Acted by Commission from *Rome*, and sued out Bulls from thence. If these crimes were done before the Separation from *Rome*, they were remitted by the General Pardon. If he took a particular Pardon, it seems strange that it was not enrolled till now. But I am apt to believe it was rather the Omission of a Clerk, than his being guilty of such a Transgression about this time; for I see no cause to think the King would have Pardoned such a Crime in a Bishop in those days. All that Party had now by their complyance and Submission gained so much on the King, that he began to turn more to their Councils, than he had done of late years. *Gardiner* was returned from *France*, where he had been Ambassador for some years: He had been also in the Emperors Court, and there were violent presumptions that he had secretly reconciled himself to the Pope, and entred into a Correspondence with him. For one of the Legates Servants discoursed of it at *Ratisbone*, to one of Sir *Henry Knevets* retinue (who was joyned in the Embassy with *Gardiner*,) whom he took to be *Gardiners* Servant, and with whom he had an old acquaintance. The matter was traced, and *Knevet* spoke with the *Italian* that had first let it fall, and was perswaded of the truth of the thing: But *Gardiner* smelling it out, said, That *Italian* upon whose Testimony the whole matter depended, was corrupted to ruine him; and complained of it to the Emperors Chancellor *Granvel*: Upon which *Ludovico* (that was the *Italian* name) was put in Prison. And it seems the King either looked on it as a Contrivance of *Gardiners* enemies, or at least seemed to do so, for he continued still to employ him. Yet on many occasions he expressed great contempt of him, and used him

1538 not as a Councellor, but as a slave. But he was a man of great cunning, and had observed the Kings temper exactly, and knew well to take a fit occasion for moving the King in any thing, and could improve it dextrously. He therefore represented to the King, that nothing would so secure him both at home, and abroad, against all the mischief the Pope was contriving, as to shew great zeal against Hereticks, chiefly the *Sacramentaries*, (by that name they branded all that denied the Corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist.) And the King being all his life, zealous for the belief of the Corporal presence, was the more easily perswaded to be severe on that Head: And the rather because the Princes of *Germany*, whose friendship was necessary to him, being all *Lutherans*, his proceedings against the *Sacramentaries* would give them no offence.

Gardiner stirs up the King against those called *Sacramentaries*.

An occasion at that time presented it self as opportunely as they could have wished, one *John Nicolson*, alias *Lambert*, was then questioned by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* for that opinion. He had been Minister of the *English* Company at *Antwerp*; where being acquainted with *Tindal* and *Frith*, he improved that knowledg of Religion, which was first infused in him by *Bilney*: But Chancellor *More* ordered the Merchants to dismiss him; so he came over to *England*, and was taken by some of Arch-Bishop *Warhams* officers, and many Articles were objected to him. But *Warham* died soon after, and the change of Counsels that followed occasioned his Liberty. So he kept a School at *London*, and hearing Doctor *Taylor*, afterwards Bishop of *Lincoln*, Preach of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, he came to him upon it, and offered his reasons why he could not believe the Doctrine he had Preached: Which he put in Writing, digesting them into ten Arguments. *Taylor* shewed this to Doctor *Barnes*, who as he was bred among the *Lutherans*, so had not only brought over their opinions, but their temper with him: He thought that nothing would more obstruct the progress of the Reformation than the venting that Doctrine in *England*. Therefore *Taylor* and he carryed the Paper to *Cranmer*, who was at that time also of *Luthers* opinion, which he had drunk in from his friend *Osiander*. *Latimer* was of the same belief. So *Lambert* was brought before them, and they studyed to make him retract his Paper: But all was in vain, for *Lambert* by a fatal resolution appealed to the King.

And *Lambert* in particular.

Who had appealed to the King.

This *Gardiner* laid hold on, and perswaded the King to proceed solemnly and severely in it. The King was soon prevailed with, and both Interest and Vanity concurred to make him improve this opportunity, for shewing his zeal and Learning. So Letters were written to many of the Nobility and Bishops, to come and see this Tryal; in which the King intended to sit in Person, and to manage some part of the Argument. In *November*, on the day that was prefixed, there was a great appearance in *Westminster-Hall*, of the Bishops, and Clergy, the Nobility, Judges, and the Kings Council; with an incredible number of Spectators. The Kings Guards were all in White, and so was the Cloth of State.

When the Prisoner was brought to the Barr. The Tryal was opened by a Speech of Doctor *Dayes*, which was to this effect: "That this Assembly was not at all convened to dis-

And was publickly tryed at *Westminster*.

"pute

"pute about any Point of Faith; but that the King being Supream 1538.
"Head, intended openly to condemn and confute that mans Heresie
"in all their presence. Then the King commanded him to declare his opinion about the Sacrament. To which *Lambert* began his answer with a Preface, acknowledging the Kings great goodness, that he would thus hear the Causes of his Subjects, and commending his great Judgment and Learning. In this the King interrupted him, telling him in Latine, that he came not there to hear his own praises set forth, and therefore commanded him to speak to the matter. This he uttered with a stern Countenance; At which *Lambert* being a little disordered, the King asked him again, whether was Christ's body in the Sacrament or not? He answered in the Words of St. *Austine*, *It was his Body in a certain manner.* But the King bade him answer plainly, whether it was Christs Body or not? So he answered, *That it was not his Body.* Upon which the King urged him with the words of Scripture, *This is my Body*; and then he commanded the Arch-Bishop to confute his Opinion, who spoke only to that part of it, which was grounded on the Impossibility of a Bodies being in two places at once. And that he confuted from Christs appearing to St. *Paul*; shewing that though he is alwayes in Heaven, yet he was seen by St. *Paul* in the Air. But *Lambert* affirmed, that he was then only in Heaven; and that St. *Paul* heard a Voice, and saw a Vision, but not the very body of Christ. Upon this they disputed for some time: in which it seems the Bishop of *Winchester* thought *Cranmer* argued but faintly, for he interposed in the Argument.

Arguments brought against him.

Tonstals arguments run all upon Gods Omnipotency, that it was not to be limited by any appearances of difficulties, which flowed from our want of a right understanding of things; and our Faculties being weak, our notions of Impossibilities were proportioned to these. But *Stokesley* thought he had found out a Demonstration that might put an end to the whole Controversie; for he shewed, that in Nature we see one substance changed into another, and yet the accidents remain. So when Water is boyled, till it evaporates into Air, one substance is changed into another, and moysture that was the accident remains, it being still moist. This (as one of the eye-witnesses relates) was received with great applause, and much joy appeared in the Bishops looks upon it. But whether the Spectators could distinguish well between Laughter for Joy, and a scornful smile, I cannot tell: For certainly this Crotchet must have provoked the latter rather; since it was a Sophisme, not to be forgiven any above a Junior Sophister; thus from an accidental conversion, where the substance was still the same, only altered in its Form and Qualities, (according to the Language of that Philosophy, which was then most in vogue,) to infer a substantial mutation, where one substance was annihilated, and a new one produced in its place. But these arguments it seems disorder'd *Lambert* somewhat; and either the Kings stern looks, the variety of the Disputants, ten, one after another, engaging with him, or the greatness of the presence, with the length of the action, which continued five hours, put him in some confusion; it is not improbable but they might in the end bring him to be quite silent. This one that was present said, flowed from his being spent and wearied; and that he saw

1538. what he said was little considered: but others ascribed it to his being confounded with the arguments that were brought against him. So the general applause of the Hall, gave the victory on the Kings side. When he was thus silent, the King asked him if he was convinced by these arguments, and whether he would live or die? He answered, *That he committed his Soul to God, and submitted his Body to the Kings Clemency.* But the King told him, if he did not recant he must die, for he would not be a Patron of Hereticks; and since he would not do that, the King ordered *Cromwel* to read the Sentence, (which he as "the Kings Vice-gerent did,) declaring him an Incorrigible Heretick, and condemning him to be burnt. Which was soon after executed in *Smithfield*, in a most barbarous manner; for when his Legs and Thighs were burnt to the Stumps, there not being fire enough to consume the rest of him suddenly, two of the Officers raised up his body on their Halberds, he being yet alive, and crying out, *None but Christ, none but Christ*; and then they let him fall down into the Fire, where he was quickly consumed to ashes. He was a learned and good man. His answers to the Articles objected to him by *Warham*, and a Book which in his Imprisonment he wrote for justifying his opinion, which he directed to the King; do shew both great Learning for those times, and a very good Judgment.

He is condemned.

And Burned.

This being done, the party that opposed the Reformation, perswaded the King that he had got so much reputation to himself by it, that it would effectually refute all aspersions, which had been cast on him, as if he intended to change the Faith: neither did they forget to set on him in his weak side, and magnifie all that he had said, as if the Oracle had uttered it: By which they said it appeared he was indeed a Defender of the Faith, and the Supream Head of the Church. And he had so good a conceit of what was then done, that he intended to pursue these severities further; and therefore soon after he resolved on Summoning a Parliament, partly for confirming what he had done, and compleating what remained to be done further, in the suppression of the Monasteries; and likewise for making a new Law for punishing some Opinions, which were then spreading about the Sacrament, and some other Articles, as will soon appear.

The Popish party gain ground at Court.

Now the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*'s Interest at Court, suffered a great diminution. His chief friend among the Bishops, was *Fox* Bishop of *Hereford*, who was much esteemed, and imployed by the King. He was a Privy-Councellor, and had been imployed in a Negotiation with the Princes of *Germany*, to whom he was a very acceptable Minister. They proposed, That the King would receive the *Ausburg* Confession, except in such things as should be altered in it by common Consent, and defend it in a free Council, if any such were called; and that neither of them should acknowledg any Council called by the Pope: That the King should be called the Patron of their League, and they should mutually assist one another, the King giving 100000 Crowns a year towards the defence of the League.

The Bishop of *Winchester* being then in *France*, did much disswade the King from making a Religious League with them; against which

he gave some plausible politick reasons, for his Conscience never struggled with a maxim of State. But the King liked most of the propositions; only he would not accept the Title of Defender of their League, till some differences in the Doctrine were agreed. So they were to have sent over *Sturmius* as their Agent; and *Melancthon*, *Bucer*, and *George Draco*, to confer with the Kings Divines. But upon Queen *Anne's* fall this vanished; and though the King entered into a Civil League with them, and had frequently a mind to bring over *Melancthon*, for whom he had a great value, yet it never took effect. There were three things in which the *Germans* were more positive than in any other point of Reformation. These were, the Communion in both kinds, the worship in a known Tongue, and an allowance for the marriage of the Clergy. All the people had got these things in their heads; so that it was generally believed, that if the Pope had in time consented to them, the Progress of the Reformation had been much stopped. The express words of the Institution, and the Novelty of the contrary practice, had engaged that Nation very early for Communion in both kinds. Common sense made them all desire to understand what they did and said in the Worship of God; and the lewd and dissolute practices of the unmarried Clergy, were so publick, that they thought the honour of their Families, of which that Nation is extremely sensible, could not be secured, unless the Clergy might have Wives of their own. But at these the King stuck more, than at other things that were more disputable. For in all other points that were material, he had set up the Doctrine of the *Ausburg* Confession; and there was good ground to hope that the Evidence of at least two of these would have brought over the King to a fuller Agreement, and firmer Union with them. But the Bishop of *Hereford's* death gave a great blow to that design. For though that party thought they had his room well filled, when they had got *Bonner* to be his Successor; yet they found afterwards what a fatal mistake they committed, in raising him now to *Hereford*, and translating him within a few months to *London*, vacant by *Stokesleys* death. But during the vacancy of the See of *Hereford*, *Cranmer* held a Visitation in it, where he left some Injunctions (to be found in the Collection) which chiefly related to the encouraging of reading the Scriptures, and giving all due obedience to the Kings Injunctions. For the other Bishops that adhered to *Cranmer*, they were rather clogs than helps to him. *Latimers* simplicity and weakness made him be despised: *Shaxtons* proud and litigious humour drew hatred on him: *Barlow* was not very discreet; and many of the Preachers whom they cherished, whether out of an unbridled forwardness of temper, or a true zeal that would not be managed and governed by politick and prudent measures, were flying at many things that were not yet abolished. Many complaints were brought of these to the King. Upon which, letters were sent to all the Bishops in the Kings name, to take care that as the People should be instructed in the truth, so they should not be unwarily charged with too many novelties; since the publishing these, if it was not tempered with great discretion, would raise much contention, and other inconveniencies that might be of dangerous consequence. But it seems this Caveat did not produce what was designed

by

1538.

The Kings correspondence with the German Princes.

Bonners dissimulation.

Coll. Numb. 12.

1538. by it, or at least the opposite party were still bringing in new Complaints: for I have seen an original Letter of Cromwels to the Bishop of Landaffe, bearing date the 6th of January: In which he makes mention of the Kings Letters sent to that purpose, and requires him to look to the Execution of them, both against the violence of the new Preachers, and against those that secretly carried on the pretended authority of the Bishop of Rome; otherwise he threatens to proceed against him in an other manner. All these things concurred to lessen Cranmers interest in the Court; nor had he any firm friend there but Cromwel, who was also careful to preserve himself: There was not a Queen now in the Kings bosome to favour their motions. Queen Jane had been their friend, though she came in Anne Bolleyns room that had supported them most. The King was observed to be much guided by his Wives, as long as they kept their interest with him. Therefore Cromwel thought the only way to retrieve a design that was almost lost, was to engage the King in an Alliance with some of the Princes of Germany; from whence he had heard much of the Beauty of the Lady Anne of Cleve, the Duke of Cleve's Sister, whose elder sister was married to the Duke of Saxony.

Coll. Numb. 13.

A new Parliament.

But while he was setting this on foot, a Parliament was summoned to meet the 28th of April. To which all the Parliamentary Abbots had their Writs. The Abbots of Westminster, St. Albans, St. Edmundsbury, St Mary York, Glassenbury, Glocester, Ramsey, Evesham, Peterborough, Reading, Malmesbury, Croyland, Selby, Thorny, Winchelcomb, Waltham, Cirencester, Teukesbury, Colchester and Tavestoke, sate in it. On the 5th of May, the Lord Chancellour acquainted them, that the King being most desirous to have all his Subjects of one mind in Religion; and to quiet all Controversies about it, had commanded him to move to them, that a Committee might be appointed for examining these different opinions, and drawing up Articles for an agreement, which might be reported and considered by the House. To this the Lords agreed, and named for a Committee, Cromwel the Vice-gerent, the two Arch-Bishops, the Bishops of Duresme, Bath and Wells, Ely, Bangor, Carlisle and Worcester: Who were ordered to go about it with all haste, and were dispenced with for their attendance in the House, till they had ended their business. But they could come to no agreement; for the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, having the Bishops of Ely and Worcester to second him, and being favoured by Cromwel, the other five could carry nothing against them; Nor would either party yeeld to the other, so that 11 dayes passed in these debates.

The 6 Articles are proposed.

On the 16th of May, the Duke of Norfolk told the Lords, That the Committee that was named had made no progress, for they were not of one mind; which some of the Lords had objected, when they were first named. Therefore he offered some Articles to the Lords consideration, that they might be examined by the whole House, and that there might be a perpetual Law made for the observation of them, after the Lords had freely delivered their minds about them. The Articles were.

" First, Whether in the Eucharist, Christs real Body was present " without any Transubstantiation? (so it is in the Journal absque " Transubstantiatione) it seems so the Corporal Presence had been

" established,

" established, they would have left the manner of it indefinite. 1539.

" *Secondly*, Whether that Sacrament was to be given to the Laity " in both kinds?

" *Thirdly*, Whether the Vows of Chastity, made either by Men or " Women, ought to be observed, by the Law of God?

" *Fourthly*, Whether by the Law of God private Masses ought to " be celebrated?

Fifthly, Whether Priests by the Law of God might marry?

" *Sixthly*, Whether Auricular Confession were necessary by the Law " of God?

Against these the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* argued long. For the first, he was then in his opinion a *Lutheran*, so he was not like to say much against it. But certainly he opposed the second much; since there was not any thing for which those with whom he held correspondence were more earnest, and seemed to have greater advantages, both from Christs own words in the Institution, and the constant practice of the Church for 12 ages. Reasons against them.

For the *Third*, It seemed very hard to suppress so many Monasteries, and set the Religious persons at liberty, and yet bind them up to Chastity. That same Parliament by another Act, absolved them from their vow of Poverty, giving them Power to purchase Lands: now it was not reasonable to bind them up to some parts of their Vow, when they absolved them from the rest. And it was no ways prudent to bind them up from Marriage, since, as long as they continued in that State, they were still capable to re-enter into their Monasteries, when a fair occasion should offer; whereas they upon their Marrying, did effectually lay down all possible pretensions to their former Houses.

For the *Fourth*, The Asserting the Necessity of private Masses, was a plain Condemnation of the Kings proceedings in the Suppression of so many Religious Houses, which were Societies chiefly dedicated to that purpose. For if these Masses did profit the Souls departed, the destroying so many Foundations could not be justified. And for the living, these private Masses were clearly contrary to the first Institution, by which that which was blessed and consecrated was to be distributed: And it was to be a Communion, and so held by the Primitive Church, which admitted none, so much as to see the Celebration of that Sacrament, but those who received it: Laying Censures upon such as were present at the rest of that office, and did not stay and Communicate.

For the *Fifth*, it touched *Cranmer* to the quick, for he was then Marryed. The Scripture did in no place enjoye the Celibat of the Clergy. On the contrary Scripture speaks of their Wives, and gives the Rules of their living with them. And St. *Paul* in express words condemns all mens leaving their Wives, without exception, saying *That the man hath not Power over his own body but the Wife*. In the Primitive Church, though those that were in orders did not Marry, yet such as were Marryed before Orders kept their Wives, of which there were many Instances, and when some moved in the Council of *Nice*, that all that had been Marryed, when they entred into Orders, should put away their Wives, it was rejected, and ever since the

Greek

1539. *Greek* Churches have allowed their Priests to keep their Wives. Nor was it ever commanded in the Western Church, till the Popes began their Usurpation. Therefore the prohibition of it being only grounded on the Papal Constitutions, it was not reasonable to keep it up, since that Authority on which it was built was now overthrown.

What was said concerning Auricular Confession, I cannot so easily recover. For though *Cranmer* argued three days against these Articles, I can only gather the substance of his Arguments from what himself wrote on some of these Heads afterwards. For nothing remains of what passed there, but what is conveyed to us in the Journal, which is short and defective.

On the 24th of *May* the Parliament was Prorogued to the 30th, upon what reason it does not appear. It was not to set any of the Bills backward; for it was agreed, that the Bills should continue in the State in which they were then, till their next meeting. When they met again; on the 30th of *May* being *Friday*, the Lord Chancellor intimated to them, that not only the Spiritual Lords, but the King himself, had taken much pains to bring things to an agreement which was effected. Therefore he moved in the Kings name, that a Bill might be brought in for punishing such as offended against these Articles. So the Lords appointed the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Ely*, and St. *Davids*, and Doctor *Petre*, a master of Chancery, (afterwards Secretary of State,) to draw one Bill; and the Arch-Bishop of *York*, the Bishop of *Duresm*, and *Winchester*, and Doctor *Tregonnel*, another Master of Chancery, to draw another Bill about it; and to have them both ready, and to offer them to the King by Sunday next. But the Bill that was drawn by the Arch-Bishop of *York*, and those with him, was best liked: yet it seems the Matter was long contested, for it was not brought to the House before the 7th of *June*; and then the Lord Chancellor offered it, and it was read the first time. On the 9th of *June* it had the second reading, and on the 10th it was engrossed and read the third time. But when it passed, the King desired the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* to go out of the House, since he could not give his consent to it; but he humbly excused himself, for he thought he was bound in conscience to stay and vote against it. It was sent down to the House of Commons, where it met with no great opposition; for on the 14th it was agreed to, and sent up again: And on the 28th it had the force of a Law by the Royal Assent.

The Title of it was, an Act *for abolishing Diversity of opinions in certain Articles concerning Christian Religion*. It is said in the Preamble, that the King, "considering the blessed effects of union, and the mischiefs "of discord, since there were many different opinions, both among "the Clergy and Laity, about some points of Religion, had called "this Parliament, and a Synod at the same time, for removing these "differences, where six Articles were proposed, and long debated by "the Clergy: And the King himself had come in person to the Parliament, and Council, and opened many things of high Learning "and great knowledg about them: And that he, with the Assent of "both Houses of Parliament, had agreed on the following Articles.

An Act past for them.

"*First*

" *First*, That in the Sacrament of the Altar after the Consecration 1539.
" there remained no Substance of Bread and Wine, but under these
" forms, the Natural Body and Blood of Christ were present. *Secondly*,
" That Communion in both kinds was not necessary to Salvation to all
" persons by the Law of God; but that both the Flesh and Blood of
" Christ were together in each of the kinds. *Thirdly*, That Priests
" after the order of Priesthood might not Marry by the Law of God.
" *Fourthly*, That vows of Chastity ought to be observed by the Law
" of God. *Fifthly*, That the use of private Masses ought to be con-
" tinued; which as it was agreeable to Gods Law, so men received
" great benefit by them. *Sixthly*, That Auricular Confession was ex-
" pedient, and necessary, and ought to be retained in the Church.
" The Parliament thanked the King, for the pains he had taken in
" these Articles: And Enacted, that if any after the 12th of *July*,
" did speak, preach, or write against the first Article, they were to
" be judged Hereticks, and to be burnt without any abjuration; and
" to forfeit their real and personal Estates to the King. And those
" who preached or obstinately disputed against the other Articles,
" were to be judged Felons; and to suffer death as Felons, without
" benefit of Clergy. And those, who either in word or writing, spake
" against them, were to be Prisoners during the Kings pleasure, and
" forfeit their goods and Chattels to the King, for the first time: And
" if they offended so the second time, they were to suffer as Felons.
" All the Marriages of Priests are declared void; and if any Priest did
" still keep any such woman, whom he had so Marryed, and lived
" familiarly with her, as with his Wife, he was to be judged a Fe-
" lon: And if a Priest lived carnally with any other woman, he was
" upon the first Conviction to forfeit his Benefices, Goods, and Chat-
" tels, and to be Imprisoned during the Kings pleasure; and upon the
" second Conviction, was to suffer as a Felon. The women so of-
" fending, were also to be punished in the same manner, as the Priests;
" and those who contemned, or abstained from Confession, or the Sa-
" crament, at the accustomed times, for the first offence were to for-
" feit their Goods and Chattels, and be Imprisoned; and for the se-
" cond, were to be adjudged of Felony. And for the Execution of
" this Act, Commissions were to be issued out to all Arch-Bishops
" and Bishops, and their Chancellors and Commissaries, and such o-
" thers in the several shires as the King should name, to hold their
" Sessions quarterly, or oftner; and they were to proceed upon pre-
" sentments, and by a Jury. Those Commissioners were to swear,
" that they should execute their Commission indifferently, without
" favour, affection, corruption, or malice. As Ecclesiastical Incumbents
" were to read this Act in their Churches once a quarter. And in
" the end a Proviso was added, concerning vows of Chastity. That
" they should not oblige any, except such as had taken them at or
" above the Age of 21 years; or had not been compelled to take
" them.

This Act was received, by all that secretly favoured Popery, with great joy; for now they hoped to be revenged on all those who had hitherto set forward a Reformation. It very much quieted the Bigots; who were now perswaded that the King would not set up He-

Which is variously censured.

1539. resie, since he passed so severe an Act against it; and it made the total Suppression of Monasteries go the more easily thorough. The Popish Clergy liked all the Act very well, except that severe branch of it against their unchast practices. This was put in by *Cromwel* to make it cut with both edges. (Some of our inconsiderate Writers, who never perused the Statutes, tell us it was done by a different Act of Parliament; but greater faults must be forgiven them who write upon hearsay.) There was but one comfort that the poor Reformers could pick out of the whole Act, that they were not left to the Mercy of the Clergy, and their Ecclesiastical Courts, but were to be tryed by a Jury; where they might expect more candid and gentle dealing. Yet the denying them the benefit of Abjuration, was a severity beyond what had ever been put in practise before: So now they began to prepare for new storms and a heavy persecution.

An Act about the Suppression of the greater Monasteries.

The other chief business of this Parliament was the Suppression of Monasteries. It is said in the Preamble of that Act, "That divers Abbots. Priors, and other Heads of Religious Houses, had, since the "4th of *February* in the 27th year of the Kings Reign, without con-"straint, of their own accord, and according to the due course of "the Common Law, by sufficient writings of Record, under their "Covent-Seals, given up their Houses and all that belonged to them "to the King. Therefore all Houses that were since that time sup-"pressed, dissolved, relinquished, forfeited, or given up, are Confirm-"ed to the King and his Successors for ever: And all Monasteries that "should thereafter be suppressed, forfeited, or given up, are also Con-"firmed to the King and his Successors. And all these Houses, with "the Rents belonging to them, were to be disposed of by the Court "of Augmentations for the Kings profit; excepting only such as were "come into the Kings hands by Attaindors of Treason, which be-"longed to the Exchequer. Reserving to all persons, except the Pa "trons, Founders, and Donors of such Houses, the same right to any "parts of them, or jurisdiction in them, which they could have claim-"ed if that Act had never been made. Then followed many clauses "for Annulling all Deeds and Leases, made within one year before "the Suppression of any Religious House, to the prejudice of it, or "different from what had been granted formerly. And all Church-"es or Chappels, which belonged to these Monasteries, and were for-"merly exempted from the Visitation or Jurisdiction of their Ordina-"ry, are declared to be within the Jurisdiction of the Bishop, of the "Dioces, or of any other that should be appointed by the King.

This Act passed in the House of Peers, without any Protestation made by any of the Abbots, though it appears by the Journal that at the first reading of it, there were eighteen Abbots present, at the second reading twenty, and seventeen at the third reading, and the Abbots of *Glastenbury Colchester* and *Reading*, were among those who were present; so little reason there is to think they were attainted for any open withstanding the Kings proceedings, when they did not protest against this Act, which was so plainly levelled at them. It was soon dispatched by the Commons; and offered to the Royal Assent. By it, no Religious Houses were suppressed, as is generally taken for granted; but only the Surrenders, that either had been, or were to

be"

be made, were Confirmed. The last Proviso for Annulling all Exemptions of Churches and Chappels, had been a great happiness to the Church, if it had not been for that Clause; *That the King might appoint others to visit them*; which in a great degree did enervate it. For many of those who afterwards purchased these Lands with the Impropriated Tithes, got this likewise in their Grants, that they should be the Visitors of the Churches and Chappels formerly exempted: from whence great disorders have since followed in these Churches, which not falling within the Bishops Jurisdiction, are thought not liable to his Censures; so that the Incumbents in them, being under no restraints, have often been scandalous to the Church; and given occasion to those who were disaffected to the Hierarchy, to censure the Prelates, for these offences which they could not punish; since the offenders were thus excepted out of their Jurisdiction. This abuse, which first sprang from the Ancient Exemptions that were Confirmed or Granted by the See of *Rome*, has not yet met with an effectual Remedy. 1539.

Upon the whole matter, this Suppression of Abbies was universally censured, and besides the common Exceptions which those that favoured the old Superstition, made, it was questioned whether the Lands that formerly belonged to Religious Houses, ought to have returned to the Founders and Donors by way of *Reverter*, or to have fallen to the Lords of whom the Lands were holden by way of *Escheat*, or to have come to the Crown. It is true, by the *Roman* Law, or at least by a Judgment of the Senate in *Theodosius*'s time, the Endowments of the Heathenish Temples were upon a full debate, whether they should return to the right Heirs, or be Confiscated, in the end adjudged to the *Fisc* or the Emperors Exchequer; upon this reason, that by the will of the Donors, they were totally alienated from them and their Heirs. But in *England* it went otherwise. And when the Order of the Knights-Templers was dissolved, it was then judged in favour of the Lord by Escheat. For though the Founders and Donors had totally alienated these Lands from themselves and their heirs, yet there was no reason from thence to conclude any thing that might wrong the Superior Lord of his Right in the case of an Escheat. And this must have held good, if those alienations and Endowments had been absolute without any condition. But the Endowments being generally rather of the Nature of Covenants and Contracts, and made in Consideration of so many Masses to be said for their Souls, then it was most just, that, upon a non-performance of the Condition, and when that publick Error and Cheat which the Monks had put upon the World was discovered, the Lands should have returned to the Founders and Patrons and their Heirs and Successors. Nor was there any grounds for the Lords to pretend to them by Escheat, especially where their Ancestors had consented to, and confirmed those Endowments. Therefore there was no need of Excluding them by any special Proviso. But for the Founders and Donors, certainly if there had not been a Particular Proviso made against them, they might have recovered the Lands which their Ancestors had superstitiously given away; and the Surrenders which Religious persons made to the Crown, could not have cut off

1539. their Title. But this Act did that effectually. It is true, many of the greatest of them were of Royal Foundation, and these would have returned to the Crown without Dispute.

Another about the Erecting new Bishopricks.

On the 23 of *May*, in this Session of Parliament a Bill was brought in by *Cromwel*, for giving the King Power to Erect new Bishopricks by his Letters Patents. It was read that day for the first, second, and third time; and sent down to the Commons. The Preamble of it was, "That it was known what slothful and ungodly Life had been "led by those who were called Religious. But that these Houses "might be converted to better uses; that Gods word might be better "set forth, Children brought up in Learning, Clarks nourished in the "Universities, and that old decayed Servants might have Livings, "poor people might have Alms-Houses to maintain them, Readers "of *Greek*, *Hebrew*, and *Latine*, might have good Stipend, daily Alms "might be Ministred, and Allowance might be made for mending "of the high-ways, and Exhibition for Ministers of the Church, for "these ends, if the King thought fit to have more Bishopricks or Cathe-"dral Churches erected out of the Reat of these Houses; full Power was "given to him to erect, and found them; and to make Rules and "Statutes for them, and such Translations of Sees or divisions of them "as he thought fit. But on this Act I must adde a singular Remark. The Preamble and material parts of it, were drawn by the King himself; and the first draught of it under his hand is yet extant; which shows his extraordinary application and understanding of business. But in the same Paper there is a List of the Sees which he intended to found; of which what was done afterwards came so far short, that I know nothing to which it can be so reasonably imputed, as the declining of *Cranmers* Interest at Court; who had proposed the Erecting of new Cathedrals and Sees, with other things mentioned in the Preamble of the Statute, as a great mean for Reforming the Church. The Sees which the King then designed, with the Abbies out of which they were to be Erected, follow, as it is in the Paper under the Kings own hand.

The Kings design about these.

Essex	*Waltham.*	*Hartford.*	St. *Albans.*
Bedfordshire and *Buckinghamshire.*	*Dunstable.* *Newenham.* *Clowstown.*	*Oxford* and *Berkshire.*	*Osnay* and *Tame.*
Northampton and *Huntington.*	*Peterborough.*	*Middlesex.*	*Westminster.*
Leicester and *Rutland.*	*Leicester.*	*Glocestershire*	St. *Peters.*
Lancashire	*Fountaines* and the Arch-deaconry of *Richmond.*		
Suffolk	*Edmonds-bury.*	*Stafford* and *Salop.*	*Shrewsbury.*
Nottingham and *Derby.*	*Welbeck.* *Werksop.* *Thurgarton.*	*Cornwall*	*Lanceston.* *Bedmynne.* *Wardreth.*

Over

Over these is written *The Bishopricks to be made*. In another corner of the Page he writes as follows. 1539.

" *Places to be altered according to our device, which have Sees in them.*
" *Christ's-Church* in *Canterbury*, St. *Swithins*, *Ely*, *Duresm*, *Rochester*, with a part of *Leeds*, *Worcester*, and all others having the same. Then a little below. *Places to be altered into Colledges and Schools. Burton* super *Trent*. More is not written in that Paper. But I wonder much that in this List *Chester* was forgotten. Yet it was Erected before any of them. For I have seen a Commission under the Privy Seal to the Bishop of *Chester*, to take the Surrender of the Monastery of *Hamond* in *Shropshire*, bearing date the 24th of *August* this year. So it seems the See of *Chester* was Erected and endowed before the Act passed, though there is among the Rolls a Charter for Endowing and founding of it afterwards. *Bristow* is not mentioned in this Paper, though a See was afterwards Erected there. It was not before the end of the next year that these Sees were founded; and there was in that Interval so great a Change made, both of the Counsels and Ministers, that no wonder the things now designed were never accomplished.

Another Act passed in this Parliament, concerning the obedience due to the Kings Proclamations. There had been great exceptions made to the Legality of the Kings proceedings, in the Articles about Religion, and other Injunctions published by his authority, which were complained of as contrary to Law; since by these the King had without consent of Parliament, altered some Laws, and had laid Taxes on his Spiritual Subjects. Upon which an Act passed, which sets " forth in the preamble, the contempt and disobedience of the Kings " Proclamations, by some who did not consider what a King by his " Royal power might do; which if it continued, would tend to the " disobedience of the Laws of God, and the dishonour of the Kings " Majesty, (who may full ill bear it.) Considering also, that many oc- " casions might require speedy Remedies, and that delaying these till " a Parliament met, might occasion great prejudices to the Realm; " and that the King by his Royal power given of God, might do ma- " ny things in such cases; Therefore it is Enacted, That the King " for the time being, with advice of his Council, might set forth Pro- " clamations with pains and penalties in them, which were to be o- " beyed as if they were made by an Act of Parliament. But this " was not to be so extended, that any of the Kings Subjects should " suffer in their Estates, Liberties, or Persons, by vertue of it: Nor " that by any of the Kings Proclamations, Laws or Customs were to " be broken and subverted. Then follow some Clauses about the publishing of Proclamations, and the way of prosecuting those who contemned and disobeyed them. It is also added, That if any of- " fended against them, and in further contempt went out of the " Realm, he was to be adjudged a Traitor. This also gave power to " the Counsellours of the Kings Successor, if he were under age, to " set forth Proclamations in his name, which were to be obeyed in " the same manner with these set forth by the King himself. This Act gave great power to the Judges, since there were such Restrictions in some branches of it, which seemed to lessen the great extent

An Act about the Kings Proclamations.

of

1539. of the other parts of it; so that the Expositors of the Law had much referred to them: upon this Act were the great changes of Religion in the Non-age of *Edward* the 6th grounded.

An Act about Precedence. There is another Act, which but collaterally belongs to Ecclesiastical affairs; and therefore shall be but slightly touched. It is the Act of the Precedency of the Officers of State, by which the Lord Vicegerent has the Precedence of all persons in the Kingdom next the Royal Family: and on this I must make one Remark, which may seem very improper for one of my profession; especially when it is an animadversion on one of the greatest men that any age has produced, the most Learned Mr. *Selden*. He in his Titles of Honour, sayes, "That this Statute was never printed in the Statute-Book, and "but incorrectly by another, and that therefore he insers it Literally as "is in the Record. In which there are two mistakes. For it is Printed in the Statute-Book, that was set down in that Kings Reign, though left out in some latter Statute-Books; and that which he prints, is not exactly according to the Record. For as he prints it, the Bishop of *London* is not named in the precedency; which is not according to the Parliament-Roll, in which the Bishop of *London* has the precedence next the Arch-Bishop of *York*; and though this is corrected in a Posthumous edition; yet in that set out by himself, it is wanting: Nor is that Omission among the Errours of the Press, for though there are many of these gathered to be amended, this is none of them. This I do not take notice of out of any vanity, or humour of Censuring a man so great in all sorts of Learning; but my design is only to let ingenious persons see, that they ought not to take things on trust easily, no not from the greatest Authors.

These are all the publick Acts that relate to Religion, which were passed in this Parliament. With these there passed an Act of Attaindor of the Marquess of *Exeter*, and the Lord *Montacute*, with many others, that were either found to have had a great hand in the late Rebellion; or were discovered to hold correspordence with Cardinal *Pool*, who was then trafficking with forreign Princes, and projecting a League among them against the King. But of this I shall give a more full account at the end of this Book; being there to open the grounds of all the Attaindors that were passed in these last years of the Kings Reign. There is one remarkable thing that belongs to this Act.

Some Acts of Attainders.

Some were to be attainted in absence; others they had no mind to bring to make their answer, but yet designed to attain them. Such were the Marchioness of *Exeter*, and the Countess of *Sarum*, Mother to Cardinal *Pool*, whom by a gross mistake, *Speed* fancies to have been condemned without Arraignment or Tryal, as *Cromwel* had been by Parliament. For she was now condemned a year before him. About the Justice of doing this there was some debate; and to clear it, *Cromwel* sent for the Judges, and asked their opinions, Whether a man might be attainted in Parliament without being brought to make his answer? They said it was a dangerous Question. That the Parliament ought to be an example to all inferiour Courts; and that when any person was charged with a Crime, he, by the common Rule of

Justice

Justice and Equity should be heard to plead for himself. But the Parliament being the Supream Court of the Nation, what way soever they proceeded, it must be good in Law; and it could never be questioned, whether the party was brought to answer or not. And thus a very ill president was made, by which the most innocent person in the world might be ruined. And this, as has often been observed in the like cases, fell very soon heavily on the Author of the Counsel, as shall appear. 1539.

When the Parliament was Prorogued, on the 28th of *June*, the King apprehending that the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* might be much cast down with the Act for the six Articles, sent for him and told him; That he had heard how much, and with what Learning he had argued against it, and therefore he desired he would put all his arguments in writing, and bring them to him. Next day he sent the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and the Lord *Cromwel*, to dine with him. Ordering them to assure him of the Kings constant and unshaken kindness to him, and to encourage him all they could. When they were at Table with him at *Lambeth*, they run out much on his commendation, and acknowledged he had opposed the Act with so much Learning, Gravity and Eloquence; that even those that differed from him were much taken with what he said, and that he needed fear nothing from the King. *Cromwel* saying, that this difference the King put between him, and all his other Councellors; that when complaints were brought of others, the King received them, and tried the truth of them; but he would not so much as hearken to any complaint of the Arch-Bishop. From that he went on to make a Parallel between him and Cardinal *Wolsey*: That the one lost his Friends by his haughtiness and pride, but the other gained on his Enemies by his gentleness and mildness. Upon which the Duke of *Norfolk* said, he might best speak of the Cardinal, for he knew him well, having been his man. This nettled *Cromwel*, who answered, that though he had served him, yet he never liked his manners: and that though the Cardinal had designed, (if his attempt for the Popedome had been successful,) to have made him his Admiral; yet he had resolved not to accept of it, nor to leave his Countrey. To which the Duke of *Norfolk* replied with a deep Oath, *That he Lied*; with other reproachful language. This troubled *Cranmer* extremely, who did all he could to quiet and reconcile them. But now the Enmity between those two great Ministers broke out to that height, that they were never afterwards hearty friends.

The Kings care of Cranmer. Antiq. Brit. in vita Cran.

But *Cranmer* went about that which the King had commanded: and made a Book of the reasons that led him to oppose the six Articles in which the places out of the Scriptures, the Authorities of the ancient Doctors, with the arguments drawn from these, were all digested in a good method. This he commanded his Secretary to write out in a fair hand, that it might be given the King. The Secretary returning with it from *Croydon*, where the Arch-Bishop was then, to *Lambeth*, found the Key of his Chamber was carried away by the Arch-Bishops Almoner: So that he being obliged to go over to *London*, and not daring to trust the Book to any others keeping, carried it with himself; where both he and the Book met with an un-lookt-

Cranmer writes his reasons against the six Articles.

for

1538. for encounter. Some others that were with him in the Wherry, would needs go to the *Southwark* side, to look on a Bear-baiting that was near the River, where the King was in person. The Bear broke loose into the River, and the Dogs after her. They that were in the Boat leaped out, and left the poor Secretary alone there. But the Bear got into the Boat, with the Dogs about her, and sunk it. The Secretary apprehending his life was in danger, did not mind his Book, which he lost in the water. But being quickly rescued, and brought to land, he begun to look for his Book, and saw it floating in the River. So he desired the Bear-ward to bring it to him; who took it up, but before he would restore it, put it into the hands of a Priest that stood there, to see what it might contain. The Priest reading a little in it found it a Confutation of the six Articles: and told the Bearward that whosoever claimed it, would be hanged for his pains. But the Arch-Bishops Secretary thinking to mend the matter, said it was his Lords Book. This made the Bear-ward more intractable, for he was a spiteful Papist, and hated the Arch-Bishop; so that no offers nor entreaties could prevail with him to give it back. Whereupon *Morice*, (that was the Secretaries name,) went and opened the matter to *Cromwel* the next day, *Cromwel* was then going to Court, and he expected to find the Bearward there, looking to deliver the Book to some of *Cranmers* Enemies; he therefore ordered *Morice* to go along with him. Where, as they had expected, they found the fellow with the Book about him; upon whom *Cromwel* called, and took the Book out of his hands, threatning him severely for his presumption in medling with a Privy Councellors Book.

Proceedings upon that Act. But though *Cranmer* escaped this hazard, yet in *London* the storm of the late act was falling heavily on them that were obnoxious. *Shaxton* and *Latimer*, the Bishops of *Salisbury* and *Worcester*, within a week after the Session of Parliament, as it appears, resigned their Bishopricks. For on the 7th of *July* the Chapters of these Churches Petitioned the King for his leave to fill those Sees, they being then vacant by the free Resignation of the former Bishops. Upon which the *Conge d'Elire* for both was granted. Nor was this all, but they being presented as having spoken against the six Articles, were put in Prison, where the one lay till the King died, and the other till a little before his death, as shall be shewn in its proper place. There were also Commissions issued out, for proceeding upon that Statute: and those who were Commissioned for *London*, were all secret favourers of Popery; so they proceeded most severely, and examined many Witnesses against all who were presented: whom they Interrogated not only upon the express words of the Statute, but upon all such collateral or presumptive circumstances, as might entangle them, or conclude them guilty. So that in a very little while 500 persons were put in prison, and involved in the breach of the Statute. Upon this not only *Cranmer* and *Cromwel*, but the Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Audley* the Chancellour represented to the King how hard it would be, and of what ill consequence, to execute the Law upon so many persons. So the King was prevailed with to pardon them all; and I find no further proceeding upon this Statute till *Cromwel* fell.

But the opposite Party used all the Arts possible to insinuate themselves

ſelves into the King. And therefore, to ſhew how far their compliance would go, *Bonner* took a ſtrange commiſſion from the King, on the 12th of *November* this year. It has been certainly Enrolled; but it is not there now, ſo that I judge it was razed in that ſuppreſſion of Records, which was in Queen *Maries* time. But, as men are commonly more careleſs at home, *Bonner* has left it on Record in his own Regiſter. Whether the other Biſhops took ſuch Commiſſions from this King, I know not. But I am certain there is none ſuch in *Cranmers* Regiſter: and it is not likely, if any ſuch had been taken out by him, that ever it would have been razed. The Commiſſion it ſelf will be found in the Collection of Papers at the end. The ſubſtance of it is, "That ſince all Juriſdictions both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, "flowed from the King as Supream Head, and he was the foundation "of all power; it became thoſe who exerciſed it only (*Precario*) at the "Kings courteſie, gratefully to acknowledge, that they had it only of "his bounty; and to declare that they would deliver it up again, when "it ſhould pleaſe him to call for it. And ſince the King had conſtituted the Lord *Cromwel* his Vice-gerent in Eccleſiaſtical affairs; yet "becauſe he could not look into all thoſe Matters, therefore the King, "upon *Bonners* petition, did Empower him in his own ſtead, to ordain "ſuch as he found worthy, to preſent and give inſtitution, with all "the other parts of Epiſcopal Authority, for which he is duely Commiſſionated; and this to laſt during the Kings pleaſure only. And, "all the parts of the Epiſcopal Function being reckoned up, it concluded with a ſtrict Charge to the Biſhop to Ordain none but ſuch "of whoſe Integrity, good life and learning he had very good aſſurance. For as the Corruptions of the Chriſtian Doctrine, and of "mens manners, had chiefly proceeded from ill Paſtours; ſo it was "not to be doubted, but good Paſtours well-choſen would again reform "the Chriſtian Doctrine, and the Lives of Chriſtians. After he had taken this Commiſſion, *Bonner* might have been well called one of the *Kings Biſhops*. The true reaſon of this profound Compliance, was, That the Popiſh party apprehended that *Cranmers* great intereſt with the King, was chiefly grounded on ſome opinions he had, of the Eccleſiaſtical Officers being as much ſubject to the Kings power as all other Civil Officers were. And this having endeared him ſo much to the King, therefore they reſolved to out-do him in that point. But there was this difference, that *Cranmer* was once of that opinion; and if he followed it at all, it was out of Conſcience: but *Bonner*, againſt his Conſcience, (if he had any,) complied with it.

1539.

Collect. Numb. 14.

Now followed the final diſſolution of the Abbeys; there are 57 Surrenders upon Record this year. The originals of about 30 of theſe are yet to be ſeen. Thirty ſeven of them were Abbies or Priories, and 20 Nunneries. The good Houſe of *Godſtow* now fell with the reſt, though among the laſt of them. Now the great Parliament Abbots ſurrendred apace; as thoſe of *Weſtminſter*, St. *Albans*, St. *Edmundſbury*, *Canterbury*, St. *Mary* in *York*, *Selby*, St. *Peters* in *Gloceſter*, *Cirenceſter*, *Waltham*, *Winchcombe*, *Malmſbury* and *Battel*. Three others were attainted; *Glaſſenbury*, *Reading*, and *Colcheſter*. The Deeds of the reſt are loſt. Here it will not be unacceptable to the Reader to know who were the Parliamentary Abbots. There were in all 28, as they

Diſſolution of the great Abbies.

1539 were commonly given. *Fuller* has given a Catalogue of them in three places of his History of *Abbies*; but as every one of these differs from the others; so none of them are according to the Journals of Parliament; The Lord *Herbert* is also mistaken in his account. I shall not rise higher in my enquiry than this Reign, for anciently many more Abbots and Priors sate in Parliament, beside other Clergy that had likewise their Writs; and of whose right to sit in the House of Commons, there was a question moved in *Edward* the sixths Reign, as shall be opened in its proper place. Much less will I presume to determine so great a point in Law, whether they sate in the House of Lords, as being a part of the Ecclesiastical State, or as holding their Lands of the King by Baronage? I am only to observe the matter of fact, which is, That in the Journals of Parliament in this Reign, these 28 Abbots had their writs, *Abington*, St. *Albans*, St. *Austins Canterbury*, *Battel*, St. *Bennets* in the *Holm*, *Berdeny*, *Cirencester*, *Colchester*, *Coventry*, *Croyland*, St. *Edmundsbury*, *Evesham*, *Glassenbury*, *Glocester*, *Hide*, *Malmsbury*, St. *Maries* in *York*, *Peterborough*, *Ramsey*, *Reading*, *Selby*, *Shrewsbury*, *Tavenstock*, *Teukesbury*, *Thorney*, *Waltham*, *Westminster* and *Winchelcomb*; to whom also the Prior of St. *Johns* may be added. But besides all these, I find that in the 28 year of this King, the Abbot of *Burton* upon *Trent* sate in Parliament. Generally *Coventry* and *Burton* were held by the same man, as one Bishop held both *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, though two different Bishopricks; but in that year they were held by two different persons, and both had their Writts to that Parliament. The method used in the suppression of these Houses will appear by one compleat Report made, of the Suppression of the Abbey of *Tewksbury*, which out of many I copyed, and is in the Collection. From it the Reader will see, what provision was made for the Abbot, the Prior, the other Officers, and the Monks, and other servants of the House; and what Buildings they ordered to be defaced and what to remain; and how they did estimate the Jewels, Plate, and other Ornaments. But Monasteries were not sufficient to stop the appetite of some that were about the King; for Hospitals were next lookt after. One of these was this year surrendred by *Thomas Thirleby* with two other Priests; he was Master of St. *Thomas* Hospital in *Southwark*, and was designed Bishop of *Westminster*, to which he made his way by that Resignation. He was a learned and modest man, but of so fickle or cowardly a temper, that he turned alwayes with the Stream in every change that was made, till Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown; but then, being ashamed of so many turns, he resolved to shew he could once be firm to something.

Collect. *Numb.* 3. *Sect.* 5.

Some Hospitals surrendred.

The Abbeys sold or given away.

Now were all the Monasteries of *England* suppressed, and the King had then in his hand the greatest opportunity of making Royal and Noble Foundations, that ever King of *England* had. But whether out of policy to give a general Content to the Gentry, by selling them at low rates, or out of easiness to his Courtiers, or out of an unmeasured lavishness in his expence, it came far short of what he had given out he would do, and what himself seemed once to have designed. The clear yeerly value of all the Suppressed Houses is cast up, in an account then stated to be *viz.* 131607. *lib.* 6. *s.* 4. *d.* as the Rents were

were then rated, but was at least ten times so much in true value. 1539.
Of which he designed to convert 18000. *lib.* into a Revenue for eighteen Bishopricks and Cathedrals. But of these he only erected six, as shall be afterwards shewn. Great sums were indeed laid out on building and fortifying many Ports, in the Channel, and other parts of *England*, which were raised by the Sale of Abbey-Lands.

At this time many were offering projects for Noble Foundations, on which the King seemed very earnest: But it is very likely, that before he was aware of it, he had so out-run himself in his Bounty, that it was not possible for him to bring these to any effect. Yet I shall set down one of the projects, which shews the greatness of his mind that designed it; that is, of Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, who was afterwards one of the wisest Ministers that ever this Nation bred. The King designed to found a House for the Study of the Civil Law, and the purity of the *Latine* and *French* Tongues: So he ordered Sir *Nicolas Bacon*, and two others, *Thomas Denton*, and *Robert Cary*, to make a full project, of the nature, and orders of such a House, who brought it to him in a writing; the original whereof is yet extant. The design of it was, that there should be frequent pleadings, and other exercises in the *Latine* and *French* tongues: and when the Kings Students were brought to some ripeness, they should be sent with his Embassadors to Forreign parts, and trained up in the knowledg of forreign affairs; and so the House should be the Nursery for Ambassadors. Some were also to be appointed to write the History of all Embassies, Treaties, and other foreign Transactions: as also of all Arraignments, and publick Tryals at home. But before any of them might write on these Subjects, the Lord Chancellour was to give them an Oath, that they should do it truly, without respect of persons, or any other corrupt affection. This noble Design miscarried. But if it had been well laid and regulated, it is easie to gather what great and publick advantages might have flowed from it. Among which, it is not inconsiderable, that we should have been delivered from a Rabble of ill-Writers of History, who have without due care or enquiry, delivered to us the Transactions of that time so imperfectly, that there is still need of enquiring into Registers and Papers for these matters. Which in such a House had been more certainly and clearly conveighed to posterity, than can be now expected, at such a distance of time; and after such a rasure of Records, and other confusions, in which many of these Papers have been lost. And this help was the more necessary, after the suppression of Religious Houses: in most of which a Chronicle of the times was kept, and still filled up as new Transactions came to their knowledg. It is true, most of these were written by men of weak Judgments, who were more punctual in delivering Fables and Trifles, than in opening observable Transactions. Yet some of them were men of better understandings; and it is like were directed by their Abbots, who being Lords of Parliament, understood affairs well: only an invincible humor of lying, when it might raise the credit of their Religion, or Order, or House, runs through all their Manuscripts.

A project of a Semminary for Ministers of State.

In Biblioth. Nob.D. D.Guil. Pierpoint.

One thing was very remarkable, which was this year granted, at

1539. *Cranmers* Interceſſion. There was nothing could ſo much recover Reformation, that was declining ſo faſt, as the free uſe of the Scriptures; and though theſe had been ſet up in the Churches a year ago, yet he preſſed, and now procured leave, for private perſons to buy Bibles, and keep them in their Houſes. So this was granted by Letters Patents directed to *Cromwel*, bearing date the 13th of *November*. The Subſtance of which was, "That the King was deſirous to have "his Subjects attain the knowledg of Gods word, which could not "be effected by any means ſo well, as by granting them the free and "liberal uſe of the Bible in the *Engliſh* tongue; which to avoid diſ-"ſenſion, he intended ſhould paſs among them only by one Tranſla-"tion. Therefore *Cromwel* was charged to take care, that for the ſpace "of five years there ſhould be no Impreſſion of the Bible, or any part "of it, but only by ſuch as ſhould be aſſigned by him. But *Gardiner* oppoſed this, all he could: and one day, in a Conference before the King, he provoked *Cranmer* to ſhew any difference between the Authority of the Scriptures, and of the Apoſtolical Canons, which he pretended were equal to the other writings of the Apoſtles. Upon which, they diſputed for ſome time. But the King perceived ſolid Learning tempered with great Modeſty in what *Cranmer* ſaid; and nothing but vanity and affectation in *Gardiner*'s reaſonings. So he took him up ſharply, and told him, that *Cranmer* was an old and experienced Captain, and was not to be troubled by freſh-men and Novices.

A Proclamation about the free uſe of the Scriptures.

Collect. Numb. 15.

The King deſigns to Mary Anne of *Cleve*.

The great matter of the Kings Marriage came on at this time. Many reports were brought the King of the beauty of *Anne* of *Cleve*, ſo that he inclined to ally himſelf with that Family. Both the Emperor, and the King of *France*, had courted him to Matches which they had projected. The Emperor propoſed the Dutcheſs of *Milan*, his kinſwoman, and Daughter to the King of *Denmark*. He was then deſigning to break the League of *Smalcald*, and to make himſelf maſter of *Germany*: And therefore he took much pains wirh the King, to divide him from the Princes there; which was in great part effected by the Statute for the ſix Articles: Upon which the Ambaſſadors of the Princes had complained, and ſaid, That whereas the King had been in ſo fair a way of union with them, he had now broke it off, and made ſo ſevere a Law about Communion in one kind, Private Maſſes, and the Celibate of the Clergy, which differed ſo much from their Doctrine, that they could entertain no further correſpondence with him, if that Law was not mitigated. But *Gardiner* wrought much on the Kings vanity and paſſions; and told him that it was below his Dignity, and high Learning, to have a Company of dull *Germans* and ſmall Princes, dictate to him in matters of Religion. There was alſo another thing which he oft made uſe of, (though it argues ſomewhere a great Ignorance of the Conſtitution of the Empire,) That the King could not expect theſe Princes would ever be for his Supremacy; ſince if they acknowledged that in him, they muſt likewiſe yield it to the Emperor. This was a great miſtake. For as the Princes of *Germany* never acknowledged the Emperor to have a ſoveraignty in their Dominions; ſo they did acknowledg the Diet, in which the Soveraignty of the Empire lies,

to have a Power of making or changing what Laws they pleased about Religion. And in things that were not determined by the Diet, every Prince pretended to it as highly in his own Dominions, as the King could do in *England*. But as untrue as this Allegation was it served *Gardiner's* turn; for the King was sufficiently irritated with it against the Princes, so that there was now a great coldness in their correspondence. Yet the Project of a Match with the Dutchess of *Milan* failing, and these proposed by *France* not being acceptable, *Cromwel* moved the King about an Alliance with the Duke of *Cleve*; who, as he was the Emperors Neighbour in *Flanders*, had also a pretension to the Dutchie of *Guelders*, and his eldest Daughter was Married to the Duke of *Saxony*. So that the King having then some apprehensions of a War with the Emperor, this seemed a very proper Alliance to give him a Diversion. 1538.

There had been a Treaty between her Father, and the Duke of *Lorrain*, in order to a match between the Duke of *Lorrain's* Son, and her. But they both being under Age, it went no further than a Contract between their Fathers. *Hans Holbin* having taken her Picture, sent it over to the King. But in that he bestowed the common complement of his Art, somewhat too liberally, on a Lady that was in a way to be Queen. The King liked the Picture, better than the Original, when he had the occasion afterwards to compare them. The Duke of *Saxony*, who was very zealous for the *Ausburg* Confession, finding the King had declined so much from it, disswaded the Match. But *Cromwel* set it on mightily; expecting a great Support from a Queen of his own making: whose friends being all *Lutherans*, it tended also to bring down the Popish Party at Court, and again to recover the ground they had now lost. Those that had seen the Lady did much commend her beauty, and person. But she could speak no Language but *Dutch*; to which the King was a stranger. Nor was she bred to Musick, with which the King was much taken. So that except her person had charmed him, there was nothing left for her to gain upon him by. After some Months Treaty, one of the Counts Palatine of the *Rhine*, with other Ambassadors from the Duke of *Saxony*, and her Brother the Duke of *Cleves*, (for her Father was lately dead,) came over, and concluded the Match.

In the end of *December*, she was brought over to *England*: And the King, being impatient to see her, went down *Incognito* to *Rochester*. But when he had a sight of her, finding none of these charms which he was made believe were in her, he was so extreamly surprized, that he not only did not like her, but took an Aversion to her, which he could never after overcome. He swore they had brought over a *Flanders* Mare to him, and was very sorry he had gone so far, but glad it had proceeded no further. And presently he resolved, if it were possible, to break off the matter, and never to yoke himself with her. But his Affairs were not then in such a condition, that he could safely put that affront on the Dukes of *Saxony* and *Cleves* which the sending back of this Lady would have done. For the *Germans*, being of all Nations most sensible of every thing in which the Honour of their Family is touched; he knew they would resent such an Injury. And it was not safe for him to Adventure that at such

Who comes over to *England*,

But is much disliked by the King.

a

1539. a time. For the Emperor was then in *Paris*, whither he had gone to an Enterview with *Francis*. And his Reception was not only as Magnificent as could be, but there was all the Evidence possible of hearty Friendship and kindness. The King also understood, that between them there was somewhat projected against himself. And now *Francis* that had been as much obliged by him, as possibly one Prince could be by another; was not only forgetful of it, but intended to take advantage from the distractions and discontents of the *English*, to drive them out of *France*, if it were possible. And it is not to be doubted but the Emperor would gladly have embroyled these two Kings, that he might have a better opportunity both to make himself Master of *Germany*; and to force the King of *England* into an Alliance, by which the Lady *Mary* should be Legitimated, and the Princes of *Germany* be left destitute of a Support, which made them Insolent and Intractable. The King apprehended the Conjunction of those two great Princes against himself, which was much set forward by the Pope; and that they would set up the King of *Scotland* against him, who with that forreign Assistance, and the discontents at home, would have made War upon great advantages; especially those in the North of *England*, being ill affected to him: And therefore he judged it necessary for his Affairs not to lose the Princes of *Germany*. Only, he resolved, first, to try if any Nullities or Pre-contracts could excuse him fairly at their hands. He returned to *Greenwich* very Melancholy. He much blamed the Earl of *Southampton*, who being sent over to receive her at *Callice*, had written an high Commendation of her Beauty. But he excused himself, that he thought the thing was so far gone, that it was decent to write as he had done. The King lamented his condition in that Marriage; and expressed great trouble, both to the Lord *Russel*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and others about him. The last of those told him, this was one "Advantage that mean persons had over Princes: That great Prin"ces must take such Wives as are brought them, whereas meaner per"sons go and chuse Wives for themselves. But when the King saw *Cromwel*, he gave his grief a freer vent to him. He, finding the King so much Troubled, would have cast the chief blame on the Earl of *Southampton*, for whom he had no great kindness: And said, when he found her so far short of what reports and Pictures had made her, he should have stayed her at *Callice*, till he had given the King notice of it. But the Earls Commission being only to bring her over; he said, It had been too great a presumption in him, to have interposed in such a manner. And the King was convinced he was in the right. So now, all they had to insist on, was the clearing of that Contract that had passed between her and the Marquess of *Lorain*: which the Ambassadors, who had been with the King, had undertaken should be fully done, and brought over with her in due form of Law. So after the Lady was brought in great State to *Greenwich*, the Council met, and sent for the Ambassadors of the Duke of *Cleves* that conducted her over; and desired to see what they had brought for clearing the breach of that Contract with the Marquess of *Lorrain*. But they had brought nothing, and made no account of it; saying, that the Contract was in their Minority, when they could give

no consent; and that nothing had followed on it, after they came to be of Age. But this did not satisfie the Kings Council, who said, these were but their words, and they must see better proofs. The Kings Marriage was Annulled with *Anne Boleyn* upon a pre-contract; therefore he must not again run the like hazard. So *Olisleger* and *Hogesden*, the Ambassadors from *Cleve*, did by a formal Instrument Protest before *Cromwel*, that in a peace made between their late Master *John* Duke of *Cleve*, and *Anthony* Duke of *Lorrain*, one of the conditions was, that this Lady being then under Age, should be given in Marriage to *Francis* Son to the Duke of *Lorrain*, who was likewise under Age; which Treaty they affirmed they saw and read. But that afterwards *Henry de Grosse* Ambassador of *Charles* Duke of *Gueldres*, upon whose mediation that peace had been concluded, declared in their hearing, that the Espousals were Annulled and of no effect; and that this was Registred in the Chancery of *Cleve*, of which they promised to bring an Authentical Extract within three Months to *England*. Some of the Counsellors, who knew the Kings secret dislike of her person, would have insisted more on this. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Duresm*, said, if there was no more than that, it could be no just hindrance to the Solemnization of the Marriage. So the King seeing there was no remedy, and being much pressed both by the Ministers of *Cleve*, and by the Lord *Cromwel*, Marryed her on the 6th of *January*: But expressed so much aversion and dislike of her, that every body about him took notice of it. Next day the Lord *Cromwel* asked him how he liked her then. He told him, *He was not every man*; therefore he would be free with him: He liked her worse than he did. He suspected she was no Maid; and had such ill smells about her, that he loathed her more than ever, and did not believe he should ever consummate the Marriage. This was sad news to *Cromwel*, who knew well how delicate the King was in these matters; and that so great a Misfortune must needs turn very heavy on him, that was the chief Promoter of it. He knew his Enemies would draw great advantages from this; and understood the Kings temper too well, to think his Greatness would last long, if he could not induce the King to like the Queen better. But that was not to be done; for though the King lived five Months with her in that State, and very oft lay in the Bed with her, yet his Aversion rather encreased than abated. She seemed not much concerned at it: and, as their Conversation was not great, so she was of an heavy Composition, and was not much displeased, to be delivered from a Marriage in which she had so little satisfaction. Yet one thing shews that she wanted not Capacity. For she learned the *English* Language very soon: and before her Marriage was Annulled, she spoke *English* freely, as appears by some of the Depositions.

1539.

1540.

But yet Marries her.

And could never love her

There was an Instrument brought over from *Cleve*, taken out of the Chancery there; by which it appeared, That *Henry de Grosse*, Ambassador from the Duke of *Gueldres*, had on the 15th of *February* in the year 1535. declared the Nullity of the former Contract, in express words, which are set down in high *Dutch*, but thus put in *Latine*. *Sponsalia illa progressum suum non habitura* (I will not answer

for

1539. for the *Latine*,) *ex quo dictus Dux Carolus admodum doleret, & propterea quædam fecisset, & amplius facturus esset.* And *Pallandus*, that was Ambassador from the Duke of *Cleves* in the Duke of *Guelders* Court, wrote to his Master, *Illustrissimum Ducem Gueldriæ certo scire prima illa Sponsalia inter Domicellam Annam fore inania & progressum suum non habitura.* When this was shewed the King, his Council found great exceptions to it, upon the Ambiguity of the word *Sponsalia*; it not being expressed, whether they were Espousals by the words of the present, or of the future tense; and intended to make use of that when there should be a fit opportunity for it.

A Parliament called.

On the 12th of *April* a Session of Parliament was held. The Journal shews that neither the Abbot of *Westminster*, nor any other Abbot was present. After the Lord Chancellor had opened the reasons for the Kings meeting them at that time, as they related to the Civil Government, *Cromwel* as Lord Vice-gerent spake next in the Kings name; and said, "There was nothing which the King so much desired, as a firm union among all his Subjects, in which he placed "his chief security. He knew there were many Incendiaries, and much "Cockle grew up with the Wheat. The rashness and licentiousness "of some, and the inveterate Superstition and stiffness of others in "the Ancient Corruptions, had raised great dissensions to the sad "regret of all good Christians. Some were called Papists, others Hereticks; which bitterness of Spirit seemed the more strange, since "now the Holy Scriptures, by the Kings great care of his people, "were in all their hands, in a Language which they understood. But "these were grossly perverted by both sides, who studied rather to "justifie their passions out of them, than to direct their belief by "them. The King leaned neither to the right nor to the left hand, "neither to the one nor the other Party, but set the pure and sincere Doctrine of the Christian Faith only before his eyes: And "therefore was now resolved to have this set forth to his Subjects, "without any corrupt mixtures; and to have such decent Ceremonies continued, and the true use of them taught, by which all abuses might be cut off, and Disputes about the Exposition of the "Scriptures cease, that so all his Subjects might be well instructed "in their Faith, and directed in the reverent worship of God; and "resolved to punish severely all transgressors, of what sort or side soever they were. The King was resolved, That Christ, That the "Gospel of Christ, and the truth should have the victory. And "therefore had appointed some Bishops and Divines to draw up an "Exposition of those things that were necessary for the Institution "of a Christian-man: Who were, the two Arch-Bishops, the Bishop "of *London*, *Duresm*, *Winchester*, *Rochester*, *Hereford*, and St. *Davids*; "and Doctors *Thirleby*, *Robertson*, *Cox*, *Day*, *Oglethorp*, *Redmayn*, *Edgeworth*, *Crayford*, *Symonds*, *Robins*, and *Tresham*. He had also appointed others to examine what Ceremonies should be retained, and what "was the true use of them; who were the Bishops of *Bath* and *Wells*, "*Ely*, *Sarum*, *Chichester*, *Worcester*, and *Landaff*. The King had also commanded the Judges, and other Justices of the Peace, and "persons commissioned for the Execution of the Act formerly passed, to proceed against all transgressors, and punish them according

Where *Cromwel* speaks as Lord vice-gerent.

to

"to Law. And he Concluded with an high Commendation of the "King, whose due praises, he said, a man of far greater Eloquence "than himself was, could not fully set forth. The Lords approved of this Nomination, and ordered that these Committees should sit constantly, on Mundays, Wedensdays, and Fridays: and no other days they were to sit in the afternoon. But their Proceedings will require so full a Relation, that I shall first open the other Affairs that passed in this Session, and leave these to the last. 1540.

On the 14th of *April* the King created *Cromwel* Earl of *Essex*; the Male line of the *Bourchiers*, that had carryed that Title, being extinguished. This shews that the true Causes of *Cromwels* fall must be found in some other thing, than his making up the Kings Marriage: who had never thus raised his Title, if he had intended so soon to pull him down. He is made Earl of *Essex*.

On the 22d of *April*, a Bill was brought in for Suppressing the Knights of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*. Their first Foundation was to be a Guard to the Pilgrims that went to the Holy Land. For some Ages that was extolled as the highest expression of devotion and reverence to our Saviour, to go and view the places of his abode; and chiefly the places where he was Crucified, Buried, and ascended to Heaven. Upon which, many entred into a Religious Knighthood, who were to defend the Holy Land, and conduct the Pilgrims. Those were of two sorts; The *Knights-Templars* and *Hospitallers*. The former were the greater and richer, but the other were also very considerable. The Popes and their Clergy did every-where animate all Princes, and great persons, to undertake expeditions into these parts: Which were very costly and dangerous, and proved fatal to almost all the Princes that made them. Yet the belief of the pains of Purgatory, from which all were delivered by the Popes Power, who went on this Expedition; such as dyed in it being also reckoned Martyrs; wrought wonderfully on a blind and Superstitious Age. But such as could not go, were perswaded, That if on their death-beds they vowed to go upon their recovery, and left some Lands to maintain a Knight that should go thither and fight against the Infidels, it would do as well. Upon this, great and vast Endowments were made. But there were many Complaints made of the *Templars*, for betraying and robbing the Pilgrims, and other horrid abuses, which may reasonably be believed to have been true; though other Writers of that Age lay the blame rather on the Covetousness of the King of *France*, and the Popes malice to them: Yet in a General Council the whole Order was Condemned, and Suppressed, and such of them as could be taken, were cruelly put to death. The Order of the *Hospitallers* stood, yet did not grow much after that. They were beaten out of the *Holy-Land* by the *Sultans*, and lately out of the Isle of *Rhodes*, and were at this time in *Malta*. Their great Master depended on the Pope and the Emperor: so it was not thought fit, to let a House that was subject to a Forreign Power stand longer. And it seems they would not willingly Surrender up their House, as others had done. Therefore it was necessary to force them out of it by an Act of Parliament; which on the 22d of *April* was read the first time, and on the 26th the 2d time, and on the 29th the third time; by which both The Suppression of the Knights of St. *John* at *Jerusalem*.

1540. their House in *England*, and another they had in *Kilmainam* in *Ireland*, were suppressed; great pensions being reserved by the Act to the Priors, a 1000 *lib.* to him of St. *Johns* near *London*, and 500 Marks to the other, with very considerable allowances for the Knights, which in all amounted near to 3000 *lib.* yearly. But on the 14th of *May* the Parliament was Prorogued to the 25th, and a vote passed that their Bills should remain in the State they were in.

Upon their next meeting, as they were going on in their business, a great Change of Court broke out. For on the 13th of *June*, at the Council Table, the Duke of *Norfolk* in the Kings name challenged the Lord *Cromwel* of high Treason, and Arresting him, sent him Prisoner to the Tower. He had many Enemies among all sorts of persons. The Nobility despised him, and thought it lessened the greatness of their Titles, to see the Son of a Black-Smith raised so many degrees above them. His aspiring to the Order of the Garter was thought inexcusable vanity: and his having so many places heaped on him, as Lord Privy Seal, Lord Chamberlain of *England*, and Lord Vice-gerent, with the Mastership of the Rolls, with which he had but lately parted, drew much envy on him. All the Popish party hated him out of measure. The Suppression of the Abbies was laid wholly at his door: The Attaindors and all other severe proceedings were imputed to his Counsels. He was also thought to be the person that had kept the King and the Emperor at such distance: And therefore the Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Gardiner*, beside private Animosities, hated him on that account. And they did not think it impossible, if he were out of the way, to bring on a Treaty with the Emperor; which they hoped would open the way for one with the Pope. But other more secret reasons wrought his ruin with the King. The fear he was in of a Conjunction between the Emperor and *France* did now abate: For he understood that it went no further than Complements. And though he clearly discovered, having sent over the Duke of *Norfolk* to *Francis*, that he was not to depend much on his friendship; yet at the same time he knew that the Emperor would not yield up the Dutchy of *Milan* to him, upon which his heart was much set. So he saw they could come to no agreement. Therefore he made no great account of the loss of *France*, since he knew the Emperor would willingly make an Alliance with him: The hopes of which made him more indifferent, whether the *German* Princes were pleased with what he did, or not: since he had now attained the end he had proposed to himself in all his Negotiations with them, which was to secure himself from any trouble the Emperor might give him. Therefore *Cromwels* Counsels were now disliked, for he had always enclined the King to favour those Princes against the Emperor. Another secret cause was, that as the King had an unconquerable aversion to his Queen; so he was taken with the Beauty and behaviour of Mistress *Katharine Howard* Daughter to the Lord *Edmond Howard*, a Brother of the Duke of *Norfolks*. And as this designed Match raised the credit of her Uncle, so the ill consequences of the former drew him down who had been the chief Counsellor in it. The King also found his Government was grown uneasie, and therefore judged it was no ill Policy to cast over all that had been done amiss

Cromwel's Fall.

The King in love with Mistress Katharine Howard.

miſs, upon a Miniſter who had great Power with him: and being now in diſgrace, all the blame of theſe things would be taken off from the King, and laid on him, and his Ruin would much appeaſe diſcontents, and make them more moderate in cenſuring the King or his Proceedings. It is ſaid that other Particulars were charged on him, which loſt him the Kings favour. If this be true, it is like they related to the encouragement he was ſaid to have given to ſome Reformers, in the oppoſition they made to the ſix Articles: Upon the Execution of which the King was now much ſet. His fall was ſo ſecretly carryed, that though he had often before looked for it, knowing the Kings uneaſie and jealous temper; yet at that time he had no apprehenſions of it, till the Storm broke upon him. In his fall he had the common fate of all diſgraced Miniſters, to be forſaken by his Friends, and inſulted over by his Enemies. Only *Cranmer* retained ſtill ſo much of his former ſimplicity, that he could never learn theſe Court Arts. Therefore he wrote to the King about him next day, "He much magnified his diligence in the Kings ſervice and "preſervation, and diſcovering all Plots as ſoon as they were made: "That he had always loved the King above all things, and ſerved "him with great fidelity and ſucceſs: That he thought no King of "*England* had ever ſuch a ſervant; upon that account he had loved "him, as one that loved the King above all others. But if he was "a Traytor, he was glad it was diſcovered. But he prayed God "earneſtly, to ſend the King ſuch a Councellor in his ſtead, who could "and would ſerve him as he had done. This ſhews, both the firmneſs of *Cranmers* friendſhip to him, and that he had a great Soul, not turned by the changes of mens fortunes, to like or diſlike them, as they ſtood or declined from their greatneſs. And had not the Kings kindneſs for *Cranmer* been deeply rooted, this Letter had ruined him. For he was the moſt impatient of Contradiction, in ſuch caſes, that could be. *Cromwels* ruin was now Decreed, and he who had ſo ſervily complyed with the Kings pleaſure in procuring ſome to be Attainted the year before, without being brought to make their anſwer, fell now under the ſame ſeverity. For whether it was that his Enemies knew, That if he were brought to the Bar he would ſo juſtifie himſelf that they would find great difficulties in the Proceſs; or whether it was that they blindly reſolved to follow that injuſtifiable Precedent, of paſſing over ſo neceſſary a Rule to all Courts, of giving the Party accuſed an hearing; the Bill of Attaindor was brought in to the Houſe of Lords, *Cranmer* being abſent that day, as appears by the Journal on the 17th of *June*, and read the firſt time, and on the 19th was read the ſecond and third time, and ſent down to the Commons. By which it appears, how few friends he had in that Houſe, when a Bill of that nature went on ſo haſtily. But it ſeems he found in the Houſe of Commons ſomewhat of the ſame meaſure, which ten years before he had dealt to the Cardinal, though not with the ſame ſucceſs. For his matter ſtuck ten days there. At length a new Bill of Attaindor was brought up, conceived in the Houſe of Commons, with a Proviſo annexed to it. They alſo ſent back the Bill which the Lords ſent to them. But it is not clear from the Journals what they meant by theſe two Bills. It ſeems they rejected

1539.

Cranmers friendſhip to Cromwel.

1539. ∫ted the Lords Bill, and yet ſent it up with their own, either in re ſpect to the Lords, or that they left it to their choice, which of the two Bills they would offer to the Royal Aſſent. But though this be an unparliamentary way of proceeding, I know no other ſenſe which the words of the Journal can bear, which I ſhall ſet down in the Margent, that the Reader may Judge better concerning it. * And that very day the King aſſented to it, as appears by the Letter written the next day by *Cromwel* to the King.

Journal *Procer. Parag.* 58. *Item Billa attinctura Thomæ* Cromwel *Comitis* Eſſex *de crimine Hereſis & Læſæ Majeſtatis, per Communes de novo concepta, & Aſſenſa, & ſimul cum proviſione eidem annexa. Quæ quidem Billa* 1°, 2do, & 3tio, *lecta eſt; & proviſio ejuſdem concernens Decanatum* Wellenſem *ter lecta eſt*, & communi omnium Procerum conſenſu nemine diſcrepante expedita; *& ſimul cum ea referebatur Billa Attinctura quæ prius miſſa erat in Domum Communium.*

Cromwels attaindor.

Collect. *Numb.* 16.

The Act ſaid, "that the King having raiſed *Thomas Cromwel* from "a baſe degree, to great Dignities and high Truſts, yet he had now "by a great number of Witneſſes, perſons of honour, found him to "be the moſt Corrupt Traitor, and deceiver of the King and the "Crown, that had ever been known in his whole Reign. He had "taken upon him to ſet at liberty divers perſons put in Priſon for miſ- "priſion of Treaſon, and others that were ſuſpected of it. He had "alſo received ſeveral bribes, and for them granted Licenſes to carry "Money, Corn, Horſes, and other things out of the Kingdom, con- "trary to the Kings Proclamations. He had alſo given out many "Commiſſions without the Kings knowledg; and being but of a baſe "Birth, had ſaid, *That he was ſure of the King*. He had granted ma- "ny Paſſports, both to the Kings Subjects and Forreigners for paſ- "ſing the Seas, without ſearch. He being alſo an Heretick, had diſ- "perſed many Erroneous Books among the Kings Subjects, particu- "larly ſome that were contrary to the Belief of the Sacrament. And "when ſome had informed him of this, and had ſhewed him theſe "Hereſies in Books Printed in *England*, he ſaid, *they were good, and* "*that he found no fault in them*; and ſaid, *It was as Lawful for eve-* "*ry Chriſtian man to be the Miniſter of that Sacrament as a Prieſt*. And "whereas the King had conſtituted him Vice-gerent for the Spiritu- "al affairs of the Church, he had under the Seal of that office li- "cenſed many that were ſuſpected of Hereſie to Preach over the "Kingdom; and he had both by word and in writing ſuggeſted to "ſeveral Sheriffs, That it was the Kings pleaſure they ſhould diſcharge "many Priſoners, of whom ſome were Indicted, others apprehended "for Hereſie. And when many particular complaints were brought "to him of deteſtable Hereſies, with the names of the offenders; he "not only defended the Hereticks, but ſeverely checkt the Informers: "and vexed ſome of them by Impriſonment, and other ways. The "particulars of all which were too tedious to be recited. And he "having entertained many of the Kings Subjects about himſelf, whom "he had infected with Hereſie, and imagining he was by force able "to defend his Treaſons and Hereſies; on the laſt of *March* in the "30th year of the Kings Reign, in the Pariſh of St. *Peters the poor* "in *London*, when ſome of them complained to him of the new "Preachers, ſuch as *Barnes* and others, he ſaid; *Their Preaching was* "*good*; and ſaid alſo among other things, *That if the King would* "*turn from it, yet he would not turn: And if the King did turn, and*

"*all*

VERA EFFIGIES THOMÆ CROMWELL ESSEXIÆ COMITIS EQUITIS PERISCELIDIS

H. Holben pinxit. R. White sculpsit.

Natus 1490
Regis vicarius Generalis 1536



Eques Periscelidis 1537.
Capite truncatus July 18th 1540.

Printed for Richard Chiswell at the Rose and Crowne in St. Pauls Church yard.

"*all his people with him, he would fight in the Field in his own person,* 1539.
"*with his Sword in his hand against him, and all others:* And then he
"pulled out his Dagger, and held it up, and said, *or else this Dagger*
"*thrust me to the heart, if I would not die in that quarrel against them*
"*all; and I trust if I live one year or two, it shall not be in the Kings*
"*Power to resist, or lett it, if he would:* and swearing a great Oath,
"said, *I would do so indeed.* He had also by Oppression and Bribery
"made a great Estate to himself; and extorted much Money from
"the Kings Subjects, and being greatly enriched, had treated the No-
"bility with much contempt. And on the last of *January* in the 31th
"year of the Kings Reign, in the Parish of St. *Martins* in the Fields,
"when some had put him in mind to what the King had raised him,
"he said, *If the Lords would handle him so, he would give them such a*
"*Break-fast as was never made in* England, *and that the proudest of them*
"*should know it.* For all which Treasons and Heresies, he was At-
"tainted to suffer the pains of death, for Heresie and Treason, as
"should please the King, and to forfeit all his Estate and goods to
"the Kings use, that he had on the last of *March* in the 31st year
"of the Kings Reign, or since that time. There was added to this
"Bill, a Proviso; That this should not be hurtful to the Bishop of
"*Bath* and *Wells*, and to the Dean and Chapter of *Wells*; with whom,
it seems, he had made some exchanges of Lands.

Censures past upon it.

From these particulars the Reader will clearly see, why he was not brought to make his answer, most of them relating to Orders and Directions he had given, for which it is very probable he had the Kings Warrant. And for the matter of Heresie, it has appeared how far the King had proceeded towards a Reformation, so that what he did that way, was most likely done by the Kings Order: But the King now falling from these things, it was thought they intended to stifle him by such an Attaindor; that he might not discover the secret Orders or directions given him for his own Justification. For the particulars of Bribery and Extortion, they being mentioned in general expressions, seem only cast into the heap to defame him. But for those Treasonable words, it was generally thought that they were a Contrivance of his Enemies: since it seemed a thing very extravagant, for a Favourite in the height of his Greatness to talk so rudely. And if he had been guilty of it, *Bedlam* was thought a fitter place for his Restraint than the *Tower*. Nor was it judged likely that he having such great and watchful Enemies at Court, any such discourses could have layn so long secret: Or if they had come to the Kings knowledg, he was not a Prince of such a temper as to have forgiven, much less imployed and advanced a man after such discourses. And to think that during these fifteen months, after the words were said to have been spoken, none would have had the zeal for the King, or the malice to *Cromwel*, as to repeat them, were things that could not be believed. The formality of drawing his Dagger made it the more suspected; for this was to affix an overt-Act to these words, which in the opinion of many Lawyers was necessary to make words Treasonable. But as if these words had not been ill enough, some writers since have made them worse; as if he had said, *He would thrust his Dagger in the Kings heart:* About which *Fuller* hath made another

Story

1539. ſtory to excuſe theſe words, as if they had not been meant of the King, but of another. But all that is founded on a miſtake, which, if he had looked in the Record, he had corrected.

The King deſigns a divorce from his Queen.

Cromwels Fall was the firſt ſtep towards the Kings Divorce. For on the 24th of *June* he ſent his Queen to *Richmond*, pretending the Countrey air would agree better with her. But on the 6th of *July* a motion was made, and aſſented to in the Houſe of Lords, that they ſhould make an addreſs to the King, deſiring him to ſuffer his Marriage with the Queen to be tryed. Upon which, the Lord Chancellor, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Biſhop of *Dureſm*, were ſent down to the Commons; to repreſent the matter to them, and to deſire their concurrence in the Addreſs. To which they agreed, and ordered twenty of their number to go along with the Peers. So the whole Houſe of Lords with theſe Commoners, went to the King; and told him they had a matter of great conſequence to propoſe to him, but it was of that Importance that they firſt begged his leave to move it. That being obtained, they deſired the King would order a Tryal to be made, of the validity of his Marriage. To which the King conſented, and made a deep Proteſtation as in the preſence of God, that he ſhould conceal nothing that related to it, and all its circumſtances; And that there was nothing he held dearer than the Glory of God, the good of the Common-wealth, and the declaration of truth. So a Commiſſion was iſſued out to the Convocation to try it.

It's referred to the convocation.

On the 7th of *July* it was brought before the Convocation, of which the Reader will ſee a fuller account in the Collection at the end than is needful to be brought in here. The caſe was opened by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and a Committee was appointed to conſider it; and they deputed the Biſhop of *Dureſm*, and *Wincheſter*, and *Thirleby*, and *Richard Leighton* Dean of *York*, to examine the witneſſes that day. And the next day they received the Kings own Depoſition; with a long Declaration of the whole matter, under *Cromwels* hand in a Letter to the King; and the Depoſitions of moſt of the Privy Councellors, of the Earl of *Southampton*, the Lord *Ruſſel* then Admiral, of Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Doctor *Chambers*, and Doctor *Butts*, the Kings Phyſicians, and of ſome Ladies that had talked with the Queen. All which amounted to this; that the King expected that the Precontract with the Marqueſs of *Lorrain*, ſhould have been more fully cleared. That the King always diſliked her, and Marryed her full ſore againſt his heart; and ſince that time he had never conſummated the Marriage. So the ſubſtance of the whole evidence being conſidered, it amounted to theſe three Particulars. *Firſt*, That there had been a Contract between the Marqueſs of *Lorrain* and the Queen, which was not ſufficiently cleared: for it did not yet appear whether theſe Eſpouſals were made by the Parties themſelves, or in the words of the preſent tenſe. Then it was ſaid, That the King having Marryed her againſt his will, he had not given a pure, inward, and compleat conſent: And ſince a mans Act is only what is inward, extorted or forced promiſes do not bind. And *Thirdly*, That he had never conſummated the Marriage. To which was added the great intereſt the whole Nation had in the Kings having more iſſue, which they ſaw he could

Collect. *Numb.* 17.
Collect. *Numb.* 18.

Reaſons pretended for it.

could never have by the Queen. This was furiously driven on by the Popish Party. And *Cranmer*, whether overcome with these arguments, or rather with fear, for he knew it was contrived to send him quickly after *Cromwel*, consented with the rest. So that the whole Convocation without one disagreeing Vote, Judged the marriage null, and of no force: and that both the King, and the Lady, were free from the bond of it. 1540. Convocation agree to it. Collect. *Numb.* 19.

This was the greatest piece of Compliance that ever the King had from the Clergy. For as they all knew there was nothing of weight in that præcontract; so they laid down a most pernicious Precedent, for invalidating all publick Treaties and Agreements: since if one of the Parties being unwilling to it, so that his consent were not inward, he was not bound by it, there was no safety among men more. For no man can know whether another consents inwardly: And when a man does any thing with great aversion, to infer from thence, that he does not inwardly consent, may furnish every one with an excuse, to break loose from all engagements: For he may pretend he did it unwillingly, and get his friends to declare that he privately signified that to them. And for that argument, which was taken from the want of Consummation; they had forgotten what was pleaded on the Kings behalf 10 years before, That consent without Consummation, made a Marriage compleat; by which they concluded, that though Prince *Arthur* had not Consummated his Marriage with Queen *Katherine*; yet his consent did so complete it, that the King could not afterwards lawfully marry her. But as the King was resolved on any terms, to be rid of this Queen; so the Clergy were also resolved not to incur his displeasure: In which they rather sought for reasons to give some colour to their Sentence, than past their judgment upon the strength of them. This only can be said for their excuse, that these were as just and weighty reasons, as used to be admitted by the Court of *Rome* for a Divorce; and most of them being Canonists, and knowing how many Precedents there were to be found for such Divorces, they thought they might do it as well as the Popes had formerly done. It is censured.

On the 9th of *July*, Sentence was given: Which was signed by both Houses of Convocation, and had the two Arch-bishops Seals put to it; of which whole Tryal the Record does yet remain, having escaped the Fate of the other Books of Convocation. The Original depositions are also yet extant.

Only I shall add here a reflection upon *Cromwels* misfortune, which may justly abate the loftiness of haughty men. The day after he was attainted, being required to send to the King a full account under his hand of the business of his Marriage; which Account he sent, as will be found in the Collection; he Concludes it with these abject words: Collect. *Numb.* 17.
“I a most woful Prisoner, ready to take the death, when it shall “please God and your Majesty: and yet the frail flesh inciteth me “continually to call to your Grace for Mercy, and Grace for “mine offences. And thus Christ save, preserve, and keep you. “Written at the *Tower* this Wednesday the last of *June*, with “the heavy heart, and trembling hand, of your Highness most “heavy, and most miserable Prisoner, and poor slave, *Thomas Cromwel*.

And

1539. "And a little below that, *Most Gracious Prince, I cry for Mercy, Mercy* "*Mercy.*

On the 10th of *July* the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* reported to the House of Lords, That the Convocation had judged the Marriage Null both by the Law of God, and the Law of the Land. The Bishop of *Winchester* delivered the Judgment in Writing; which being read he enlarged on all the reasons of it. This satisfied the Lords, and they sent down *Cranmer* and him to the Commons, to give them the same account. Next day the King sent the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, to let the Queen know what was done: who was not at all troubled at it, and seemed not ill pleased. They told her, that the King would by Letters Patents Declare her his Adopted Sister, and give her precedence before all the Ladies of *England*, next his Queen and Daughters: and assign her an Estate of 3000 *lib.* a year; and that she had her choice either to live in *England*, or to return home again. She accepted the offer, and under her hand declared her consent and approbation of the Sentence; and chose to live still in *England*, where she was in great honour, rather than return under that disgrace to her own Countrey. She was also desired to write to her Brother, and let him know, that she approved of what was done in her matter, and that the King used her as a Father, or a Brother; and therefore to desire him and her other friends not to take this matter ill, or lessen their friendship to the King. She had no mind to do that, but said, it would be time enough when her Brother wrote to her, to send him such an answer. But it was answered, That much depended on the first Impressions that are received of any matter. She in conclusion said, she would obey the King in every thing he desired her to do. So she wrote the Letter as they desired it; and the day following, being the 12th of *July*, the Bill was brought into the House, for annulling the Marriage, which went easily through both Houses.

Report made to the Parl.

The Queen consents to it.

Collect. *Numb.* 20.

On the 16th of *July*, a Bill was brought in, for moderating the Statute of the six Articles in the Clauses that related to the marriage of the Priests, or their Incontinency with other Women. On the 17th, it was agreed by the whole House without a contradictory vote, and sent down to the Commons; who on the 21th, sent it up again. By it the pains of Death were turned to forfeitures of their Goods and Chattels, and the rents of their Ecclesiastical promotions, to the King.

An Act about the Incontinence of Priests.

On the 20th of *July* a Bill was brought in concerning a Declaration of the Christian Religion, and was then read the first, 2d, and 3d, time, and passed without any opposition, and sent down to the Commons, who agreeing to it, sent it up again the next day. "It contained, that "the King as Supream Head of the Church, was taking much pains "for an Union among all his Subjects in matters of Religion: and for "preventing the further progress of Heresie, had appointed many of "the Bishops and the most learned Divines, to declare the principal "Articles of the Christian Belief, with the Ceremonies, and way of "Gods service to be observed. That therefore a thing of that weight "might not be rashly done, or hasted through, in this Session of Parliament;

Another about Religion.

" liament; but be done with that care which was requisite; There- 1540.
" fore it was Enacted, that whatsoever was determined by the Arch-Bi-
" shops, Bishops, and the other Divines, now Commissionated for
" that effect, or by any others appointed by the King, or by the whole
" Clergy of *England*, and published by the Kings Authority concer-
" ning the Christian Faith, or the Ceremonies of the Church, should
" be believed and obeyed by all the Kings Subjects; as well as if
" the particulars so set forth had been ennumerated in this Act,
" any Custom or Law to the Contrary notwithstanding. To
" this, a strange Proviso was added, which destroyed the former
" Clause; That nothing should be done or determined by the Au-
" thority of this Act, which was contrary to the Laws and Statutes
" of the Kingdom. But whether this Proviso was added by the House of Commons, or originally put into the Bill, does not appear. It was more likely it was put in at the first by the Kings Council: for these contradictory Clauses raised the Prerogative higher, and left it in the Judges power to determine which of the two should be followed; by which all Ecclesiastical matters were to be brought under Tryals at Common Law: for it was one of the great designs, both of the Ministers and Lawyers at this time, to bring all Ecclesiastical Matters to the Cognizance of the Secular Judge.

But another Bill passed, which seems a little odd, concerning the circumstances of that time. "That whereas many Marriages had been
" annulled in the time of Popery, upon the pretence of Precontracts,
" or other degrees of kindred, than those that were prohibited by the
" Law of God: Therefore, after a Marriage was consummated, no
" pretence of any pre-contract, or any degrees of kindred or alliance,
" but those mentioned in the Law of God, should be brought or made
" use of, to annull it; since these things had been oft pretended,
" only to dissolve a Marriage, when the parties grew weary of each o-
" ther, which was contrary to Gods Law. Therefore it was Enacted that
" no pretence of precontract, not consummated, should be made use
" of to annull a Marriage duly solemnized, and consummated; and
" that no degrees of kindred, not mentioned by the Law of God, should
" be pleaded to annull a Marriage. This Act gave great occasion of censuring the Kings former proceedings against Queen *Anne Boleyn*, since that which was now condemned had been the pretence for dissolving his Marriage with her. Others thought the King did it on design to remove that Impediment out of the way of the Lady *Elizabeth's* succeeding to the Crown; since that judgment upon which she was Illegitimated, was now indirectly censured: And that other branch of the Act, for taking away all prohibitions of Marriages, within any degrees but those forbidden in Scripture, was to make way for the Kings Marriage with *Katherine Howard*, who was Cousin German to Queen *Anne Boleyn*; for that was one of the prohibited degrees by the Canon Law.

Subsidies granted by the Clergy.

The Province of *Canterbury* offered a Subsidy of four shillings in the pound; of all Ecclesiastical preferments, to be payed in two years, and in that acknowledgment of the great liberty they enjoyed by being delivered from the Usurpations of the Bishops of *Rome*; and in recompe[illegible] the great charges of the King had been at, and was still to

1540. be at, in building Havens, Bullwarks, and other Forts, for the defence of his Coaſts, and the ſecurity of his Subjects. This was confirmed in Parliament. But that did not ſatisfie the King; who had husbanded the money that came in by the ſale of Abbey Lands, ſo ill, that now he wanted money; and was forced to aske a ſubſidy for his Marriage of the Parliament: this was obtained with great difficulty. For it was ſaid, That if the King was already in want, after ſo vaſt an income, eſpecially being engaged in no Warr, there would be no end of his neceſſities; nor could it be poſſible for them to ſupply them. But it was anſwered, that the King had laid out a great Treaſure in fortifying the Coaſt: and though he was then in no viſible Warr, yet the charge he was at in keeping up the Warr beyond Sea, was equal to the expence of a Warr; and much more to the advantage of his people, who were kept in peace and plenty. This obtained a Tenth, and four 15ths. After the paſſing of all theſe Bills, and many others that concerned the publick, with ſeveral other Bills of Attaindor, of ſome that favoured the Popes Intereſts, or Correſponded with Cardinal *Pool*; which ſhall be mentioned in another place, the King ſent in a General Pardon, with the Ordinary Exceptions; and in particular, excepted *Cromwel*, the Counteſs of *Sarum*, with many others, then in perſon; Some of them were put in for oppoſing the Kings Supremacy, and others for tranſgreſſing the Statute of the ſix Articles; On the 24th of *July* the Parliament was diſſolved.

And Laiety.

Cromwels Death.

And now *Cromwel*, who had been ſix weeks a Priſoner, was brought to his Execution. He had uſed all the endeavours he could for his own preſervation. Once he wrote to the King in ſuch melting terms, that he made the Letter to be thrice read, and ſeemed touched with it. But the charms of *Katharine Howard*, and the endeavours of the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* at length prevailed. So a Warrant was ſent to cut off his Head, on the 28th of *July* at *Tower-hill*. When he was brought to the Scaffold, his kindneſs to his Son made him very cautious in what he ſaid; he declined the purging of himſelf, but ſaid, he was by Law condemned "to die, and thanked God for bringing him to that death, for his "offences. He acknowledged his Sins againſt God, and his offences "againſt his Prince, who had raiſed him from a baſe degree. He "declared that he died in the Catholick Faith, not doubting of any "Article of Faith, or of any Sacrament of the Church: and denied "that he had been a Supporter of thoſe who believed ill opinions: "He confeſſed he had been ſeduced, but now died in the Catholick "Faith, and deſired them to pray for the King, and for the Prince, "and for himſelf: and then prayed very fervently for the remiſſion of his paſt ſins, and admittance into Eternal Glory: and having given the Sign, the Executioner cut off his Head very barbarouſly.

His Character.

Thus fell that great Miniſter, that was raiſed meerly upon the ſtrength of his natural parts. For as his Extraction was mean, ſo his Education was low: All the learning he had, was, that he had got the new-Teſtament in Latine by heart. His great wiſdom, and dexterity in buſineſs, raiſed him up through ſeveral ſteps, till he was become as great as a Subject could be. He carryed his greatneſs with

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wonderful temper and moderation; and fell under the weight of popular *Odium*, rather than Guilt. The disorders in the Suppression of Abbeys were generally charged on him. Yet when he fell, no Bribery, nor cheating of the King, could be fastned on him; though such things came out in swarms on a disgraced Favourite, when there is any ground for them. By what he spoke at his death, he left it much doubted of what Religion he dyed. But it is certain he was a *Lutheran*. The term *Catholick-Faith* used by him in his last speech seemed to make it doubtful, but that was then used in *England*, in its true sense, in Opposition to the Novelties of the See of *Rome*, as will afterwards appear, on another occasion. So that his Profession of the Catholich-Faith was strangely perverted, when some from thence Concluded that he dyed in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*. But his praying in *English*, and that only to God through Christ, without any of these tricks that were used when those of that Church died, shewed he was none of theirs. With him the Office of the Kings Vice-gerent in Ecclesiastical affairs died, as it rose first in his person: and as all the Clergy opposed the seting up a new Officer, whose Interest should oblige him to oppose a Reconciliation with *Rome*, so it seems none were fond to succeed in an Office, that proved so fatal to him that had first carryed it. The King was said to have lamented his death, after it was too late; but the fall of the new Queen, that followed not long after, and the miseries which fell also on the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Family, some years after, were looked on as the Scourges of Heaven, for their cruel prosecution of this unfortunate Minister. 1540.

With his fall, the progress of the Reformation, which had been by his endeavours so far advanced, was quite stopt. For all that *Cranmer* could do after this, was to keep the ground they had gained. But he could never advance much further. And indeed every one expected to see him go next. For, as one *Gostwick* Knight for *Bedfordshire*, had named him in the House of Commons, as the Supporter and Promoter of all the Heresie that was in *England*; so the Popish party reckoned they had but half done their work, by destroying *Cromwel*; and that it was not finished till *Cranmer* followed him. Therefore all possible endeavors were used to make discoveries of the Encouragement, which, as was believed he gave to the Preachers of the condemned Doctrines. And it is very probable, that had not the Incontinence of *Katherine Howard* (whom the King declared Queen on the 8th of *August*,) broken out not long after, he had been Sacrificed the next Session of Parliament.

Designs against *Cranmer*.

But now I return to my proper business, to give an account of Church-matters for this year; with which these great Changes in Court had so great a Relation, that the Reader will excuse the digression about them.

Upon *Cromwels* fall, *Gardiner*, and those that followed him, made no doubt but they should quickly recover what they had lost of late years. So their greatest attempt was upon the Translation of the Scriptures. The Convocation Books (as I have been forced often to lament,) are lost; so that here I cannot stir, but as *Fuller* leads me: who assures the World that he Copied out of the Records with his

own Pen what he published. And yet I doubt he has mistaken himself in the year; and that which he calls the Convocation of this year, was the Convocation of the year 1542. For he tells us that their 7th Session was the 10th of *March*. Now in this year the Convocation did not sit down till the 13th of *April*, but that year it sate all *March*. So likewise he tells us of the Bishops of *Westminster*, *Glocester*, and *Peterborough*, bearing a share in this Convocation: whereas these were not Consecrated before Winter, and could not sit as Bishops in this Synod. And besides, *Thirleby* sate at this time in the lower House; as was formerly shewn in the Process about *Anne* of *Cleves* Marriage. So that their attempt against the new Testament belongs to the year 1542.

A Commission sits about Religion.

But they were now much better employed, though not in the way of Convocation. For a select number of them sate by vertue of a Commission from the King confirmed in Parliament. Their first work was to draw up a Declaration of the Christian Doctrine, *for the necessary erudition of a Christian man.* They thought that to speak of Faith in general, ought naturally to go before an Exposition of the Christian Belief; and therefore with that they began.

An Explanation of Faith.

The Church of *Rome*, that designed to keep her Children in ignorance, had made no great account of Faith: which they generally taught, consisted chiefly in an Implicite Believing whatever the Church proposed; without any explicite knowledg of particulars. So that a Christian Faith, as they had explained it, was a Submission to the Church. The Reformers finding that this was the Spring of all their other errors, and that which gave them colour and Authority; did on the other hand set up the strength of their whole Cause on an Explicite believing the truth of the Scriptures, because of the Authority of God, who had revealed them. And said, that as the great Subject of the Apostles Preaching, was *Faith*, so that which they every-where taught, was to read and believe the Scriptures. Upon which followed nice Disputing, what was that saving Faith by which the Scriptures say *we are Justified.* They could not say it was barely crediting the Divine Revelation, since in that sense the Devils believed. Therefore they generally placed it, at first, in their being assured that they should be saved by Christs dying for them. In which, their design was to make Holiness and all other Graces necessary requisites in the Composition of Faith; though they would not make them formally parts of it. For since Christs death has its full vertue and effect upon none but those who are regenerate, and live according to his Gospel; none could be assured that he should be saved by Christs death, till he first found in himself these necessary qualifications which are delivered in the Gospel. Having once setled on this phrase, their followers would needs defend it, but really made it worse by their Explanations. The Church of *Rome* thought they had them at great advantages in it, and called them *Solifidians*, and said they were against good works: though whatever unwary expressions some of them threw out, they always declared good works indispensably necessary to Salvation. But they differed from the Church of *Rome*, in two things that were material: There was also a third, but there the difference was more in the manner of expression. The

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one was, what were good works. The Church of *Rome* had generally delivered, that works which did an immediate honour to God or his Saints, were more valuable, than works done to other men: and that the honour they did to Saints in their Images, and Relicks, and to God in his Priests, that were dedicated to him, were the highest pieces of Holiness: as having the best Objects. This was the foundation of all that Trade, which brought in both Riches and Glory to their Church. On the other hand, the Reformers taught that justice and mercy, with other good works done in obedience to Gods Commandments, were only necessary. And for these things so much magnified at *Rome*, they acknowledged there ought to be a decent splendor in the worship of God: and good provision to be made for the encouragement of those who dedicated themselves to his Service in the Church: and that what was beyond these, was the effect of Ignorance and Superstition. The other main difference was about the Merit of good works: which the Friars had raised so high, that people were come to think they bought and sold with Almighty God, for Heaven, and all other his blessings. This the Reformers judged was the height of Arrogance: And therefore taught that good works were indeed absolutely necessary to Salvation: but that the purchase of Heaven was only by the Death and Intercession of Jesus Christ. With these material differences they joyned another that consisted more in words. Whether Obedience was an essential part of Faith. The Reformers said it certainly accompanyed and followed Faith: but thought not fit to make it an Ingredient in the nature of Faith. These things had been now much canvassed in disputes: And it was thought by many, that men of ill lives made no good use of some of the Expressions of the Reformers, that separated Faith from good works, and came to perswade themselves, that if they could but attain to a firm assurance, That they should be saved by Christ, all would be well with them. Therefore now when they went about to state the true Notion of Faith, *Cranmer* commanded Doctor *Redmayn*, who was esteemed the most learned and judicious Divine of that time, to write a short Treatise on these Heads: which he did with that solidity and clearness, that it will sufficiently justifie any advantagious Character that can be given of the Author; and according to the Conclusions of that Treatise they laid down the nature of Faith, thus: That it stands in two several senses in Scripture, "The one is a perswasion "of the truths, both of natural and revealed Religion, wrought in "the mind by Gods holy Spirit: And the other is such a belief as begets a submission to the will of God, and hath Hope, Love, and "Obedience to Gods Commandments joyned to it: which was *Abraham's* Faith, and that which according to St. *Paul* wrought by Charity, and was so much commended in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*. "That this was the Faith which in Baptism is professed, from which "Christians are called the *Faithful*: And in those Scriptures where it "is said, That we are justified by Faith, they declared, we may not "think that we be justified by Faith, as it is a separate vertue from "Hope and Charity, Fear of God, and Repentance; but by it is meant "Faith, neither only, nor alone, but with the foresaid vertues coupled together; containing (as is aforesaid) the Obedience to the

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1539. "whole Doctrine and Religion of Christ. But for the Definition of "Faith, which some proposed, as if it were a certainty that one was "Predestinated, they found nothing of it, either in the Scriptures, "or the Doctors: and thought that could not be known: for though "God never failed in his Promises to men, yet such was the frailty of "men, that they often failed in their promises to God, and so did for-"feit their right to the promises, which are all made upon conditions "that depend on us.

Cranmers Opinion about it.

Upon this occasion I shall digress a little, to show with what care *Cranmer* considered so weighty a point. Among his other Papers, I find a Collection of a great many places out of the Scripture, concerning Justification by Faith, together with a vast number of Quotations, out of *Origen*, *Basil*, *Jerome*, *Theodoret*, *Ambrose*, *Austin*, *Prosper*, *Chrysostom*, *Gennadius*, *Beda*, *Hesychius*, *Theophylact*, and *Oecumenius*; together with many later writers, such as *Anselm*, *Bernard*, *Peter Lombard*, *Hugo Cardinalis*, *Lyranus*, and *Bruno*; in which the sense of those Authors in this Point did appear; all drawn out with his own hand. To this is added another Collection of many places of the Fathers, in which they speak of the *merit of good works*: and at the end of the whole Collection he writes these words, "This Proposition that we be "justified by Christ only, and not by our good works; is a very true "and necessary Doctrine of St. *Pauls*, and the other Apostles, taught "by them, to set forth thereby the Glory of Christ, and the Mercy of "God through Christ. And after some further discourse to the same purpose, he concludes, although all that be justified must of necessi-"ty have Charity, as well as Faith; yet neither Faith nor Charity "be the worthiness nor merits of our Justification: but that is to be "ascribed only to our Saviour Christ: who was offered upon the cross "for our sins, and rose again for our Justification. This I set down to let the World see that *Cranmer* was not at all concerned in those niceties, which have been so much enquired into since that time, about the instrumentality of Faith, in Justification; all that he then considered, being that the glory of it might be ascribed only to the Death and Intercession of Jesus Christ.

They explain the Apostles Creed.

After this was thus laid down, there followed an Explanation of the Apostles Creed; full of excellent matters; being a large Paraphrase on every Article of the Creed, with such serious and practical Inferences, that I must acknowledg, after all the practical Books we have had, I find great Edification in reading that over and over again. The Style is strong, nervous, and well-fitted for the weakest capacities. There is nothing in this that is controverted between the Papists and the Reformers; except the Definition of *the Holy Catholick Church*, which they give thus. *That it comprehends all Assemblies of men over the whole World, that receive the Faith of Christ: who ought to hold an unity of Love, and Brotherly agreement together, by which they become members of the Catholick Church.* Upon which a long excursion is made, to shew the unjustice and unreasonableness of the plea of the Church of *Rome*; who place the unity of the Catholick Church, in a submission to the Bishop of their City; without any ground from Scripture, or the Ancient writers.

From

From that they proceeded to Examine the ſeven Sacraments: And here fell in ſtiff debates, which remain in ſome Authentick Writings, that give a great light to their proceedings. The method which they followed was this. Firſt, the whole buſineſs they were to conſider, was divided into ſo many heads; which were propoſed as Queries, and theſe were given out to ſo many Biſhops and Divines: And at a prefixed time every one brought his opinion in writing, upon all the Queries. So concerning the ſeven Sacraments, the Queries were given out to the two Arch-Biſhops, the Biſhops of *London*, *Rocheſter*, and *Carliſle*, (though the laſt was not in the Commiſſion,) And to the Biſhops of *Dureſm*, *Hereford*, and St. *Davids*. For though the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was in this Commiſſion, yet he did nothing in this particular; but I Imagine that he was gone out of Town, and that the Biſhop of *Carliſle* was appointed to ſupply his abſence. The Queries were alſo given to Doctor *Thirleby*, then Biſhop Elect of *Weſtminſter*, to Doctor *Robertſon*, *Day*, *Redmayn*, *Cox*, *Leighton*, (though not in the Commiſſion) *Symmonds*, *Treſham*, *Coren*, (though not in the Commiſſion,) *Edgeworth*, *Oglethorp*, *Crayford*, *Wilſon*, and *Robins*. When their anſwers were given in, two were appointed to compare them, and draw an Extract of the particulars, in which they agreed or diſagreed: which the one did in *Latine*, and the other in *Engliſh*; only thoſe who compared them, it ſeems, doing it for the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, took no notice of his Opinions in the Extract they made. And of theſe, the Original anſwers of the two Arch-Biſhops, the Biſhops of *London*, *Rocheſter*, and *Carliſle*, and theſe Doctors, *Day*, *Robertſon*, *Redmayn*, *Cox*, *Leighton*, *Symmonds*, *Treſham*, *Coren*, *Edgeworth*, and *Oglethorp*, are yet extant. But the Papers given in by the Biſhops of *Dureſm*, *Hereford*, and St. *Davids*, and the Elect of *Weſtminſter*, and Doctors, *Crayford*, *Wilſon*, and *Robins*, though they are mentioned in the Extracts made out of them, yet are loſt. This the Reader will find in the Collection; which, though it be ſomewhat large, yet I thought ſuch pieces were of too great Importance, not to be communicated to the World; ſince it is perhaps as great an Evidence of the ripeneſs of their proceedings, as can be ſhewed in any Church, or any Age of it. And though other Papers of this ſort do not occur in this Kings Reign; yet I have reaſon to conclude from this Inſtance, that they proceeded with the ſame maturity in the reſt of their deliberations. In which I am the more confirmed, becauſe I find another inſtance like this, in the Reformation that was further carried on in the ſucceeding Reign of *Edward* the 6th; of many Biſhops and Divines giving in their opinions under their hands, upon ſome heads then examined and changed. In *Cranmers* Paper ſome ſingular opinions of his about the nature of Eccleſiaſtical Offices will be found; but as they are delivered by him with all poſſible modeſty, ſo they were not eſtabliſhed as the Doctrine of the Church, but laid aſide as particular conceits of his own, and it ſeems that afterwards he changed his opinion. For he Subſcribed the Book that was ſoon after ſet out; which is directly contrary to thoſe opinions ſet down in theſe Papers. *Cranmer* was for reducing the Sacraments to two, but the Popiſh party was then prevalent, ſo the old number of ſeven was agreed to.

1540.

The ſeven Sacraments.

With great maturity.

Collect. Numb. 21.

Baptiſm

1539. Baptism was explained in the same manner that had been done three years before, in the Articles then set out: only the matter of Original Sin was more enlarged on.

Secondly, Pennance was formally placed in the absolution of the Priest; which by the former Articles was only declared a thing desirable, and not to be contemned if it might be had; yet all merit of good works was rejected, though they were declared necessary: and sinners were taught to depend wholly on the Sufferings of Christ; with other good directions about Repentance.

Thirdly, In the Explanation of the Eucharist, Transubstantiation was fully asserted: as also the Concomitancy of the Blood with the Flesh; so that Communion in both kinds was not necessary. The use of hearing Mass, though one did not Communicate, was also asserted. To which were added very good Rules about the disposition of mind that ought to accompany this Sacrament.

Fourthly, Matrimony was said to be Instituted of God, and Sanctified by Christ: The degrees in the *Mosaical* Law were declared obligatory, and none else: and the Bond of Marriage was declared not separable on any account.

Fifthly, Orders were to be administred in the Church, according to the New-Testament: but the particular forms, of Nominating, Electing, Presenting, or appointing Ecclesiastical Ministers, was left to the Laws of every Countrey, to be made by the assent of the Prince. The Office of Church-men was to Preach, Administer the Sacraments, to bind and loose, and to pray for the whole Flock: But they must execute these, with such limitation as was allowed by the Laws of every Kingdom. The Scripture, they said, made express mention only of the two Orders of Priests and Deacons. To these the Primitive Church had added some Inferior degrees, which were also not to be contemned. But no Bishop had any Authority over other Bishops by the Law of God. Upon which followed a long Digression, confuting the pretensions of the Bishops of *Rome*; with an Explanation of the Kings Authority in Ecclesiastical matters; which was before hand set down in another place, to shew what they understood by the Kings being *Supream Head of the Church*.

Sixthly, Confirmation was said to have been used in the Primitive Church, in Imitation of the Apostles; who by laying on their hands conferred the Holy-Ghost, in an extraordinary manner. And therefore was of great advantage, but not necessary to Salvation.

Seventhly, Extream-unction was said to have been derived from the practice of the Apostles, mentioned by St. *James*, for the health both of Body, and Soul: And though the sick person was not always recovered of his bodily sickness by it, yet remission of sins was obtained by it; and that which God knew to be best for our bodily condition, to whose will we ought always to submit. But this Sacrament was only fruitful to those who by pennance were restored to the State of Grace.

The ten Commandments.

Then followed an Explanation of the Ten Commandements, which contains many good rules of Morality, drawn from every one of them. The 2d Commandment *Gardiner* had a minde to have shortned, and to cast it into the first. *Cranmer* was for setting it down as it was in the

the Law of *Moses*. But a temper was found: it was placed as a Distinct Commandment, but not at full length; the words, *For I the Lord thy God*, &c. being left out, and only those that go before being set down. In the Explanation of this Commandment, Images were said to be profitable for putting us in mind of the great blessings we have received by our Saviour, and of the vertues and holiness of the Saints, by which we were to be stirred up to imitate them: So that they were not to be despised, though we be forbidden to do any godly honour to them. And therefore the Superstition of preferring one Image to another, as if they had any special vertue in them, or the adorning them richly, and making Vowes and Pilgrimages to them, is condemned; yet the Censing of Images, and Kneeling before them, are not condmned: but the people must be taught, that these things were not to be done to the Image it self, but to God and his honour. To the third Commandment, they reduced the Invocation of Gods name for his Gifts. And they condemned the Invocation of Saints, when such things were prayed for from them, which were only given by God. This was the giving his Glory to Creatures: yet to pray to Saints as Intercessors is declared lawful, and according to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church. Upon the 4th Commandement a Rest from labour every 7th day is said to be Ceremonial, and such as only obliged *Jews*: but the Spiritual signification of Rest among Christians, was to abstain from Sin, and other Carnal pleasures. But besides that, we were also bound by this Precept sometimes to cease from labour, that we may serve and worship God both in publick and private: And that on the dayes appointed for this purpose, people ought to examine their lives, the past week, and set to amendment, and give themselves to prayer, reading, and meditation. Yet in cases of necessity, such as saving their Corn, or Cattel, men ought not superstitiously to think that it is a Sin to work on that day; but to do their work without scruple. Then follow very profitable Expositions of the other Commandments, with many grave and weighty admonitions concerning the duties by them enjoyned, and against those sins which are too Common in all Ages.

1540.

After that, an Explanation of the Lords Prayer was added. In the preface to which, it is said, that it is meet and requisite that the unlearned people should make their Prayers in their Mother-Tongue; whereby they may be the more stirred to Devotion, and to mind the things they prayed for. Then followed an Exposition of the Angels Salutation of the Blessed Virgin: In which, the whole History of the Incarnation of Christ was opened, and the *Ave Maria* explained; which Hymne was chiefly to be used, in Commemoration of Christs Incarnation, and likewise to set forth the praises of the Blessed Virgin. The next article is about Free-will, which they say must be in man, otherwise all Precepts and Exhortations are to no purpose. They defined it *a power of the will, joyned with Reason, whereby a reasonable creature, without constraint, in things of reason, discerneth and willeth good and evil; but chooseth good by the assistance of Gods grace and evil of it self.* This was perfect in the State of Innocency, but is much impaired by *Adams* Fall, and now by an especial grace (offered to all men, but enjoyed only by those who by their free-will do accept the same,)

The Lords Prayer.

The *Ave Maria*.

Free-will.

1540. it was restored, that with great watchfulness we may serve God acceptably. And as many places of Scripture shew, That free-will is still in man, so there be many others which shew that the grace of God is necessary, that doth both prevent us, and assist us, both to begin, and perform every good work. Therefore all men ought most gratefully to receive and follow the motions of the Holy Ghost, and to beg Gods grace with earnest devotion, and a stedfast Faith: which he will grant to all that so ask it, both because he is naturally good, and he has promised to grant our desires. For he is not the author of Sin, nor the Cause of mans Damnation; but this men draw on themselves, who by vice have corrupted these Natures which God made good. Therefore all Preachers were warned so to moderate themselves in this high point, that they neither should so preach the Grace of God as to take away Free-will, nor so extol Free-will, as injury might be done to the Grace of God.

Justification. After this they handled Justification. Having stated the miseries of man by nature, and the guilt of Sin, with the unspeakable goodness of God in sending Christ to redeem us by his death, who was the Mediator between God and man; They next shew how men are made partakers of the blessings which he hath procured. Justification is the making of us righteous before God, whereby we are reconciled to him, and made heirs of Eternal life: that by his Grace we may walk in his ways, and be reputed just and righteous in the day of Judgment, and so attain Everlasting Happiness. God is the chief cause of our Justification: yet man prevented by Grace is by his free consent and obedience a worker toward the attaining his own Justification. For though it is only procur'd through the merits of Christs death, yet every one must do many things to attain a right and claim to that which, though it was offered to all, yet was applied but to a few. We must have a stedfast Faith, true Repentance, real purposes of amendment; committing Sin no more, but serving God all our lives; which if we fall from, we must recover it, by Penance, Fasting, Almes, Prayer, with other good works, and a firm Faith, going forward in mortification and obedience to the Laws of God: It being certain that men might fall away from their Justification. All curious reasonings about Predestination were to be set apart; there being no certainty to he had of our Election, but by feeling the motions of Gods Spirit in us, by a good and virtuous life, and persevering in it to the end. Therefore it was to be taught, that as on the one hand we are justified freely by the free Grace of God, so on the other hand, when it is said *We are justified by Faith*, it must be understood of such a Faith, in which the fear of God, Repentance, Hope, and Charity, be included, all which must be joyned together in our Justification: and though these be imperfect, yet God accepteth of them freely thorough Christ.

Good Works. Next, good works were explained, which were said to be absolutely necessary to Salvation. But these were not only outward corporal works, but inward Spiritual works, as the Love and Fear of God, Patience, Humility, and the like. Nor were they Superstitions, and mens Inventions, such as those in which Monks and Friers exercised themselves: nor only moral works done by the power of Natu-

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ral reaſon: but the works of Charity, flowing from a pure heart, a good Conſcience, and Faith unfeigned; which were meritorious towards the attaining of Everlaſting life. Other works were of an Inferior ſort; ſuch as Faſting, Almſdeeds, and other fruits of Penance. And the merit of good works is reconciled with the freedom of Gods mercies to us, ſince all our works are done by his Grace; ſo that we have no cauſe of boaſting, but muſt aſcribe all to the Grace and goodneſs of God. The laſt Chapter is about Prayers for Souls departed, which is the ſame that was formerly ſet out in the Articles three years before. 1540.

All this was finiſhed and ſet forth this year, with a Preface written by thoſe of the Clergy who had been imployed in it: declaring with what care they had examined the Scriptures, and the ancient Doctors, out of whom they had faithfully gathered this Expoſition of the Chriſtian Faith. To this the King added another Preface ſome years after, declaring that although he had caſt out the darkneſs, by ſetting forth the Scriptures to his people, which had produced very good effects; yet, as hypocriſie and ſuperſtition were purged away, ſo a Spirit of preſumption, diſſenſion, and carnal liberty was breaking in. For repreſſing which he had by the advice of his Clergy, ſet forth a Declaration of the true knowledg of God, for directing all mens belief and practice; which both Houſes of Parliament had ſeen, and liked very well. So that he verily truſted it contained a true and ſufficient Doctrine, for the attaining everlaſting life. Therefore he required all his people, to read and print in their hearts, the Doctrine of this Book. He alſo willed them to remember, that as there were ſome Teachers, whoſe Office it was to inſtruct the people; ſo the reſt ought to be taught, and to thoſe it was not neceſſary to read the Scriptures: and that therefore he had reſtrained it from a great many, eſteeming it ſufficient for ſuch to hear the Doctrine of the Scriptures taught by their Preachers, which they ſhould lay up in their hearts, and practiſe in their lives. Laſtly, he deſired all his Subjects to pray to God to grant them the Spirit of Humility, that they might read and carry in their hearts the Doctrine ſet forth in this Book. But though I have joyned the account of this Preface, to the Extract here made of the Biſhops Book, yet it was not prefixed to it, till above two years after the other was ſet out.

All this ſet forth in a Book,

And publiſhed by the Kings Authority.

When this was publiſhed, both parties found cauſe in it both to be glad and ſorrowful. The Reformers rejoyced to ſee the Doctrine of the Goſpel thus opened more and more; for they concluded that Ignorance and prejudices, being the chief ſupports of the Errours they complained of; the inſtructing people in Divine Matters, even though ſome particulars diſpleaſed them, yet would awaken and work upon an inquiſitive humour that was then a-ſtirring; and they did not doubt but their Doctrines were ſo clear, that Inquiries into Religion would do their buſineſs. They were alſo glad to ſee the Morals of Chriſtianity ſo well cleared, which they hoped would diſpoſe people to a better taſte of Divine matters; ſince they had obſerved that purity of Soul does mightily prepare people for ſound opinions. Moſt of the Superſtitious conceits and practices, which had for ſome ages em-

It is variouſly cenſured.

1540. based the Christian Faith, were now removed; and the great fundamental of Christianity, the Covenant between God and man in Christ, with the conditions of it, was plainly and sincerely declared. There was also another principle laid down, that was big with a further Reformation: for every National Church was declared a compleat Body within it self, with power to reform heresies, correct abuses, and do every thing else that was necessary for keeping it self pure, or governing its members. By which there was a fair way opened for a full discussion of things afterwards, when a fitter opportunity should be offered. But on the other hand, the Popish party thought they had gained much. The seven Sacraments were again asserted, so that here much ground was recovered, and they hoped more would follow. There were many things laid down, to which they knew the Reformers would never consent. So that they, who were resolved to comply with every thing that the King had a mind to, were pretty safe. But the others, who followed their perswasions and consciences were brought into many snares; and the Popish party was confident that their absolute compliance, which was joyned with all possible submission and flattery, would gain the King at length: and the stiffness of others, who would not give that deference to the Kings judgment and pleasure, would so alienate him from them, that he would in the end abandon them; for with the Kings years his uneasiness and peevishness grew mightily on him.

The dissolution of the Kings Marriage with *Anne* of *Cleves*, had so offended the Princes of *Germany*, that though upon the Ladies account, they made no publick noise of it; yet there was little more intercourse between the King and them, especially *Cromwel* falling, that had alwayes carried on the correspondence with them. And as this intercourse went off, so a secret Treaty was set on foot between the King and the Emperor: yet it came not to a Conclusion till two years after.

Corrections of the Mass-Book and other Offices. Ex M S S. D. Stilling-flet.

The other Bishops that were appointed to examine the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, drew up a Rubrick and *Rationale* of them: which I do not find was printed, but a very Authentical M S. of a great part of it was is extant. The alterations they made were inconsiderable, and so slight, that there was no need of reprinting, either the Missalls, Breviaries, or other Offices; for a few rasures of these Collects in which the Pope was prayed for, of *Thomas Beckets* Office, and the Offices of other Saints, whose days were by the Kings Injunctions no more to be observed, with some other Delections, made, that the old Books did still serve. For whether it was, that the Change of the Mass-Books, and other publick Offices, would have been too great a Charge to the Nation; or whether they thought it would have possessed the people with an opinion that the Religion was altered, since the Books of the ancient worship were changed; which remaining the same, they might be the more easily perswaded, that the Religion was still the same; there was no new impression of the Breviaries, Missals, and other Rituals, during this Kings Reign. Yet in Queen *Maries* time they took care that Posterity should not know how much was dashed out or changed. For as all Parishes were required to furnish themselves with new compleat Books of the Offices;

fices; so the dashed Books were every-where brought in, and destroyed. But it is likely that most of those Scandalous Hymnes and Prayers, which are addressed to Saints in the same style, in which good Christians worship God, were all struck out; because they were now condemned, as appears from the Extract of the other Book set out by the Bishops. 1540.

But as they went on in these things, the Popish party, whose Counsels were laid very close, and managed with great dexterity, chiefly by the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner*, pursued the ruine of those whom they called Hereticks: knowing well that if the King was once set against them, and they provoked against the Government, he would be not only alienated from them, but forced, for securing himself against them, to gain the hearts of his other Subjects by a Conjunction with the Emperor, and by his means with the Pope. The first on whom this design took effect, were Doctor *Barnes*, Mr. *Gerard*, and Mr. *Jerome*, all Priests; who had been among the earliest Converts to *Luther's* Doctrine. *Barnes* had in a Sermon at *Cambridg*, during the Cardinals greatness, reflected on the Pomp and State in which he lived, so plainly, that every body understood of whom he meant. So he was carried up to *London*; but by the interposition of *Gardiner* and *Fox*, who were his friends, he was saved at that time, having abjured some opinions that were objected to him. But other accusations being afterwards brought against him, he was again Imprisoned, and it was believed that he would have been burnt. But he made his escape and went to *Germany*, where he gave himself to the study of the Scriptures and Divinity. In which he became so considerable, that not only the *German* Divines, but their Princes, took great notice of him: and the King of *Denmark* sending over Ambassadors to the King, he was sent with them; though perhaps *Fox* was ill informed, when he says he was one of them. *Fox* Bishop of *Hereford*, being at *Smalcald* in the year 1536. sent him over to *England*; where he was received and kindly entertained by *Cromwel*, and well used by the King. And by his means the correspondence with the *Germans* was chiefly kept up. For he was often sent over to the Courts of the several Princes. But in particular, he had the misfortune to be first employed in the project of the Kings Marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves*; for that giving the King so little satisfaction, all who were the main promoters of it fell in disgrace upon it.

A Persecution of Protestants.

Of Barnes and others.

But other things concurred to destroy *Barnes*. In Lent this year *Bonner* had appointed him and *Gerrard*, and *Jerome*, turns in the Course of Sermons at St. *Pauls* Cross: they being in favour with *Cromwel*, on whom *Bonner* depended wholly. But *Gardiner* sent *Bonner* word, that he intended himself to preach on Sunday at St. *Pauls* Cross: and in his Sermon he treated of Justification, and other points, with many reflections on the *Lutherans*. *Barnes*, when it came to his Turn, made use of the same Text, but preached contrary Doctrine; not without some unhandsome reflections on *Gardiners* person: and he played on his name, alluding to a Gardiners setting ill Plants in a Garden. The other two preached the same Doctrine, but made no reflections on any person. *Gardiner* seemed to bear it with a great appearance of neglect

1540. neglect and indifferency. But his friends complained to the King of the unſufferable inſolencies of theſe Preachers, who did not ſpare ſo great a Prelate, eſpecially he being a Privy Councellor. So *Barnes* was queſtioned for it, and commanded to go and give the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſatisfaction. And the Biſhop carried the matter with a great ſhew of moderation, and acted outwardly in it, as became his Function: though it was believed the matter ſtuck deeper in his heart, which the effects that followed ſeemed to demonſtrate. The King concerned himſelf in the matter, and did argue with *Barnes* about the points in difference. But whether he was truly convinced, or overcome rather with the fear of the King than with the force of his reaſonings; he and his two Friends, *William Jerome*, and *Tho. Gerrard*, ſigned a paper, (which will be found in the Collection,) in which he acknowledged, "That having been brought before the King, for "things preached by him; His Highneſs, being aſſiſted by ſome of "the Clergy, had ſo diſputed with him, that he was convinced of his "raſhneſs and overſight: and promiſed to abſtain from ſuch indiſ-"cretions for the future, and to ſubmit to any orders the King ſhould "give for what was paſt.

Collect. *Numb.* 22.

"The Articles were. *Firſt*, That though we are Redeemed only "by the death of Chriſt, in which we participate by Faith and Bap-"tiſm; yet by not following the Commandments of Chriſt we "loſe the benefits of it, which we cannot recover but by Pen-"nance.

"*Secondly*, That God is not the Author of Sin, or evil, which he "only permits.

"*Thirdly*. That we ought to reconcile our ſelves to our neighbours, "and forgive, before we can be forgiven.

"*Fourthly*, That good works, done ſincerely according to the Scrip-"tures, are profitable and helpful to Salvation.

"*Fifthly*, That Laws made by Chriſtian Rulers ought to be obey-"ed by their Subjects, for conſcience ſake: and that whoſoever breaks "them breaks Gods Commandments.

It's not likely that *Barnes* could ſay any thing directly contrary to theſe Articles: though having brought much of *Luthers* heat over with him, he might have ſaid ſome things that ſounded ill upon theſe heads. There were other points in difference between *Gardiner* and him, about Juſtification; but it ſeems the King thought theſe were of ſo ſubtile a nature, that no Article of Faith was controverted in them: and therefore left the Biſhop and him to agree theſe among themſelves, which they in a great meaſure did. So the King commanded *Barnes* and his friends to preach at the *Spittle* in the *Eaſter*-week, and openly to recant what they had formerly ſaid. And *Barnes* was in particular to ask the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s pardon, which he did: and *Gardiner* being twice deſired by him, to give ſome ſigne that he forgave him, did lift up his Finger. But in their Sermons, it was ſaid they juſtified in one part what they recanted in another. Of which complaints being brought to the King, he, without hearing them ſent them all to the *Tower*. And *Cromwels* intereſt at Court was then declining ſo faſt, that either he could not protect them, or elſe would not prejudice himſelf by interpoſing in a matter which gave the King

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ſo great offence. They lay in the Tower till the Parliament met, and then they were attainted of Hereſie, without ever being brought to make their anſwer. And it ſeems for the Extraordinarineſs of the thing, they reſolved to mix attaindors for things that were very different from one Another. For four others were by the ſame Act attainted of Treaſon, who were *Gregory Buttolph, Adam Damplip, Edmund Brindholme*, and *Clement Philpot*, for aſſiſting *Reginald Pool*, adhering to the Biſhop of *Rome*, denying the King to be the Supream Head on earth of the Church of *England*, and deſigning to ſurprize the Town of *Callice*. One *Derby Gunnings* was alſo attainted of Treaſon for aſſiſting one *Fitz-Girald* a Traitor in *Ireland*. And after all theſe, *Barnes, Gerard*, and *Jerome*, are attainted of Hereſie, being, as the Act ſayes, "Deteſtable Hereticks, who had conſpired together "to ſet forth many Hereſies, and taking themſelves to be men of "learning, had expounded the Scriptures; perverting them to their "Hereſies, the number of which was too long to be repeated; that "having formerly abjured, they were now incorrigible Hereticks: "and ſo were condemned to be burned, or ſuffer any other death; as "ſhould pleaſe the King. And two dayes after *Cromwels* death, being the 30th of *July*, They were brought to *Smithfield*, where in their Execution there was as odd a mixture, as had been in their Attaindors. For *Abel Fetherſton*, and *Powel*, that were attainted by another Act of the ſame Parliament, for owning the Popes Supremacy, and denying the Kings, were carried to the place of Execution, and coupled with the other three. So that one of each was put into a Hurdle, and carried together, which every body condemned as an Extravagant affectation of the ſhew of Impartial Juſtice. 1540. Who were condemned in Parliament.

When they were brought to the Stake, *Barnes* ſpake thus to the People. "Since he was to be burned as an Heretick, he would declare "what opinions he held. So he enlarged on all the Articles of the "Creed, to ſhew he believed them all. He expreſſed a particular ab-"horrence of an opinion which ſome Anabaptiſts held, That the "Bleſſed Virgin was as a Saffron Bagg; (by which indecent *Simile* "they meant that our Saviour took no ſubſtance of her.) He explai-"ned his opinion of Good works, that they muſt of neceſſity be done, "ſince without them none ſhould ever enter into the Kingdom of "God. They were commanded of God, to ſhew forth our profeſſion "by them: but he believed, as they were not pure nor perfect, ſo "they did not avail to our Juſtification, nor merit any thing at the "hands of God; for that was to be aſcribed to the Merits of the Death "and Paſſion of Chriſt. He profeſſed great Reverence to the Bleſſed "Virgin and Saints. But ſaid, he ſaw no warrant in Scriptures for "praying to them: nor was it certain whether they prayed for us or "not; but if the Saints did pray for thoſe on Earth, he truſted within "half an hour to be praying for them all. Then he asked the Sheriff if he had any Articles againſt them, for which they were condemned: who anſwered he had none. He next asked the people, if they knew wherefore he died, or if they had been led into any Errours by his Preaching; but none made anſwer. Then he ſaid, he heard he was condemned to die by an Act of Parliament; and it ſeemed it was for Hereſie, ſince they were to be burnt. He prayed God to forgive Their Speeches at the Stake.

1540. those who had been the occasions of it. And in particular, for the Bishop of *Winchester*, if he had sought or procured his death, he prayed God heartily to forgive him, as Christ forgave his Murtherers. He prayed earnestly for the King, and the Prince; and exhorted the people to pray for them. He said, some had reported that he had been a Preacher of Sedition and Disobedience: But he declared to the people, that they were bound by the Law of God, to obey their Kings Laws with all humility, not only for fear, but for Conscience; adding, that if the King commanded any thing against Gods Law, though it were in their Power to resist him, yet they might not do it. Then he desired the Sheriff to carry five requests from him to the King.

" *First*, That since he had taken the Abbey-Lands into his hands, " for which he did not blame him, (as the Sheriff fancied he was about to do, and thereupon stopped him,) but was glad that Super-" stition was taken away; and that the King was then a compleat " King, obeyed by all his Subjects, which had been done through the " Preaching of them, and such wretches as they were: yet he wish-" ed the King would bestow these goods, or some of them, to the " comfort of his poor Subjects who had great need of them.

" *Secondly*, That Marriage might be had in greater esteem, and " that men might not upon light pretences cast off their Wives; and " that those who were unmarried, might not be suffered to live in " Whoredome.

Thirdly, That Abominable Swearers might be punished.

" *Fourthly*, That since the King had begun to set forth Christian " Religion, he would go forward in it, and make an end: for though " he had done a great deal, yet many things remained to be done, " and he wished that the King might not be deceived with false " Teachers.

The fifth desire he said he had forgot.

Then he begged that they all would forgive him, if at any time he had said or done evil unadvisedly: and so turned about, and prepared himself for his death.

Jerome spake next, and declared his Faith upon every Article of the Creed; and said that he believed all that was in the Holy Scriptures. He also prayed for the King, and the Prince. And concluded with a very Pathetical Exhortation to mutual Love and Charity; that they would propose to themselves the pattern of Christs wonderful Love, through whom only he hoped to be saved; and desired all their Prayers for himself and his Brethren. Then *Gerard* declared his Faith, and said, That if through ignorance or negligence, he had taught any error, he was sorry for it; and asked God pardon and them, whom he had thereby offended. But he protested, that according to his Learning and Knowledg, he had always set forth the honour of God, and the obedience of the Kings Laws. Then they all prayed for the pardon of their Sins, and constancie and patience in their sufferings: And so they embraced and kissed one another, and then the Executioners tyed them to the Stake, and set fire to them.

Their death did rather encourage than dishearten their followers: who seeing such an extraordinary measure of patience in them, were the more confirmed in their resolutions of suffering for a good con-

science,

ſcience, and for his name, who did not forſake his Servants in theſe cruel Agonies. One difference between their Sufferings, and the other three who were hanged for aſſerting the Popes Supremacy, was remarkable; that though the others demeaned themſelves toward them with the moſt uncharitable and ſpiteful malice that was poſſible, (ſo that their own Hiſtorian ſayes, That their being carryed with them to their Execution was bitterer to them than death it ſelf;) yet they declared their hearty forgiving of their Enemies, and of *Gardiner* in particular, who was generally looked on as the perſon that procured their death: which Imputation ſtuck faſt to him, though by a Printed Apologie he ſtudyed to clear himſelf of any other concernment in it, than by giving his vote for the Act of their Attaindor. 1540.

Now *Bonner* began to ſhew his nature. Hitherto he had acted another part. For being moſt extreamly deſirous of Preferment, he had ſo complyed with *Cromwel* and *Cranmer*, that they had great confidence in him; and he being a bluſtering and forward man, they thought he might do the Reformation good ſervice, and therefore he was advanced ſo high by their means. But as ſoon as ever *Cromwel* fell, the very next day he ſhewed his Ingratitude, and how nimbly he turned with the Wind. For *Grafton* the Printer, (whom *Cromwel* favoured much for his Printing the Bible, and who was by that means very familiar with *Bonner*,) meeting him, ſaid, he was very ſorry for the news he heard of *Cromwels* being ſent to the Tower. *Bonner* anſwered, it had been good he had been diſpatcht long ago. So the other ſhrunk away, perceiving the change that was in him. And ſome days after that, *Grafton* being brought before the Council, for ſome Verſes which he was believed to have Printed in commendation of *Cromwel*, *Bonner* informed the Council of what *Grafton* had ſaid to him upon *Cromwels* being Arreſted, to make the other Charge ſeem the more probable. Yet *Audley* the Chancelor was *Graftons* friend, and brought him off. But *Bonner* gave the City of *London* quickly cauſe to apprehend the utmoſt ſeverities from him. For many were endicted by his procurement. Yet the King was loth to give too many Inſtances of Cruelty, in this declination of his Age, and therefore by an order from the *Star-Chamber* they were diſcharged. But upon what motives I cannot fancie, he pickt out an Inſtance, which, if the deeper ſtains of his following life had not daſht all particular ſpots, had been ſufficient to have blemiſhed him for ever. There was one *Richard Mekins* a Boy not above fifteen years of Age, and both Illiterate and very Ignorant, who had ſaid ſomewhat againſt the corporal preſence of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, and in Commendation of Doctor *Barnes*. Upon this he was Endicted. The words were proved by two witneſſes, and a day was appointed for the Juries to bring in their verdict. The day being come, the Grand Jury was called for, then the Fore-man ſaid, they had found nothing. This put *Bonner* in a fury, and he charged them with Perjury: But they ſaid they could find nothing, for the witneſſes did not agree. The one depoſed, That he had ſaid the Sacrament was nothing but a *Ceremony*: and the other, That it was nothing but a *Signification*. But *Bonner* ſtill perſiſted and told them, that he had ſaid *That Barnes dyed Holy*. But they could not find theſe words to be againſt the Sta-

Bonners cruelty

1540. tute. Upon which *Bonner* cursed, and was in a great rage, and caused them to go aside again: So they being overawed, returned and found the Indictment. Then sate the Jury upon life and death, who found him Guilty: and he was adjudged to be burnt. But when he was brought to the Stake, he was taught to speak much good of *Bonner*, and to condemn all Hereticks, and *Barnes* in particular, saying he had learned Heresie of him. Thus the Boy was made to die with a lie in his mouth. For *Barnes* held not that opinion of the Sacrament's being only a Ceremony or signification, but was a zealous *Lutheran*: which appeared very signally on many occasions, chiefly in *Lamberts* case. Three others were also burned at *Salisbury* upon the same Statute, one of whom was a Priest. Two also were burned at *Lincoln* in one day. Besides, a great number of persons were brought in trouble, and kept long in Prison upon the Statute of the six Articles. But more blood I find not spilt at this time.

New Bishopricks founded. In the end of this year were the new Bishopricks founded. For in *December* was the Abbey of *Westminster* converted into a Bishops See, and a Deanry and twelve Prebends, with the Officers for a Cathedral and a Quire. And in the year following on the 4th of *August*, the King erected out of the Monastery of St. *Werburg* at *Chester*, a Bishoprick, a Deanry, and six Prebends. In *September* out, of the Monastery at St. *Peters* at *Glocester* the King endowed a Bishoprick, a Deanry, and six Prebendaries. And in the same Month, the Abbey of *Peterborough* was converted to a Bishops seat, a Deanry, and six Prebendaries. And to lay this whole matter together, two years after this, the Abbey of *Osney* in *Oxford* was converted into a Bishoprick, a Deanry, and six Prebends. And the Monastery of St. *Austins* in *Bristol* was changed into the same use. There are many other Grants also in the Rolls, both to the Bishops, and Deans, and Chapters, of these Sees. But these Foundations will be better understood, by their Charters: of which, since the Bishoprick of *Westminster* is least known, because long ago suppressed, I have chosen to set down the Charter of that See; which the Reader will find in the Collection: And they running all in the same style, one may serve for the rest. The Substance of the Preamble is, "That the King being mov-"ed by the Grace of God, and intending nothing more than that "true Religion, and the sincere worship of God, should not be abo-"lished, but rather restored to the Primitive sincerity, and reformed "from these abuses with which the profession and the lives of the "Monks had so long and so lamentably corrupted Religion; had, as "far as humane Infirmity could foresee, designed that the word of God "might be sincerely Preached, the Sacraments purely administred, "good Order kept up, the Youth well Instructed, and old people re-"lieved, with other publick Almsdeeds. And therefore the King "Erected and Endowed these Sees. The day after these several Grants, there followed a Writ to the Arch-Bishop, containing, that the King had appointed such a person to be Bishop of that See, Requiring him to Consecrate and Ordain him in due form. Then the Priories at most Cathedrals, such as *Canterbury*, *Winchester*, *Duresm*, *Worcester*, *Carlisle*, *Rochester*, and *Ely*, were also converted into Deanries, and Colledges of Prebends, with many other Officers, and

Collect. *Numb.* 23.

an

an allowance of Charity to be yearly distributed to the poor. 1540.
But as all this came far short of what the King had once intended, so *Cranmers* Design was quite disappointed. For he had projected that in every Cathedral there should be provision made for Readers, of Divinity, and of *Greek*, and *Hebrew*, and a great number of Students to be both exercised in the daily worship of God, and trained up in Study and Devotion; whom the Bishop might transplant out of this Nursery, into all the parts of his Dioces. And thus every Bishop should have had a Colledge of Clergy-men under his eye, to be preferred according to their merit: he saw great disorders among some Prebendaries, and in a long Letter, the Original of which I have seen, he expressed his regret that these Endowments went in such a Channel. Yet now his Power was not great at Court, and the other party run down all his motions. But these who observed things narrowly, judged that a good mixture of Prebendaries, and of young Clerks bred up about Cathedrals, under the Bishops eye, and the Conduct and Direction of the Dean and Prebendaries, had been one of the greatest Blessings that could have befallen the Church: Which not being sufficiently provided of Houses for the Forming of the minds and manners of those who are to be received into Orders, has since felt the ill effects of it very sensibly. Against this, *Cranmer* had projected a Noble Remedy, had not the Popish party then at Court, who very well apprehended the advantages such Nurseries would have given to the Reformation, born down this Proposition, and turned all the Kings Bounty and Foundations another way.

Cranmer's design miscarries.

These new Foundations gave some credit to the Kings proceedings, and made the Suppression of Chantries and Chappels go on more smoothly. But those of the *Roman* party beyond Sea, censured this, as they had done all the rest of the Kings Actings. They said, it was but a slight Restitution of a small part of the goods, of which he had robbed the Church. And they complained of the Kings encroaching on the Spiritual Jurisdiction of the Church, by dismembring Dioceses, and removing Churches from one Jurisdiction to another. To this it was answered, that the necessities which their practices put on the King, both to fortifie his Coast and Dominions, to send money beyond Sea for keeping the War at a distance from himself, and to secure his quiet at home, by easie grants of these Lands, made him that he could not do all that he intended. And for the Division of Dioceses, many things were brought from the *Roman* Law, to shew, That the Division of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, whether of Patriarches, Primates, Metropolitans, or Bishops, was Regulated by the Emperors; of which the Ancient Councils always approved. And in *England*, when the Bishoprick of *Lincoln* being judged of too great an Extent, the Bishoprick of *Ely* was taken out of it, it was done only by the King, with the consent of his Clergy and Nobles. Pope *Nicolas* indeed officiously intruded himself into that matter, by sending afterwards a Confirmation of that which was done. But that was one of the great Arts of the Papacy, to offer Confirmations of things that were done without the Popes. For these being easily received by them, that thought of nothing more than to give the better countenance to their own Acts, the

These Foundations censured.

1541. Popes afterwards founded a Right on these Confirmations. The very receiving of them was pretended to be an acknowledgment of a Title in the Pope. And the matter was so artificially managed, that Princes were noozed into some approbation of such a pretence, before they were aware of it. And then the Authority of the Canon-Law prevailing, Maxims were laid down in it, by which the most tacite and inconsiderate Acts of Princes, were construed to such senses, as still advanced the greatness of the Papal pretensions.

This business of the new Foundations being thus setled, the matters of the Church were now put in a method: and the Bishops Book was the standard of Religion. So that whatsoever was not agreeable to that, was judged Heretical, whether it leaned to the one side, or the other. But it seems that the King by some secret Order had chained up the party, which was going on in the Execution of the Statute of the six Articles, that they should not proceed capitally.

The State of the Court at this time.

Thus matters went this year, and with this, the Series of the History of the Reformation, made by this King, ends: for it was now digested and formed into a Body. What followed was not in a Thred, but now and then some remarkable things were done: sometimes in favour of the one, and sometimes of the other party. For after *Cromwel* fell, the King did not go on so steadily in any thing as he had done formerly. *Cromwel* had an Ascendant over him, which after Cardinal *Wolseys* fall none besides himself ever had. They knew how to manage the Kings uneasie and imperious humor: But now none had such a Power over him. The Duke of *Norfolk* was rich and brave, and made his Court well, but had not so great a Genius; so that the King did rather trust and fear, than esteem him. *Gardiner* was only a Tool, and being of an abject Spirit, was employed, but not at all reverenced by the King. *Cranmer* retained always his candor and simplicity, and was a great Prelate; but neither a good Courtier, nor a States-man. And the King esteemed him more for his vertues, than for his dexterity and cunning in business. So that now the King was left wholly to himself; and being extream humorous and impatient, there were more errors committed in the last years of his Government, than had been for his whole Reign before. *France* forsook him, *Scotland* made War upon him, which might have been fatal to him, if their King had not dyed in the beginning of it, leaving an Infant Princess, but a few days old, behind him. And though the Emperor made peace with him, yet it was but an hollow agreement. Of all which I shall give but slender hints, in the rest of this Book; and rather open some few particulars, than pursue a Continued Narration, since the matter of my Work failes me.

The Bible in *English* set up in all Churches. Collect. *Numb.* 24.

In *May* the 33d year of the Kings Reign, a new Impression of the Bible was finished, and the King by Proclamation, "Required all Curates and Parishioners of every Town and Parish, to provide themselves a Copy of it before All-Hallowtide: under the penalty of forfeiting forty Shillings a month, after that, till they had one. He declared that he set it forth, to the end that his people might by Reading it, perceive the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God: Observe his Commandments, obey the Laws, and their Prince, and

"live in Godly Charity among themſelves. But that the King did "not thereby intend that his Subjects ſhould preſume to expound, or "take arguments from Scripture; nor diſturb Divine Service, by read- "ing it, when Maſs was Celebrating: but ſhould read it meekly, hum- "bly, and reverently, for their Inſtruction, Edification, and Amendment. There was alſo care taken ſo to Regulate the Prices of the Bibles, that there ſhould be no exacting on the Subjects in the Sale of them. And *Bonner* ſeeing the Kings mind was ſet on this, ordered ſix of theſe great Bibles to be ſet up in ſeveral places of St. *Pauls*: that all perſons who could read, might at all times have free acceſs to them. And upon the Pillars to which theſe Bibles were chained, an Exhortation was ſet up, "admoniſhing all that came thither to "read; That they ſhould lay aſide vain-glory, hypocriſie, and all o- "ther corrupt affections, and bring with them, Diſcretion, good In- "tentions, Charity, Reverence, and a quiet behaviour: for the Edifi- "cation of their own Souls; but not to draw multitudes about them, "nor to make Expoſitions of what they read, nor to read aloud, nor "make noiſe in time of Divine Service, nor enter into Diſputes con- "cerning it. But people came generally to hear the Scriptures read, and ſuch as could read, and had clear voices, came often thither with great Crowds about them. And many ſet their Children to School, that they might carry them with them to St. *Pauls*, and hear them read the Scriptures. Nor could the people be hindred from entring into diſputes about ſome places: for who could hear the words of the Inſtitution of the Sacrament, *Drink ye all of it*, or St. *Pauls* Diſcourſe againſt worſhip in an unknown tongue, and not from thence be led to conſider, that the people were deprived of the Cup, which by Chriſts expreſs Command was to be drunk by all; and that they were kept in a worſhip, to which the unlearned could not ſay *Amen*, ſince they underſtood not what was ſaid, either in the Collects or Hymns? So the King had many Complaints brought him, of the Abuſes that were ſaid to have riſen from the Liberty given the people to read the Scriptures. Upon which, *Bonner*, (no doubt having obtained the Kings leave,) ſet up a new Advertiſement; in which he complained of theſe Abuſes, in the reading the Bible: for which he threatned the people, that he would remove theſe Bibles out of the Church, if they continued as they did, to abuſe ſo high a favour. Yet theſe Complaints produced no further ſeverity at this time. But by them the Popiſh party afterwards obtained what they deſired. This Summer the King turned the Monaſtery of *Burton* upon *Trent*, into a Collegiat Church for a Dean and four Prebends: and the Monaſtery of *Thornton* in *Lincolnſhire* into another, for a Dean and four Prebends. In this year *Cranmer* took it into Conſideration, to what exceſs the Tables of the Biſhops had riſen, whereby thoſe Revenues that ought to have been applyed to better purpoſes, were waſted on great Entertainment which though they paſſed under the decent name of Hoſpitality, yet were in themſelves both too high and expenſive, and proved great hindrances to Church-mens Charity, in more neceſſary and profitable Inſtances. He therefore ſet out an Order, for Regulating that Expence: by which, an Arch-Biſhops Table was not to exceed ſix diſhes of meat, and four of * Banquet; a Biſhops, five diſhes of meat, and three

[Margin notes: 1541. — Collect. Numb. 25. — 1541. Antiq. Brit. in Reg. Pol. — A Rule about Churchmens houſekeeping. — * Bellaria.]

1541. three of Banquet; a Deans or Arch-Deacons Table was not to exceed four dishes, and two of Banquet; and other Clergy-men might be served only with two dishes. But he that gives us the account of this, laments that this Regulation took no effect. And complains that the people expecting generally such splendid House-keeping from the Dignified Clergy, and not considering how short their Revenues are, of what they were anciently: they out of a weak Complyance with the Multitude, have disabled themselves from keeping Hospitality, as our Saviour ordered it, not for the Rich, but the Poor; not to mention the other ill effects that follow too sumptuous a Table.

The King goes to *York*.

In the end of this year, the Tragical fall of the Queen put a stop to all other proceedings. The King had invited his Nephew the King of *Scotland*, to meet him at *York*, who was resolved to come thither. The King intended to gain upon him all he could, and to engage him to follow the Copy he had set him, in Extirpating the Popes Supremacy, and Suppressing Abbeys, and to establish a firm agreement in all other things. The Clergy of *Scotland* feared the ill effects of that Interview, especially their King being a Prince of most extraordinary parts, who, had he not blemished his Government with being so extreamly addicted to his pleasures, was the Greatest Prince that Nation had for several Ages. He was a great Patron of Learning, and Executor of Justice: he used in person and *Incognito*, to go over his Kingdom, and see how Justice was every-where done. He had no very good opinion of the Religious Orders, and had encouraged *Buchanan* to write a severe and witty Libel against the *Franciscan* Friars. So that they were very apprehensive that he might have been wrought on by his Uncle. Therefore they used all their endeavours to divert his Journey. But the *French* King, that had him fast engaged to his Interests, falling then off from the King, wrought more on him. So instead of meeting the King at *York*, where magnificent preparations were made for his Reception, he sent his Excuse; which provoked his Uncle, and gave occasion to a breach that followed not long after.

An account of the State of *Scotland*.

But here I shall crave the Readers leave to give a full representation of the state of Religion at this time in *Scotland*, and of the footing the Reformation had got there: Its neighbourhood to *England*, and the union of these Kingdoms, first in the same Religion, and since under the same Princes, together with the intercourse that was both in this and the next Reign, between these Nations, seem not only to justifie this Digression, but rather to challenge it as a part of the History, without which it should be defective. And it may be the rather expected from one, who had his Birth and Education in that Kingdom.

The beginings of Learning there.

The Correspondence between that Crown and *France* was the cause that what Learning they had, came from *Paris*: where our Kings generally kept some Schollars, and from that great Nursery they were brought over, and set in the Universities of *Scotland* to propagate Learning there. From the year 1412, in which *Wardlaw* Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews* first founded that University, Learning had made such a progress, that more Colledges were soon after founded in that City. Universities were also founded both at *Glasgow*, and *Aberdeen*, which

which have since furnished that Nation with many eminent Scholars in all professions. But at the time that Learning came into *Scotland*, the knowledg of true Religion also followed it: and in that same Arch-Bishops time, one *John Resby*, an *English* man, a follower of *Wickliffs* opinions, was charged with Heresie. Forty Articles were objected to him, of which two are only mentioned. The one was, that *The Pope is not Christs Vicar*. The other was, that *he was not to be esteemed a Pope, if he was a man of wicked life*. For maintaining these, he was burnt *Anno* 1407. 24 years after that, one *Paul Craw* came out of *Germany*, and being a *Bohemian* and an *Hussite*, was infusing his Doctrine into some at St. *Andrews*, which being discovered, he was judged an obstinate Heretick, and burnt there, *Anno* 1432. And to encourage people to prosecute such persons, *Fogo*, who had discovered him, was rewarded with the Abbey of *Melross* soon after.

1541.

And of the Reformation.

Arch-Bishop *Spotswood*.

Lesley.

It does not appear that those Doctrines, which were called *Lollardies* in *England*, had gained many followers in *Scotland*, till near the end of that Century. But then it was found that they were much spread over the Western parts: which being in the neighbourhood of *England*, those who were persecuted there, might perhaps fly into *Scotland*, and spread their Doctrine in that Kingdom. Several persons of Quality were then charged with these Articles, and brought to the Arch-Bishop of *Glasgows* Courts. But they answered him with such confidence, that he thought fit to discharge them; with an admonition to take heed of new Doctrines, and to content themselves with the Faith of the Church.

Spotswood.

At this time the Clergy in *Scotland* were both very ignorant and dissolute in their manners. The Secular Clergy minded nothing but their Tithes, and did either hire some Friers to Preach, or some poor Priests to sing Masses to them at their Churches. The Abbots had possessed themselves of the best seats, and the greatest wealth of the Nation: and by a profuse Superstition, almost the one half of the Kingdom fell into the hands of the Churchmen. The Bishops looked more after the affairs of the State, than the concerns of the Church; and were resolved to maintain by their cruelty, what their Predecessors had acquired by fraud and impostures. And as *Lesly* himself confesses, there was no pains taken to instruct the people in the principles of Religion; nor were the Children at all Catechised, but left in ignorance: and the ill lives of the Clergy, who were both covetous and lewd, disposed the people to favour those that preached for a Reformation. The first that suffered in this Age was *Patrick Hamilton*, a person of very noble blood: his Father was Brother to the Earl of *Arran*, and his Mother Sister to the Duke of *Albany*; so nearly was he on both sides related to the King. He was provided of the Abbey of *Fern* in his youth; and being designed for greater preferments, he was sent to travel: but as he went thorough *Germany*, he contracted a friendship with *Luther*, *Melancthon*, and others of their Perswasion; by whose means he was instructed in the points about which they differed from the Church of *Rome*. He returned to *Scotland*, that he might communicate that knowledg to others with which himself was so happily enlightned. And little considering, either the hindrance of his further Preferment, or the other dangers that might lie in his

The Clergy were both ignorant and cruel.

Patrick Hamilton's sufferings.

way,

1543. favoured by Sir *Philip Hobby* and his Lady, and several others of the Kings Family. During *Cromwels* power none questioned them; but after his fall they were looked on with an ill eye. Doctor *London*, who had by the most servile Flatteries insinuated himself into *Cromwel*, and was much employed in the suppression of Monasteries, and expressed a particular zeal in removing all Images and Relicks which had been abused to Superstition, did now, upon *Cromwels* fall, apply himself to *Gardiner*, by whose means he was made a Prebendary there. And to shew how dextrously he could make his Court both ways, or to make compensation for what he had formerly done, he took care to gather a whole Book of Informations, against these in *Windsor*, who favoured the *New Learning*, (which was the modest phrase by which they termed the Reformation.) He carried this Book to *Gardiner*, who moved the King in Council, that a Commission might be granted for searching suspected Houses at *Windsor*, in which it was Informed there were many Books against the six Articles. The King granted the Warrant for the Town, but not for the Castle. So those before named, were seized on, and some of these Books were found in their houses. Dr. *Hains*, Dean of *Excester*, and Prebendary of *Windsor*, being informed against, was also put in Prison; so was likewise Sir *Philip Hobby*. But there were likewise some Papers of Notes on the Bible, and of a Concordance in *English*, found in *Marbecks* house, written with his own hand. and he being an Illiterate man, they did not doubt but these were other mens works, which he was writing out. So they began with him, and hoped to draw discoveries from him. He was frequently examined, but would tell nothing that might do hurt to any other person. But being Examined, who wrote these Notes, he said they were his own: for he read all the Books he could light on, and wrote out what every man had written on any place of Scripture. And for his Concordance, he told them, that being a poor man, he could not buy one of the Bibles, when they came first out in *English*, but set himself to write one out: by which another perceiving his Industry, suggested to him, that he would do well to write a Concordance in *English*; but he said, he knew not what that was: so the other person explaining it to him, he got a *Latin* Concordance, and an *English* Bible; and having learned a little *Latin*, when he was young, he, by comparing the *English* with the *Latin*, had drawn out a Concordance, which he had brought to the Letter L. This seemed so extravagant a thing to *Gardiner*, and the other Bishops that examined him, that they could by no means believe it. But he desired they would draw out any words of the letter M. and give him the *Latin* Concordance, with the *English* Bible, and after a little time they should see whether he had not done the rest. So the Trial was made, and in a dayes time he had drawn out three sheets of Paper, upon those words that were given him. This both satisfyed, and astonished the Bishops, wondering at the Ingeniousness and diligence of so poor a man. It was much talked of, and being told the King, he said *Marbeck employed his time better than those that examined him.* For the others, they were kept in Prison at *London*, till the 24th of *July*, that the King gave orders to try them at *Windsor*.

Marbeck's great ingeniousness.

There

1543.

There was a Court held there, on the 27th of *July*, where *Capon* Bishop of *Sarum*, and *Franklin* Dean of *Windsor*, and *Fachel* Parson of *Reading*, and three of the Judges, sate on those four men. They were Enditted for some words spoken against the Mass. *Marbeck* only for writing out an Epistle of *Calvins* against it; which, he said, he copied before the Act of the six Articles was made. The Jury was not called out of the Town, for they would not trust it to them, but out of the Farms of the Chappel. They were all found guilty, and so condemned to be burnt, which was Executed on three of them the next day: only *Marbeck* was recommended to the Bishop of *Winchesters* care, to procure his Pardon, which was obtained. The other three expressed great composure of mind in their Sufferings, and dyed with much Christian Resolution and Patience; forgiving their persecutors, and committing themselves to the Mercies of God through *Jesus Christ*.

Three burnt at *Windsor*.

But in their Tryal, Doctor *London*, and *Symonds*, a Lawyer and an Informer, had studied to fish out accusations against many of the Kings Servants, as Sir *Philip Hobby*, and Sir *Thomas Cardine*, with their Ladies, and several others who had favoured those men. With these Informations, *Okam*, that had been the Clerk of the Court, was sent to *Gardiner*: But one of the Queens servants who had discovered the design, was before him at Court. Upon the advertisement which he had brought, *Okam* was seized on at his coming to Court, and all his Papers were examined; in which they discovered a Conspiracy against those Gentlemen, with other Plots, that gave the King great Offence; but the particulars are not mentioned. So Doctor *London* and *Simmonds* were sent for, and examined upon this desertion. But they, not knowing that their Letters were intercepted, denyed there was any such Plot; and being put to their Oaths, swore it. Then their own hand-writing was produced against them. Upon which, they being thus Perjured, were ordered to be carryed on Horse-back, with their faces to the Horse tailes, and Papers on their Foreheads, for their perjury; and then to be set in the Pillory, both in *Windsor*, *Reading*, and *Newbury*, where the King was at that time. This was accordingly executed on them; but sunk so deep in Doctor *Londons* heart, that he dyed soon after. From all this it will appear what sort of men the Persecutors at that time were.

Their Persecutors are perjured.

But this was a small part of what *Gardiner* had Projected: For he looked on these, as persons unworthy of his displeasure. *Cranmer* was chiefly aimed at by him. And therefore all that party were still infusing it into the Kings mind, that it was great Injustice to prosecute poor men with so much severity, and let the chief Supporter of Heresie stand in so eminent a degree, and in such favour about him. At length the King, to discover the bottom of their designs, seemed to give ear to their accusations, and desired to hear what particulars could be objected against him. This gave them great encouragement; for till that time, the King would let nothing be said against *Cranmer*. So they concluded he would be quickly ruined, since the King had opened his ear to their Informations. Therefore many particulars were quickly laid together, and put into the Kings hands; who a little after that, going to divert himself on the River, order-

A Conspiracy against *Cranmer*.

ed

1543. ed his Bargemen to Row towards *Lambeth*; which being perceived by some of the Arch-Bishops Servants, they acquainted him with it, who hasted down to his stairs to do his duty to the King. When the King saw him, he called him into the Barge; and they being alone, the King lamented the growth of Heresie, and the dissensions and confusions that were like to follow upon it; and said, he intended to find out the chief Encourager and Favourer of these Heresies, and make him an Example to the rest. And he asked the Arch-Bishops opinion about it. Who answered him, That it was a good resolution; but entreated the King to consider well what Heresie was, and not to condemn those as Hereticks, who stood for the Word of God, against humane Inventions. But after some discourse, the King told him he was the man, who, as he was informed, was the chief Encourager of Heresie; and then gave him the Articles that were brought against him, and his Chaplains, both by some Prebendaries of *Canterbury*, and the Justices of Peace in *Kent*. When he read them, he kneeled down, and desired the King would put the matter to a Tryal. He acknowledged he was still of the same mind he was of, when he opposed the Six Articles; but that he had done nothing against them. Then the King asked him about his Wife. He frankly confessed he had a Wife; but said, That he had sent her to *Germany*, upon the passing the Act against Priests having Wives. His candor and simplicity wrought so on the King, that he discovered to him the whole Plot that was laid against him; and said, That instead of bringing him to any Tryal about it, he would have him try it out, and proceed against those his Accusers. But he excused himself, and said it would not be decent for him to sit Judge in his own Cause. But the King said to him, he was resolved none other should Judge it, but those he should name. So he named his Chancellor, and his Register; to whom the King added another: And a Commission being given them, they went into *Kent*, and sate three weeks to find out the first Contrivers of this Accusation. And now every one disowned it, since they saw he was still firmly rooted in the Kings esteem and favour. But it being observed, that the Commissioners proceeded faintly, *Cranmers* friends moved that some man of Courage and Authority, might be sent thither to canvass this Accusation more carefully. So Doctor *Lee* Dean of *York*, was brought up about *All-hallowtide*, and sent into *Kent*. And he, who had been well acquainted with the Arts of discovering secrets, when he was one of the visitors of the Abbeys, managed it more vigorously. He ordered a search to be made of all suspected persons; among whose Papers, Letters were found, both from the Bishop of *Winchester*, and Doctor *London*, and some of those whom *Cranmer* had treated with the greatest freedom and kindness, in which the whole Plot against him was discovered. But it was now near the Session of Parliament; and the King was satisfied with the discovery, but thought it not fit to make much noise of it. And he received no addresses from the Arch-Bishop to prosecute it further: who was so noted for his Clemency, and following our Saviours Rule, of *Doing good for evil*, that it was commonly said, The way to get his favour, was to do him an injury. These were the only Instances in which he expres-

Antiq. *Brit.*

His Christian temper of mind.

sed

ſed his reſentments. Two of the Conſpirators againſt him, had been 1544.
perſons ſignally obliged by him: The one was the Biſhop Suffragan of *Dover*, the other was a Civilian, whom he had imployed much in his buſineſs. But all the notice he took of it, was to ſhew them their Letters, and to admoniſh them to be more faithful and honeſt for the future. Upon which he freely forgave them, and carryed it ſo to them afterwards, as if he had abſolutely forgotten what they had contrived againſt him. And a perſon of Quality coming to him about that time, to obtain his favour and aſſiſtance in a Sute, in which he was to move the King, he went about it, and had almoſt procured it: but the King calling to mind, that he had been one of his ſecret accuſers, asked him whether he took him for his friend; he anſwered that he did ſo. Then the King ſaid, the other was a Knave, and was his mortal Enemy; and bid him, when he ſhould ſee him next, call him a Knave to his Face. *Cranmer* anſwered, that ſuch Language did not become a Biſhop. But the King ſullenly commanded him to do it; yet his modeſty was ſuch, that he could not obey ſo harſh a Command. And ſo he paſſed the matter over. When theſe things came to be known, all perſons, that were not unjuſtly prejudiced againſt him, acknowledged that his behaviour was ſutable to the Example and Doctrine of the meek and lowly Saviour of the World: And very well became ſo great a Biſhop, and ſuch a Reformer of the Chriſtian Religion; who in thoſe ſublime and extraordinary Inſtances practiſed that which he taught others to do. The year in which this fell out is not expreſt by thoſe who have recorded it; but by the concurring circumſtances, I judge it likelieſt to have been done this year.

Soon after this, the Parliament met, that was Summoned to meet the 14th of *January*, in the 35th year of the Kings Reign; in which 1544.
the Act of the Succeſſion of the Crown paſſed. Which contains, "That the King being now to paſs the Seas, to make War upon "his Ancient Enemy the *French* King, and being deſirous to ſettle "the Succeſſion to the Crown; It is Enacted that in default of Heirs "of Prince *Edwards* body, or of Heirs by the Kings preſent Marriage, "the Crown ſhall go to the Lady *Mary*, the Kings Eldeſt Daugh-"ter: and in default of Heirs of her body, or if ſhe do not obſerve "ſuch limitations or conditions as ſhall be declared by the Kings Let-"ters Patents under his great Seal, or by his laſt Will under his hand, "it ſhall next fall to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and her heirs; or if ſhe "have none, or ſhall not keep the conditions declared by the King, "it ſhall fall to any other that ſhall be declared by the Kings Let-"ters Patents, or his laſt Will Signed with his hand. There was al-"ſo an Oath deviſed, inſtead of thoſe formerly ſworn, both againſt "the Popes Supremacy, and for maintaining the Succeſſion in all "points according to this Act: which whoſoever refuſed to take, "was to be adjudged a Traitor; and whoſoever ſhould, either in words, "or by writing, ſay any thing contrary to this Act, or to the peril "and ſlander of the Kings heirs, limited in the Act, was to be ad-"judged a Traitor. This was done, no doubt, upon a ſecret Article of the Treaty with the Emperor; and did put new life into the Popiſh party, all whoſe hopes depended on the Lady *Mary*. But how

A new Parliament.

Act about the Succeſſion

1543. under restraint till this Treaty was Concluded: But he, corrupting his Keepers made his escape, and joyning with the Queen Mother, they made a strong faction against the Governor; all the Clergy joyned with the Cardinal to oppose the Match with *England*, since they looked for ruine if it succeeded. The Queen, being a sister of *Guise*, and bred in the *French* Court, was wholly for their Interests; and all that had been obliged by that Court, or depended on it, were quickly drawn into the Party. It was also said to every body, that it was much more the Interest of *Scotland* to match with *France*, than with *England*. If they were united to *France*, they might expect an easie Government. For the *French* being at such distance from them, and knowing how easily they might throw themselves into the Armes of *England*, would certainly rule them gently, and avoid giving them great Provocations. But if they were united to *England*, they had no remedy, but must look for an heavier yoke to be laid on them. This meeting with the rooted Antipathy, that by a long continuance of War, was grown up among them to a savage hatred of the *English* Nation; and being inflamed by the considerations of Religion, raised an universal dislike of the Match with *England*, in the greatest part of the whole Nation; only a few men of greater Probity, who were weary of the depredations and Wars in the Borders, and had a liking to the Reformation of the Church, were still for it.

The different Interests there.

The *French* Court struck in vigorously with their Party in *Scotland*, and sent over the Earl of *Lenox*; who, as he was next in blood to the Crown, after the Earl of *Arran*, so was of the same family of the *Stewarts*, which had endeared him to the late King. He was to lead the Queens party against the *Hamiltons*. Yet they employed another Tool, which was *John Hamilton*, base Brother to the Governor, who was afterwards Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews*. He had great power over his Brother, who being then not above four and twenty years of age, and having been the only lawful Son of his Father in his old age, was never bred abroad: and so understood not the Policies and arts of Courts, and was easily abused by his base Brother. He assured him, that if he went about to destroy Religion, by matching the Queen to an Heretical Prince, they would depose him from his Government, and declare him Illegitimate. There could be indeed nothing clearer than his Fathers Divorce from his first Wife. For it had been formerly proved, that she had been married to the Lord *Testers* Son, before he married her, who claimed her as his Wife; upon which, her Marriage with the Earl of *Arran* was declared Null in the year 1507. And it was ten years after, that the Earl of *Arran* did Marry the Governors Mother: Of which things the Original Instruments are yet extant. Yet it was now said that that Precontract with the Lord *Testers* Son was but a forgery, to dissolve that Marriage: and if the Earl of *Lenox*, (who was next to the Crown, in case the Earl of *Arran* was Illegitimated,) should by the assistance of *France* procure a review of that Process from *Rome*, and obtain a Revocation of that Sentence, by which his Fathers first Marriage was annulled; then it was plain that the second marriage, with the issue by it, would be of no force. All this wrought on the Governor much, and at length drew him off from the Match with *England*, and brought him over to the *French* Interests.

The *French* party prevails.

Interests. Which being effected, there was no further use of the Earl of *Lennox*; so he finding himself neglected, by the Queen, and the Cardinal, and abandoned by the Crown of *France*, fled into *England*: where he was very kindly received by the King, who gave him in marriage his Neece, Lady *Margaret Dowglass*, whom the Queen of *Scotland* had born to the Earl of *Angus*, her second Husband. From which Marriage issued the Lord *Darnly* Father to King *James*. 1543.

When the Lords of the *French* Faction had carried things to their mind in *Scotland*, it was next considered, what they should do to redeem the Hostages whom the Lords, who were Prisoners in *England*, had left behind them. And for this, no other Remedy could be found, but to let them take their hazard; and leave them to the King of *England*'s mercy: To this they all agreed, only the Earl of *Cassilis* had too much Honour and Vertue to do so mean a thing. Therefore, after he had done all he could for maintaining the Treaty about the Match, he went into *England*, and offered himself again to be a Prisoner. But as generous actions are a reward to themselves, so they often meet with that entertainment which they deserve. And upon this occasion, the King was not wanting to express a very great value for that Lord. He called him another *Regulus*, but used him better. For he both gave him his Liberty, and made him noble Presents, and sent him and his Hostages back, being resolved to have a severer reparation for the injury done him. All which I have opened more fully, because this will give a great light to the affairs of that Kingdom: which will be found in the Reigns of the succeeding Princes, to have a great intermixture with the affairs of this Kingdom. Nor are they justly represented by any who write of these times; and having seen some Original Papers relating to *Scotland* at that time, I have done it upon more certain information.

The King of *England* made War next upon *France*: The grounds of this War are recited by the Lord *Herbert*. One of these is proper for me to repeat; "That the *French* King had not deserted the Bishop of "*Rome*, and consented to a Reformation, as he had once Promised. "The rest related to other things, such as the seizing our Ships; "The detaining the yearly Pension due to the King; The Fortifying "*Ardres* to the prejudice of the *English* pale; The revealing the Kings "secrets to the Emperor; The having given, first his Daughter, and "then the Duke of *Guises* Sister, in Marriage, to his Enemy, the King "of *Scotland*; and his confederating himself with the Turk. And "Satisfaction not being given in these particulars a War is de"clared. A War with France.

In *July* the King married *Katharine Parre*, who had been formerly married to *Nevil* Lord *Latimer*. She was a secret Favourer of the Reformation; yet could not divert a storm, which at this time fell on some in *Windsor*. For [illegible] a place to which the King did oft retire, it [illegible] examples there. And now the [illegible] greater inte- [illegible] Society at *Wind-* [illegible] a Priest [illegible] A new persecution of Protestants.

1541. Privy Councellors that were at *London*. They agreed, that the Arch-Bishop should open it to the King. But he not knowing how to do it in Discourse, set it down in writing, and put it in the Kings hands. When the King read it, he seemed much perplexed; but loved the Queen so tenderly, that he looked on it as a Forgery. And now the Arch-Bishop was in extream danger, for if full evidence had not been brought, it had been certainly turned on him to his ruine. The King imparted it to some other Councellors, and told them, that he could not believe it, yet he would try it out, but with all possible secrecty. So the Lord Privy-Seal was sent to *London*, to examine *Lassels*, who stood to what he had informed. Then he sent that same Lord into *Sussex*, where *Lassels* Sister lived, to try if she would justifie what her Brother had reported in her name. And she owning it, he ordered *Deirham* and *Mannock* to be arrested upon some other pretences; But they being examined, not only confessed what was informed, but revealed some other circumstances that shewed the Queen had laid aside all sense of Modesty, as well as the fear of a Discovery; three several women having been witnesses to these her lewd practices. The report of that struck the King into a most profound Pensiveness, and he burst out into tears, and lamented his misfortune. The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and some other Counsellors, were sent to examine the Queen. She at first denied every thing, but when she perceived it was already known, she confessed all, and set it under her hand. There were also evident presumptions that she had intended to continue that Course of Life for: as she had got *Deirham* into her service, so she had brought one of the Women, who had been formerly privy to their familiarities, to serve about her Bed-chamber. One *Culpeper* was also charged upon vehement suspicion: For when the King was at *Lincoln*, by the Lady *Rochfords* means, he was brought into the Queens Chamber at 11 a clock in the night, and stayed there till four the next morning. The Queen also gave him a Gold Chain, and a rich Cap. He being examined confessed the Crime; for which, both *Deirham*, and he suffered. Others were also Endited of misprision of Treason, and condemned to perpetual Imprisonment. But this occasioned a new Parliament to be Summoned.

The Queens ill life is discovered.

And confessed by her self and others.

1542. On the 16th of *January* the Parliament met: to which, the Bishops of *Westminster*, *Chester*, *Peterborough*, and *Glocester*, had their Writs. The Lord *Cromwel* also had his Writ, though I do not find by any Record that he was restored in Blood. On the 28th of *January* the Lord Chancellor moved the House of Lords, to consider the case the King was in, by the Queens ill carriage: and that there might be no ground of suspition or complaint, he proposed that some of their number should be sent to examine the Queen. Whereupon the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Southampton* and the Bishop of *Westminster*, were sent to her. How much She Confessed to them, is not very clear, neither by the Journal, nor the Act of Parliament: which only says, that she confessed, without mentioning the particulars. Upon this, the processes of those that had been formerly attainted, being also brought as an Evidence, the Act passed in both Houses. In it they Petitioned the King,

A new Parliament called.

First,

"*First*, Not to be troubled at the matter, since that might be a "mean to shorten his Life. 1542.

"*Secondly*, To pardon every thing that had been spoken against the "Queen. The Act about the Queen.

"*Thirdly*, That the Queen and her Complices might be attainted "of High Treason, for her taking *Deirham* into her service; and a-"nother Woman into her Chamber, who had known their former ill "Life; by which it appeared what she intended to do: and then "admitting *Culpeper*, to be so long with Her, in a vile place so many "hours in the night. Therefore it is desired, that she and they, with "the Bawd, the Lady *Rochford*, may be Attainted of Treason; and "that the Queen and the Lady *Rochford* should suffer the pains of "Death.

"*Fourthly*, That the King would not trouble himself to give his "assent to this Act in his own person, but grant it by his Letters Pa-"tents under his hand and Great Seal.

"*Fifthly*, That the Dutchess Dowager of *Norfolk*, Countess of "*Bridgwater*, the Lord *William Howard* and his Lady, and four other "men, and five women, who were already Attainted by the Course "of Common Law, (except the Dutchess of *Norfolk*, and the Coun-"tess of *Bridgwater*,) that knew the Queens vicious Life, and "had concealed it, should be all Attainted of Misprision of Trea-"son.

"It was also Enacted, that whosoever knew any thing of the In-"continence of the Queen,(for the time being,) should reveal it with "all possible speed under the pains of Treason. And that if the King "or his Successors should intend to marry any Woman, whom they "took to be a pure and clean Maid; if she, not being so, did not de-"clare the same to the King, it should be High Treason: and all who "knew it, and did not reveal it, were guilty of Misprision of Treason. "And if the Queen, or the Princes Wife, should procure any by Mes-"sages, or words, to know her carnally; or any other by Messages or "words should sollicite them; they, their Councellors, and Abettors, "are to be adjudged high Traitors.

This Act being assented to by the Kings Letters Patents, the Queen, and the Lady *Rochford*, were beheaded on *Tower-Hill* the 12th of *February*. The Queen confessed the miscarriages of her former life, before the King married her. But stood absolutely to her denial, as to any thing after that: and protested to Dr. *White* afterwards Bishop of *Winchester*, That she took God and his Angels to be her Witnesses, upon the Salvation of her Soul, that she was guiltless of that Act of defiling her Soveraigns bed, for which she was condemned. Yet the Lasciviousness of her former Life, made people incline to believe any ill thing that could be reported of her. But for the Lady *Rochford*, every body observed Gods Justice on her; who had the chief hand, both in Queen *Anne Boleyns*, and her own Husbands death: and it now appearing so evidently what sort of Woman she was, it tended much to raise their Reputations again, in whose Fall, her spite, and other Artifices had so great a hand. She had been a Lady of the Bed-Chamber to the last four Queens: But now it was found how unworthy she was of that Trust. Censures past upon it.

It

1542. It was thought extream cruelty to be so severe to the Queens kindred, for not discovering her former ill life. Since the making such a discovery had been inconsistent with the Rules of Justice or Decency. The old Dutchess of *Norfolk*, being her Grandmother, had bred her of a Child: and it was said, for her to have gone, and told the King, That she was a Whore, when he intended to marry her, as it was an unheard-of thing, so the not-doing of it could not have drawn so severe a punishment, from any but a Prince of that Kings temper. But the King pardoned her, and most of the rest; tho some continued in Prison after the rest were discharged.

But for the other part of this Act, obliging a Woman to reveal her own former Incontinence; if the King intended to marry her, (which by a mistake the Lord *Herbert* sayes was passed in another Act, taking it from *Hall*, and not looking into the Record:) It was thought a piece of grievous Tyranny; since if a King, especially one of so imperious a temper, as this was, should design such an honour to any of his Subjects, who had failed in their former life; they must either defame themselves, by publishing so disgraceful a secret, or run the hazard of being afterwards attainted of Treason. Upon this, those that took an indiscreet liberty to rally that Sex injustly and severely, said, the King could induce none that was reputed a Maid to Marry him: so that not so much choice, as necessity, put him on Marrying a Widow about two years after this. But this part of the Act was afterwards repealed in the first Parliament of King *Edward* the 6th.

Act about Hospitals, &c. There passed another Act in this Parliament, that made way for the dissolution of Colledges, Hospitals, and other Foundations of that nature. The Courtiers had been practising with the Presidents and Governors of some of these, to make Resignations of them to the King; which were conceived in the same stile that most of the surrenders of Monasteries did run in. Eight of these were all really procured, which are enrolled. But they could not make any great progress, because it was provided by the Local Statutes of most of them, that no President, or any other Fellows could make any such Deed, without the Consent of all the Fellows in the House; and this could not be so easily obtained. Therefore all such Statutes were annulled, and none were any more to be sworn to the observation of them.

The Papists design to suppress the English Bible. In the Convocation that sate at that time, which as was formerly observed, *Fuller* mistakes for the Convocation in the 31st year of this King; the Translation of the Bible was brought under examination, and many of the Bishops were appointed to peruse it. For it seems complaints were brought against it. It was certainly the greatest eye-sore of the Popish party: and that which they knew would most effectually beat down all their projects. But there was no opposing it directly, for the King was fully resolved to go through with it. Therefore the way they took, was once to load the Translation then set out, with as many faults as they could; and so to get it first condemned, and then to promise a new one: in the making and publishing of which, it would be easie to breed many delays. But *Gardiner* had another singular conceit: He fancied there were many words in the New Testament, of such Majesty, that they were not to be Translated; but must stand in the English Bible as they were in the Latine.

A hundred

A hundred of these he put into a Writing, which was read in Convocation. His design in this was visible; That if a Translation must be made, it should be so daubed all through with Latine words, that the people should not understand it much the better for its being in English. A taste of this the Reader may have by the first twenty of them; *Ecclesia*, *Penitentia*, *Pontifex*, *Ancilla*, *Contritus*, *Olocausta*, *Justitia*, *Justificatio*, *Idiota*, *Elementa*, *Baptizare*, *Martyr*, *Adorare*, *Sandalium*, *Simplex*, *Tetrarcha*, *Sacramentum*, *Simulachrum*, *Gloria*. The design he had of keeping some of these, particularly the last save one, is plain enough; that the People might not discover that visible opposition, which was between the Scriptures, and the *Roman* Church in the matter of Images. This could not be better palliated, than by disguising these places, with words that the People understood not. How this was received *Fuller* has not told us. But it seems *Cranmer* found, that the Bishops were resolved, either to condemn the Translation of the Bible, or to proceed so slowly in it, that it should come to nothing. Therefore he moved the King to refer the perusing of it to the two Universities. The Bishops took this very ill, when *Cranmer* intimated it to them in the Kings name; and objected that the Learning of the Universities was much decayed of late, and that the two Houses of Convocation were the more proper Judges of that, where the Learning of the Land was chiefly gathered together. But the Arch-Bishop said he would stick close to the Kings pleasure, and that the Universities should examine it. Upon which, all the Bishops of his Province, except *Ely* and St. *Davids*, protested against it; and soon after the Convocation was dissolved.

1542.

Not long after this, I find, *Bonner* made some Injunctions for his Clergy; which have a strain in them, so far different from the rest of his Life, that it's more probable they were drawn by another Pen, and imposed on *Bonner* by an Order from the King. They were set out in the 34th year of the Kings Reign; but the time of the year is not exprest. The Reader will find them in the Collection at their full length. The Substance of them is,

Bonners Injunctions.

" *First*, That all should observe the Kings Injunctions.

" *Secondly*, That every Clergy-man should read and study a Chapter " of the Bible every day, with the exposition of the Gloss, or some " approved Doctor; which having once studied, they should retain it " in their memories, and be ready to give an account of it, to him, " or any whom he should appoint.

Coll. Numb. 26.

" *Thirdly*, That they should study the Book set forth by the Bishops, " of the Institution of a Christian man.

" *Fourthly*, That such as did not reside in their Benefices, should " bring their Curates to him, or his Officers, to be tried.

" *Fifthly*, That they should often exhort their Parishioners to make " no private contracts of Marriage.

" *Sixthly*, That they should marry none who were married before, " till they were sufficiently assured that the former Husband or Wife " were dead.

" *Seventhly*, That they should instruct the Children of their several " Parishes; and teach them to read English, that they might know " how to believe, and pray, and live according to the Will of God.

1542. "*Eighthly*, That they should reconcile all that were in Enmity, "and in that be a good Example to others.

"*Ninthly*, That none should receive the Communion, who did not "Confess to their own Curates.

"*Tenthly*, That none should be suffered to go to Taverns, or Ale-"Houses, and use unlawful games on Sundays, or Holy-days, in time "of Divine Service.

"*Eleventhly*, That twice every quarter, they should declare the seven "deadly sins, and the Ten Commandments.

"*Twelfthly*, That no Priest should go but in his Habit.

"*Thirteenthly*, That no Priest should be admitted to say Mass, with-"out shewing his Letters of Orders to the Bishop or his Officers.

"*Fourteenthly*, That they should instruct the People to beware of "Blasphemy, or Swearing by any part of Christs Body; and to ab-"stain from Scolding and Slandering, Adultery, Fornication, Glutto-"ny or Drunkenness; and that they should present at the next Visitati-"on, those who were guilty of these sins.

"*Fifteenthly*, That no Priest should use unlawful games, or go to "Ale-houses or Taverns, but upon an urgent necessity.

"*Sixteenthly*, No Playes or Enterludes to be Acted in the Churches.

"*Seventeenthly*, That there should be no Sermons Preached, that "had been made within these two hundred or three hundred years. "But when they Preached, they should explain the whole Gospel and "Epistle for the day, according to the mind of some good Doctor al-"lowed by the Church of *England*: and chiefly to insist on these pla-"ces that might stir up the people to good works, and to prayer; and "to explain the use of the Ceremonies of the Church. That there "should be no railing in Sermons; but the Preacher should calmly and "discreetly set forth the excellencies of Vertue, and the vileness of Sin; "and should also explain the Prayers for that day, that so the People "might pray with one heart; and should teach them the use of the Sa-"craments, particularly of the Mass; but should avoid the reciting of "Fables, or Stories for which no good Writer could be vouched; and "that when the Sermon was ended, the Preacher should in few "words resume the substance of it.

"*Eighteenthly*, That none be suffered to Preach under the degree of a "Bishop, who had not obtained a License, either from the King, or "him their Ordinary.

These Injunctions, especially when they are considered at their full length, will give great light into the temper of men at that time: and particularly inform us of the design and method of Preaching, as it was then set forward. Concerning which the Reader will not be ill pleased to receive some information. In the time of Popery there had been few Sermons but in Lent: for their discourses on the Holydays, were rather Panegyricks on the Saint, or the vain magnifying of some of their Reliques, which were laid up in such or such places. In Lent there was a more solemn and serious way of Preaching; and the Friars, who chiefly maintained their credit by their performances at that time, used all the force of their skill and industry to raise the People into heats, by passionate and affecting discourses. Yet these generally tended to raise the value of some of the Laws of the Church, such as

The manner of Preaching at that time.

Abstinence

Abstinence at that time, Confession, with other Corporal Severities; or some of the little devices, that both inflamed a blind Devotion, and drew Money; such as Indulgences, Pilgrimages, or the enriching the Shrines, and Reliques of the Saints. But there was not that pains taken to inform the People of the hatefulness of Vice, and the excellency of Holiness, or of the wonderful Love of Christ, by which men might be engaged to acknowledge and obey him. And the design of their Sermons was rather to raise a present heat, which they knew afterwards how to manage, than to work a real Reformation on their Hearers. They had also intermixt with all Divine Truths so many Fables, that they were become very extravagant; and that alloy had so embased the whole, that there was great need of a good discerning, to deliver People from those prejudices, which these mixtures brought upon the whole Christian Doctrine. Therefore the Reformers studied with all possible care, to instruct the People in the Fundamentals of Christianity, with which they had been so little acquainted. From hence it came, that the People ran after those New Preachers with wonderful zeal. It is true, there seem to be very foul and indiscreet reflections on the other Party, in some of their Sermons. But if any have applied themselves much to observe what sort of men, the Fryars, and the rest of the Popish Clergy were at that time; they shall find great excuses for those heats. And as our Saviour laid open the Hypocrisies and Impostures of the Scribes and Pharisees, in a style which such corruptions extorted; so there was great cause given to treat them very roughly: tho it is not to be denied, but those Preachers had some mixtures of their own resentments, for the cruelties and ill usage which they received from them. But now that the Reformation made a greater progress, much pains was taken to send eminent Preachers over the Nation: not confining them to particular charges, but sending them with the Kings Licence, up and down to many places. Many of these Licences are enrolled, and it is likely that many were granted that were not so carefully preserved. But provision was also made for peoples daily Instruction: and because in that ignorant time, there could not be found a sufficient number of good Preachers, and in a time of so much jugling, they would not trust the Instruction of the people to every one; Therefore none was to Preach except he had gotten a particular Licence for it, from the King, or his Diocesan. But to qualifie this, a Book of Homilies was Printed: in which the Gospels and Epistles of all the Sundays, and Holidays of the year were set down, with an Homily to every one of these, which is a plain and practical Paraphrase on those parcels of Scripture. To these are added many serious exhortations, and some short explanations of the most obvious difficulties, that shew the Compiler of them was a man both of good judgement and learning. To these were also added, Sermons upon several occasions; as for Weddings, Christnings, and Funerals; and these were to be read to the people by such as were not Licensed to Preach. But those who were Licensed to Preach, being oft accused for their Sermons, and Complaints being made to the King by hot men on both sides; they came generally to write and read their Sermons. From thence the reading of Sermons grew into a practise in this Church: in which, if there was not that heat, and fire, which the

1542.

1542. Fryars had shewed in their Declamations, so that the passions of the Hearers were not so much wrought on by it; yet it has produced the greatest Treasure of weighty, grave and solid Sermons, that ever the Church of God had; which does in a great measure compensate that seeming flatness to vulgar ears, that is in the delivery of them.

Plays and Enterludes then acted.

The Injunctions take notice of another thing, which the sincerity of an Historian obliges me to give an account of, tho it was indeed the greatest blemish of that time. These were the Stage-plays and Enterludes, that were then generally acted, and often in Churches. They were representations of the corruptions of the Monks, and some other feats of the Popish Clergy. The Poems were ill contriv d, and worse expressed; if there lies not some hidden wit in these Ballads, (for verses they were not,) which at this distance is lost. But from the representing the immoralities and disorders of the Clergy, they proceeded to act the Pageantry of their Worship. This took with the people much, who being provoked by the miscarriages and cruelties of some of the Clergy, were not ill pleased to see them and their Religion exposed to publick scorn. The Clergy complained much of this; and said it was an introduction to Atheism, and all sort of Irreligion. For if once they began to mock sacred things, no stop could be put to that petulant humour. The grave and learned sort of Reformers disliked and condemned these courses, as not sutable to the *genius* of true Religion: but the political men of that party, made great use of them, encouraging them all they could; for they said, Contempt being the most operative and lasting affection of the mind, nothing would more effectually drive out many of those Abuses, which yet remained, than to expose them to the contempt and scorn of the people.

War between *England* and *Scotland*.

In the end of this year a war broke out between *England* and *Scotland*, set on by the instigation of the French King; who was also beginning to be an uneasie Neighbour to those of the English pale about *Callice*. The King set out a long Declaration, in which he very largely laid out the pretensions the Crown of *England* had, to an Homage from the Kings of *Scotland*. In this I am no fit person to interpose; the matter being disputed by the learned men of both Nations. The Scots said it was only for some Lands their Kings had in *England*, that they did Homage: as the Kings of *England* did for *Normandy* and *Guienne*, to the Kings of *France*. But the English Writers cited many Records, to shew that the Homage was done for the Crown of *Scotland*. To this the Scots replied, that in the Invasion of *Edward* the first, he had carried away all their ancient Records; so these being lost, they could only appeal to the Chronicles that lay up and down the Nation in their Monasteries: That all these affirmed the contrary, and that they were a free Kingdom; till *Edward* the first taking advantage of their disputes about the Succession to their Crown, upon the death of *Alexander* the third, got some of the Competitors to lay down their pretensions at his feet, and to promise Homage: That this was also performed by *John Balliol*, whom he preferred to the Crown of *Scotland*; but by these means he lost the hearts of the Nation, and it was said, that his Act of Homage could not give away the Rights of a free Crown and People. And they said, that whatsoever submissions had been made since that time, they were only extorted by force; as the

the effects of Victory and Conquest, but gave no good right, nor just Title. To all this the English Writers answered, That these submissions by their Records, (which were the solemn Instruments of a Nation, that ought never to be called in question,) were sometimes freely made; and not by their Kings only, but by the consent of their States. In this uncertainty I must leave it with the Reader. 1542.

But after the King had opened this Pretension, "he complained of "the disorders committed by the Scots; of the unkind returns he had "met with from their King for his care of him, while he was an "Infant; taking no advantage of the confusions in which that King-"dom then was, but on the contrary, protecting the Crown, and qui-"eting the Kingdom. But that of late many depredations and acts of "hostility had been committed by the Scots: and though some Trea-"ties had been begun, they were managed with so much shuffling and "inconstancy, that the King must now try it by a War. Yet he concluded his Declaration ambiguously, neither keeping up nor laying down his Pretensions to that Crown: but expressing them in such a manner, that which way soever the success of the War turned, he might be bound up to nothing, by what he now declared.

But whatsoever justice might be in the Kings Title, or Quarrel, his Sword was much the sharper. He ordered the Duke of *Norfolk* to march into *Scotland*, about the end of *October*, with an Army of 20000 men. *Hall* tells us, they burnt many Towns, and names them. But these were only single Houses, or little Villages; and the best Town he names is *Kelso*, which is a little open Market-Town. Soon after they returned back into *England*; whether after they had spoiled the Neighbouring Country, they felt the incoveniencies of the season of the year, or whether hearing the Scots were gathering, they had no mind to go too far, I cannot determine; for the Writers of both Nations disagree, as to the reason of their speedy return. But any that knows the Country they spoiled, and where they stopt, must conclude that either they had secret Orders only to make an Inroad, and destroy some Places that lay along the River of *Tweed*, and upon the Border, which done, without driving the Breach too far, to retire back; or they must have had apprehensions of the Scotish Armies coming to lie in these Moors and Hills of *Sautrey*, or *Lammer-Moor*, which they were to pass if they had gone farther: and there were about 10000 men brought thither, but he that commanded them was much blamed for doing nothing; his excuse was that his number did not equal theirs. About the end of *November*, the Lord *Maxwell* brought an Army of 15000 men together, with a Train of Artillery of 24 peeces of Ordnance. And since the Duke of *Norfolk* had retired towards *Berwick*, they resolved to enter *England* on the Western side by *Solway* Frith. The King went thither himself, but fatally left the Army, and yet was not many miles from them when they were defeated. The truth of it was, that King, who had hitherto raised the greatest expectation, was about that time disturbed in his fancie, thinking that he saw apparitions, particularly of one, whom it was said, he had unjustly put to death; so that he could not rest, nor be at quiet. But as his leaving the Army was ill advised, so his giving a Commission to *Oliver Sinclar*, that was his *Minion*, to command in Chief, did extreamly disgust the Nobility.

Duke of *Norfolks* inroad into *Scotland*.

1542. Nobility. They loved not to be commanded by any but their King, and were already weary of the insolence of that Favourite, who being but of ordinary birth, was despised by them; so that they were beginning to separate. And when they were upon that occasion in great disorder, a small body of *English*, not above 500 Horse appeared. But they apprehending it was the Duke of *Norfolks* Army, refused to fight, and fell in confusion. Many Prisoners were taken, the chief of whom were, the Earls of *Glencairn*, and *Cassillis*, the Lords *Maxwell*, *Sommervell*, *Oliphant*, *Gray*, and *Oliver Sinclar*; and about 200 Gentlemen and 800 souldiers; and all the Ordnance and Baggage was also taken. The news of this being brought to the King of *Scotland*, encreased his former disorders: and some few days after, he dyed leaving an infant Daughter, but newly born, to succeed him.

The Scotish Army defeated.

Many Prisoners taken.

The Lords that were taken Prisoners, were brought to *London*, where after they had been charged in Council, how unkindly they had used the King, they were put in the keeping of some of the greatest quality about Court. But the Earl of *Cassillis* had the best luck of them all. For being sent to *Lambeth*, where he was a Prisoner upon his parole, *Cranmer* studied to free him from the darkness and fetters of Popery; in which he was so successful, that the other was afterwards a great Promoter of the Reformation in *Scotland*. The *Scots* had been hitherto possessed with most extraordinary prejudices against the Changes that had been made in *England*: which concurring with the ancient Animosities between the two Nations, had raised a wonderful ill opinion of the Kings proceedings. And though the Bishop of St. *Davids* (*Barlow*,) had been sent into *Scotland* with the Book of the *Institution of a Christian Man*, to clear these ill impressions; yet his endeavours were unsuccessful. The Pope, at the instance of the *French* King, and to make that Kingdom sure, made *David Beaton*, Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews*, a Cardinal; which gave him great Authority in the Kingdom: so he with the rest of the Clergy diverted the King from any correspondence with *England*, and assured him of Victory if he would make War on such an Heretical Prince. The Clergy also offered the King 50000 Crowns a-year, towards a War with *England*; and possessed all the Nation with very ill thoughts of the Court and Clergy there. But the Lords that were now Prisoners, (chiefly the Earl of *Cassillis*, who was best instructed by his Religious Host;) conceived a better opinion of the Reformation; and carried home with them those seeds of knowledg, which produced afterwards a very fruitful Harvest. On all these things I have dwelt the longer, that it might appear, whence the inclination of the *Scotish* Nobility to Reform, did take its first rise, though there was afterwards in the Methods by which it was advanced, too great a mixture of the heat and forwardness that is natural to the Genius of that Countrey.

When the news of the King of *Scotlands* death, and of the young Queens birth that succeeded him, came to the Court, the King thought this a very favourable conjuncture to unite and settle the whole Island. But that unfortunate Princess was not born under such happy Stars, though she was Mother to him, in whom this long-desired Union took effect. The Lords that were then Prisoners began the

motion;

motion; and that being told the King, he called for them to *Hampton-Court*, in the Christmas-time; and said now an opportunity was put in their hands, to quiet all troubles that had been between these two Crowns, by the Marriage of the Prince of *Wales* to their young Queen: In which he desired their assistance, and gave them their Liberty, they leaving hostages for the performance of what was then offered by them. They all promised their Concurrence, and seemed much taken with the greatness of the *English* Court, which the King always kept up, not without affectation: they also said, they thought God was better served there than in their own Countrey. So on New-years-day they took their journey towards *Scotland*; but the sequel of this will appear afterwards. 1543.



A Parliament was summoned to meet the two and twentieth of *January*, which sate to the 12th of *May*. So the Session begun in the 34th and ended in the 35th year of the Kings Reign; from whence it is called in the Records, the Parliament of the 34th and 35th year. Here both the Temporality and Spirituality gave great Subsidies to the King, of six shillings in the Pound, to be paid in three years. They set forth in their Preambles, "The expence the King had been at, in "his War with *Scotland*, and for his other great and urgent occasions, by which was meant a War with *France*, which broke out the following Summer. But with these, there passed other two Acts of great importance to Religion. The Title of the first was, *An Act for the advancement of True Religion, and abolishment of the contrary.* The King was now entring upon a War; so it seemed reasonable to qualifie the severity of the late Acts about Religion, that all might be quiet at home. *Cranmer* moved it first; and was faintly seconded by the Bishops of *Worcester*, *Hereford*, *Chichester*, and *Rochester*, who had promised to stick to him in it. At this time a League was almost finished between the King and the Emperour, which did again raise the Spirits of the Popish Faction. They had been much cast down ever since the last Queens fall. But now that the Emperor was like to have an Interest in *English* Councils, they took heart again; and *Gardiner* opposed the Arch-Bishops motion with all possible earnestness. And that whole Faction fell so upon it, that the timorous Bishops not only forsook *Cranmer*, but *Heath* of *Rochester*, and *Skip* of *Hereford*, were very earnest with him to stay for a better opportunity: But he generously preferred his Conscience to those arts of Policy, which he would never practise; and said, he would push it as far as it would go. So he plied the King, and the other Lords so earnestly, that at length the Bill passed, though clogg'd with many Provisoes, and very much short of what he had designed.

1543.

A new Parliament.

Cranmer promotes a Reformation.

"The Preamble set forth, that there being many dissensions about "Religion, the Scriptures, which the King had put into the hands of "his People, were abused by many seditious persons, in their Sermons, "Books, Playes, Rithmes, and Songs: from which great Inconveni-"ences were like to arise. For preventing these, it was necessary to e-"stablish a Form of sincere Doctrine, conformable to that which was "taught by the Apostles. Therefore all the Books of the Old and "New Testament, of *Tindals* Translation (which is called *Crafty*, *False*, "and *Untrue*,) are forbidden to be kept or used, in the Kings Domi-

An Act about it.

1543. "nions: with all other Books, contrary to the Doctrine set forth in "the year 1540. with Punishments and Fines, and Imprisonment upon such as sold or kept such Books. But Bibles that were not of "*Tindals* Translation were still to be kept, only the Annotations, or "Preambles, that were in any of them, were to be cut out, or dashed; "and the Kings Proclamations, and Injunctions, with the Primmers "and other Books Printed in *English*, for the instruction of the people before the year 1540, were still to be in force: and among these, "*Chaucers* Books are by name mentioned. No Books were to be Printed about Religion, without the Kings Allowance. In no Playes, nor "Enterludes, they might make any Expositions of Scripture; but only "reproach Vice, and set forth virtue in them. None might read the "Scripture in any open Assembly, or expound it; but he who was Licensed by the King or his Ordinary; with a Proviso, that the Chancellors in Parliament, Judges, Recorders, or any others, who were "wont in publick occasions to make Speeches, and commonly took a "place of Scripture for their Text, might still do as they had done "formerly. Every Noble-man, or Gentle-man, might cause the "Bible to be read to him, in or about his House, quietly and without "disturbance. Every Merchant that was a Housholder, might also "read it. But no Woman, nor Artificers, Apprentices, Journeymen, "Serving-men, under the degree of Yeomen; nor no Husbandmen, "or Labourers, might read it. Yet every Noble Woman, or Gentlewoman, might read it for her self: and so might all other persons, "but those who were excepted. Every person might read and teach "in their Houses, the Book set out in the year 1540. with the Psalter, "Primmer, Paternoster, the Ave, and the Creed in *English*. All Spiritual persons, who preached or taught contrary to the Doctrine set "forth in that Book, were to be admitted, for the first conviction, to "renounce their errors; for the second to abjure, and carry a Faggot; "which if they refused to do, or fell into a third offence, they were to "be burnt. But the Laity, for the third offence, were only to forfeit their "Goods and Chattels, and be liable to perpetual Imprisonment. But "these offences were to be objected to them, within a year after they "were committed. And whereas before, the Party accused was "not allowed to bring Witnesses for his own Purgation; this was now "granted him. But to this a severe Proviso was added, which seemed to overthrow all the former favour; that the Act of the six "Articles was still in the same force, in which it was before the making "of this Act. Yet that was moderated by the next Proviso; That the "King might at any time hereafter at his pleasure change this Act or "any Provision in it.

This last Proviso was made stronger by another Act, made for the due execution of Proclamations, in pursuance of a former Act to the same effect, of which mention was made in the 31st year of the Kings Reign. By that former Act there was so great a number of Officers of State, and of the Kings Houshold, of Judges, and other persons, to sit on these Trials, that those not being easily brought together, the Act had never taken any effect. Therefore it was now appointed, that nine Counsellors should be a sufficient number for these Trials. At the passing of that Act the Lord *Montjoy* protested against it, which

is the ſingle Inſtance of a Proteſtation againſt any publick Bill,through this Kings whole Reign. 1542.

The Act about Religion,freed the Subjects from the fears under which they were before. For now the Laity were delivered from the hazard of burning; and the Spirituality were not in danger, but upon the third Conviction. They might alſo bring their own witneſſes, which was a great favour to them. Yet that high power which was given the King, of altering the Act or any parts of it, made, that they were not abſolutely ſecured from their fears, of which ſome inſtances afterwards appeared. But as this Act was ſome mitigation of former ſeverities, ſo it brought the Reformers to depend wholly on the Kings Mercy, for their Lives: ſince he could now chain up, or let looſe, the Act of the ſix Articles upon them, at his pleaſure.

Soon after the end of this Parliament, a League was ſworn between the King and the Emperour,on Trinity Sunday; Offenſive,and Defenſive, for *England*, *Calais*, and the places about it, and for all *Flanders*; with many other particulars, to be found in the Treaty ſet down at large by the Lord *Herbert*. There is no mention made of the Legitimation of the Lady *Mary*; but it ſeems it was promiſed, that ſhe ſhould be declared next in the Succeſſion of the Crown, to Prince *Edward*, if the King had no other Children; which was done in the next Parliament, without any reflections on her Birth; and the Emperor was content to accept of that,there being no other terms to be obtained. The Popiſh party,who had ſet up their reſt on bringing the King and Emperour to a League,and putting the Lady *Mary* into the Succeſſion, no doubt preſt the Emperor much to accept of this:which we may reaſonably believe was vigorouſly driven on by *Bonner*,who was ſent to *Spain*,an Ambaſſador for concluding this Peace,by which alſo the Emperor gained much; for having engaged the Crowns of *England*, and *France* in a War,and drawn off the King of *England* from his League with the Princes of *Germany*, he was now at more leiſure to proſecute his deſigns in *Germany*.

A League between the King and Emperor.

But the negotiation in *Scotland* ſucceeded not to the Kings mind,though at firſt there were very good appearances. The Cardinal, by forging a Will for the dead King, got himſelf and ſome of his party to be put into the Government. But the Earl of *Arran* (*Hamilton*,) being the neareſt in blood to the young Queen, and being generally beloved for his Probity, was invited to aſſume the Government: which he managed with great moderation, and an univerſal applauſe. He ſummoned a Parliament which confirmed him in his Power, during the Minority of the Queen. The King ſent Sir *Ralph Sadler* to him, to agree the Marriage, and to deſire him to ſend the young Queen into *England*. And if private ends wrought much on him, *Sadler* was empowered to offer another Marriage of the Kings ſecond Daughter, the Lady *Elizabeth*, to his Son. The Earl of *Arran* was himſelf inclinable to Reformation, and very much hated the Cardinal. So he was eaſily brought to conſent to a Treaty for the Match, which was concluded in *Auguſt*. By which the young Queen was to be bred in *Scotland*, till ſhe was ten years of age: but the King might ſend a Nobleman, and his Wife, with other perſons, not exceeding 20, to wait on her. And for performance of this, ſix Noblemen were to be ſent from *Scotland* for Hoſtages. The Earl of *Arran* being then Governor, kept the Cardinal

A Treaty for a match with the Queen of *Scotland*.

1543. under restraint till this Treaty was Concluded: But he, corrupting his Keepers made his escape, and joyning with the Queen Mother, they made a strong faction against the Governor; all the Clergy joyned with the Cardinal to oppose the Match with *England*, since they looked for ruine if it succeeded. The Queen, being a sister of *Guise*, and bred in the *French* Court, was wholly for their Interests; and all that had been obliged by that Court, or depended on it, were quickly drawn into the Party. It was also said to every body, that it was much more the Interest of *Scotland* to match with *France*, than with *England*. If they were united to *France*, they might expect an easie Government. For the *French* being at such distance from them, and knowing how easily they might throw themselves into the Armes of *England*, would certainly rule them gently, and avoid giving them great Provocations. But if they were united to *England*, they had no remedy, but must look for an heavier yoke to be laid on them. This meeting with the rooted Antipathy, that by a long continuance of War, was grown up among them to a savage hatred of the *English* Nation; and being inflamed by the considerations of Religion, raised an universal dislike of the Match with *England*, in the greatest part of the whole Nation; only a few men of greater Probity, who were weary of the depredations and Wars in the Borders, and had a liking to the Reformation of the Church, were still for it.

The different Interests there.

The *French* Court struck in vigorously with their Party in *Scotland*, and sent over the Earl of *Lenox*; who, as he was next in blood to the Crown, after the Earl of *Arran*, so was of the same family of the *Stewarts*, which had endeared him to the late King. He was to lead the Queens party against the *Hamiltons*. Yet they employed another Tool, which was *John Hamilton*, base Brother to the Governor, who was afterwards Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews*. He had great power over his Brother, who being then not above four and twenty years of age, and having been the only lawful Son of his Father in his old age, was never bred abroad: and so understood not the Policies and arts of Courts, and was easily abused by his base Brother. He assured him, that if he went about to destroy Religion, by matching the Queen to an Heretical Prince, they would depose him from his Government, and declare him Illegitimate. There could be indeed nothing clearer than his Fathers Divorce from his first Wife. For it had been formerly proved, that she had been married to the Lord *Testers* Son, before he married her, who claimed her as his Wife; upon which, her Marriage with the Earl of *Arran* was declared Null in the year 1507. And it was ten years after, that the Earl of *Arran* did Marry the Governors Mother: Of which things the Original Instruments are yet extant. Yet it was now said that that Precontract with the Lord *Testers* Son was but a forgery, to dissolve that Marriage: and if the Earl of *Lenox*, (who was next to the Crown, in case the Earl of *Arran* was Illegitimated,) should by the assistance of *France* procure a review of that Process from *Rome*, and obtain a Revocation of that Sentence, by which his Fathers first Marriage was annulled; then it was plain that the second marriage, with the issue by it, would be of no force. All this wrought on the Governor much, and at length drew him off from the Match with *England*, and brought him over to the *French* Interests.

The *French* party prevails.

Interests. Which being effected, there was no further use of the Earl of *Lennox*; so he finding himself neglected, by the Queen, and the Cardinal, and abandoned by the Crown of *France*, fled into *England*: where he was very kindly received by the King, who gave him in marriage his Neece, Lady *Margaret Dowglass*, whom the Queen of *Scotland* had born to the Earl of *Angus*, her second Husband. From which Marriage issued the Lord *Darnly* Father to King *James*. 1543.

When the Lords of the *French* Faction had carried things to their mind in *Scotland*, it was next considered, what they should do to redeem the Hostages whom the Lords, who were Prisoners in *England*, had left behind them. And for this, no other Remedy could be found, but to let them take their hazard; and leave them to the King of *England's* mercy: To this they all agreed, only the Earl of *Cassilis* had too much Honour and Vertue to do so mean a thing. Therefore, after he had done all he could for maintaining the Treaty about the Match, he went into *England*, and offered himself again to be a Prisoner. But as generous actions are a reward to themselves, so they often meet with that entertainment which they deserve. And upon this occasion, the King was not wanting to express a very great value for that Lord. He called him another *Regulus*, but used him better. For he both gave him his Liberty, and made him noble Presents, and sent him and his Hostages back, being resolved to have a severer reparation for the injury done him. All which I have opened more fully, because this will give a great light to the affairs of that Kingdom: which will be found in the Reigns of the succeeding Princes, to have a great intermixture with the affairs of this Kingdom. Nor are they justly represented by any who write of these times; and having seen some Original Papers relating to *Scotland* at that time, I have done it upon more certain information.

The King of *England* made War next upon *France*: The grounds of this War are recited by the Lord *Herbert*. One of these is proper for me to repeat; "That the *French* King had not deserted the Bishop of "*Rome*, and consented to a Reformation, as he had once Promised. "The rest related to other things, such as the seizing our Ships; "The detaining the yearly Pension due to the King; The Fortifying "*Ardres* to the prejudice of the *English* pale; The revealing the Kings "secrets to the Emperor; The having given, first his Daughter, and "then the Duke of *Guises* Sister, in Marriage, to his Enemy, the King "of *Scotland*; and his confederating himself with the Turk. And "Satisfaction not being given in these particulars a War is de-"clared.

A War with France.

In *July* the King married *Katharine Parre*, who had been formerly married to *Nevil* Lord *Latimer*. She was a secret Favourer of the Reformation; yet could not divert a storm, which at this time fell on some in *Windsor*. For that being a place to which the King did oft retire, it was thought fit to make some examples there. And now the League with the Emperour, gave the Popish Faction a greater interest in the Kings Counsels. There was at this time a Society at *Windsor*, that favoured the Reformation. *Anthony Person* a Priest, *Robert Testwood*, and *John Marbeck* Singing Men, and *Henry Filmer* of the Town of *Windsor*, were the chief of them. But those were much

A new persecution of Protestants.

1543. favoured by Sir *Philip Hobby* and his Lady, and several others of the Kings Family. During *Cromwels* power none questioned them; but after his fall they were looked on with an ill eye. Doctor *London*, who had by the most servile Flatteries insinuated himself into *Cromwel*, and was much employed in the suppression of Monasteries, and expressed a particular zeal in removing all Images and Relicks which had been abused to Superstition, did now, upon *Cromwels* fall, apply himself to *Gardiner*, by whose means he was made a Prebendary there. And to shew how dextrously he could make his Court both ways, or to make compensation for what he had formerly done, he took care to gather a whole Book of Informations, against these in *Windsor*, who favoured the *New Learning*, (which was the modest phrase by which they termed the Reformation.) He carried this Book to *Gardiner*, who moved the King in Council, that a Commission might be granted for searching suspected Houses at *Windsor*, in which it was Informed there were many Books against the six Articles. The King granted the Warrant for the Town, but not for the Castle. So those before named, were seized on, and some of these Books were found in their houses. Dr. *Hains*, Dean of *Exceter*, and Prebendary of *Windsor*, being informed against, was also put in Prison; so was likewise Sir *Philip Hobby*. But there were likewise some Papers of Notes on the Bible, and of a Concordance in *English*, found in *Marbecks* house, written with his own hand: and he being an Illiterate man, they did not doubt but these were other mens works, which he was writing out. So they began with him, and hoped to draw discoveries from him. He was frequently examined, but would tell nothing that might do hurt to any other person. But being Examined, who wrote these Notes, he said they were his own: for he read all the Books he could light on, and wrote out what every man had written on any place of Scripture. And for his Concordance, he told them, that being a poor man, he could not buy one of the Bibles, when they came first out in *English*, but set himself to write one out: by which another perceiving his Industry, suggested to him, that he would do well to write a Concordance in *English*; but he said, he knew not what that was: so the other person explaining it to him, he got a *Latin* Concordance, and an *English* Bible; and having learned a little *Latin*, when he was young, he, by comparing the *English* with the *Latin*, had drawn out a Concordance, which he had brought to the Letter L. This seemed so extravagant a thing to *Gardiner*, and the other Bishops that examined him, that they could by no means believe it. But he desired they would draw out any words of the letter M. and give him the *Latin* Concordance, with the *English* Bible, and after a little time they should see whether he had not done the rest. So the Trial was made, and in a dayes time he had drawn out three sheets of Paper, upon those words that were given him. This both satisfyed, and astonished the Bishops, wondering at the Ingeniousness and diligence of so poor a man. It was much talked of, and being told the King, he said *Marbeck employed his time better than those that examined him.* For the others, they were kept in Prison at *London*, till the 24th of *July*, that the King gave orders to try them at *Windsor*.

Marbecks great ingeniousness.

There

There was a Court held there, on the 27th of *July*, where *Capon* Bishop of *Sarum*, and *Franklin* Dean of *Windsor*, and *Fachel* Parson of *Reading*, and three of the Judges, sate on those four men. They were Enditted for some words spoken against the Mass. *Marbeck* only for writing out an Epistle of *Calvins* against it; which, he said, he copied before the Act of the six Articles was made. The Jury was not called out of the Town, for they would not trust it to them, but out of the Farms of the Chappel. They were all found guilty, and so condemned to be burnt, which was Executed on three of them the next day: only *Marbeck* was recommended to the Bishop of *Winchesters* care, to procure his Pardon, which was obtained. The other three expressed great composure of mind in their Sufferings, and dyed with much Christian Resolution and Patience; forgiving their persecutors, and committing themselves to the Mercies of God through *Jesus Christ*. 1543. Three burnt at *Windsor*.

But in their Tryal, Doctor *London*, and *Symonds*, a Lawyer and an Informer, had studied to fish out accusations against many of the Kings Servants, as Sir *Philip Hobby*, and Sir *Thomas Cardine*, with their Ladies, and several others who had favoured those men. With these Informations, *Okam*, that had been the Clerk of the Court, was sent to *Gardiner*: But one of the Queens servants who had discovered the design, was before him at Court. Upon the advertisement which he had brought, *Okam* was seized on at his coming to Court, and all his Papers were examined; in which they discovered a Conspiracy against those Gentlemen, with other Plots, that gave the King great Offence; but the particulars are not mentioned. So Doctor *London* and *Simmonds* were sent for, and examined upon this desertion. But they, not knowing that their Letters were intercepted, denyed there was any such Plot; and being put to their Oaths, swore it. Then their own hand-writing was produced against them. Upon which, they being thus Perjured, were ordered to be carryed on Horse-back, with their faces to the Horse tailes, and Papers on their Foreheads, for their perjury; and then to be set in the Pillory, both in *Windsor*, *Reading*, and *Newbury*, where the King was at that time. This was accordingly executed on them; but sunk so deep in Doctor *Londons* heart, that he dyed soon after. From all this it will appear what sort of men the Persecutors at that time were. Their Persecutors are perjured.

But this was a small part of what *Gardiner* had Projected: For he looked on these, as persons unworthy of his displeasure. *Cranmer* was chiefly aimed at by him. And therefore all that party were still infusing it into the Kings mind, that it was great Injustice to prosecute poor men with so much severity, and let the chief Supporter of Heresie stand in so eminent a degree, and in such favour about him. At length the King, to discover the bottom of their designs, seemed to give ear to their accusations, and desired to hear what particulars could be objected against him. This gave them great encouragement; for till that time, the King would let nothing be said against *Cranmer*. So they concluded he would be quickly ruined, since the King had opened his ear to their Informations. Therefore many particulars were quickly laid together, and put into the Kings hands; who a little after that, going to divert himself on the River, order- A Conspiracy against *Cranmer*.

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1543. ed his Bargemen to Row towards *Lambeth*; which being perceived by some of the Arch-Bishops Servants, they acquainted him with it, who hasted down to his stairs to do his duty to the King. When the King saw him, he called him into the Barge; and they being alone, the King lamented the growth of Heresie, and the dissensions and confusions that were like to follow upon it; and said, he intended to find out the chief Encourager and Favourer of these Heresies, and make him an Example to the rest. And he asked the Arch-Bishops opinion about it. Who answered him, That it was a good resolution; but entreated the King to consider well what Heresie was, and not to condemn those as Hereticks, who stood for the Word of God, against humane Inventions. But after some discourse, the King told him he was the man, who, as he was informed, was the chief Encourager of Heresie; and then gave him the Articles that were brought against him, and his Chaplains, both by some Prebendaries of *Canterbury*, and the Justices of Peace in *Kent*. When he read them, he kneeled down, and desired the King would put the matter to a Tryal. He acknowledged he was still of the same mind he was of, when he opposed the Six Articles; but that he had done nothing against them. Then the King asked him about his Wife. He frankly confessed he had a Wife; but said, That he had sent her to *Germany*, upon the passing the Act against Priests having Wives. His candor and simplicity wrought so on the King, that he discovered to him the whole Plot that was laid against him; and said, That instead of bringing him to any Tryal about it, he would have him try it out, and proceed against those his Accusers. But he excused himself, and said it would not be decent for him to sit Judge in his own Cause. But the King said to him, he was resolved none other should Judge it, but those he should name. So he named his Chancellor, and his Register; to whom the King added another: And a Commission being given them, they went into *Kent*, and sate three weeks to find out the first Contrivers of this Accusation. And now every one disowned it, since they saw he was still firmly rooted in the Kings esteem and favour. But it being observed, that the Commissioners proceeded faintly, *Cranmers* friends moved that some man of Courage and Authority, might be sent thither to canvass this Accusation more carefully. So Doctor *Lee* Dean of *York*, was brought up about *All-hallowtide*, and sent into *Kent*. And he, who had been well acquainted with the Arts of discovering secrets, when he was one of the visitors of the Abbeys, managed it more vigorously. He ordered a search to be made of all suspected persons; among whose Papers, Letters were found, both from the Bishop of *Winchester*, and Doctor *London*, and some of those whom *Cranmer* had treated with the greatest freedom and kindness, in which the whole Plot against him was discovered. But it was now near the Session of Parliament: and the King was satisfied with the discovery, but thought it not fit to make much noise of it. And he received no addresses from the Arch-Bishop to prosecute it further: who was so noted for his Clemency, and following our Saviours Rule, of *Doing good for evil*, that it was commonly said, The way to get his favour, was to do him an injury. These were the only Instances in which he expressed

Antiq. Brit.

His Christian temper of mind.

sed

sed his resentments. Two of the Conspirators against him, had been persons signally obliged by him: The one was the Bishop Suffragan of Dover, the other was a Civilian, whom he had imployed much in his business. But all the notice he took of it, was to shew them their Letters, and to admonish them to be more faithful and honest for the future. Upon which he freely forgave them, and carryed it so to them afterwards, as if he had absolutely forgotten what they had contrived against him. And a person of Quality coming to him about that time, to obtain his favour and assistance in a Sute, in which he was to move the King, he went about it, and had almost procured it: but the King calling to mind, that he had been one of his secret accusers, asked him whether he took him for his friend; he answered that he did so. Then the King said, the other was a Knave, and was his mortal Enemy; and bid him, when he should see him next, call him a Knave to his Face. *Cranmer* answered, that such Language did not become a Bishop. But the King sullenly commanded him to do it; yet his modesty was such, that he could not obey so harsh a Command. And so he passed the matter over. When these things came to be known, all persons, that were not unjustly prejudiced against him, acknowledged that his behaviour was sutable to the Example and Doctrine of the meek and lowly Saviour of the World: And very well became so great a Bishop, and such a Reformer of the Christian Religion; who in those sublime and extraordinary Instances practised that which he taught others to do. The year in which this fell out is not exprest by those who have recorded it; but by the concurring circumstances, I judge it likeliest to have been done this year. 1544.

Soon after this, the Parliament met, that was Summoned to meet the 14th of *January*, in the 35th year of the Kings Reign; in which the Act of the Succession of the Crown passed. Which contains, "That the King being now to pass the Seas, to make War upon "his Ancient Enemy the *French* King, and being desirous to settle "the Succession to the Crown; It is Enacted that in default of Heirs "of Prince *Edwards* body, or of Heirs by the Kings present Marriage, "the Crown shall go to the Lady *Mary*, the Kings Eldest Daugh-"ter: and in default of Heirs of her body, or if she do not observe "such limitations or conditions as shall be declared by the Kings Let-"ters Patents under his great Seal, or by his last Will under his hand, "it shall next fall to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and her heirs; or if she "have none, or shall not keep the conditions declared by the King, "it shall fall to any other that shall be declared by the Kings Let-"ters Patents, or his last Will Signed with his hand. There was al-"so an Oath devised, instead of those formerly sworn, both against "the Popes Supremacy, and for maintaining the Succession in all "points according to this Act: which whosoever refused to take, "was to be adjudged a Traitor; and whosoever should, either in words, "or by writing, say any thing contrary to this Act, or to the peril "and slander of the Kings heirs, limited in the Act, was to be ad-"judged a Traitor. This was done, no doubt, upon a secret Article of the Treaty with the Emperor; and did put new life into the Popish party, all whose hopes depended on the Lady *Mary*. But

1544.

A new Parliament.

Act about the Succession

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1542. how much this lessened the Prerogative, and the Right of Succession, will be easily discerned; the King in this affecting an unusual extent of his own Power, though with the diminution of the Rights of his Successors.

There was another Bill about the qualifying of the Act of the six Articles, that was sent divers times from the one House to the other. It was brought to the Lords the 1st of *March*, and read the first time; and stuck till the 4th, when it was read the second time; on the 5th it was read the third time, and passed, and was sent down to the Commons, with *words to be put in, or put out of it.* On the 6th, the Commons sent it up with some alterations: And on the 8th, the Lords sent it down again to the Commons: where it lay till the 17th, and then it was sent up with their agreement. And the Kings Assent was given by his Letters Patents on the 29th of *March*. The Preamble was, "That whereas untrue accusations, "and presentments, might be maliciously contrived against the Kings "Subjects, and kept secret till a time were espied to have them by "malice convicted: Therefore it was Enacted, That none should be "Endited, but upon a presentment by the Oaths of twelve men, to "at least, three of the Commissioners appointed by the King: and "that none should be Imprisoned, but upon an Enditement, except "by a special Warrant from the King, and that all Presentments "should be made within one year after the Offences were com-"mitted; and if words were uttered in a Sermon, contrary to the "Statute, they must be complained of within forty dayes, unless a "just cause were given why it could not be so soon: Admitting al-"so the parties Endited to all such Challenges as they might have "in any other case of Felony. This Act has clearly a Relation to the Conspiracies mentioned the former year, both against the Arch-Bishop, and some of the Kings Servants.

Act against Conspiracies.

Another Act passed, continuing some former Acts for revising the Canon-Law, and for drawing up such a body of Ecclesiastical Laws, as should have Authority in *England*. This *Cranmer* pressed often with great vehemence; and to shew the necessity of it, drew out a short Extract of some passages in the Canon-Law, (which the Reader will find in the Collection,) to shew how undecent a thing it was, to let a Volume, in which such Laws were, be studyed or considered any longer in *England*. Therefore he was earnest to have such a Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws made, as might regulate the Spiritual Courts. But it was found more for the greatness of the Prerogative, and the Authority of the Civil Courts, to keep that undetermined; so he could never obtain his desire during this Kings Reign.

Collect. *Numb.* 27.

Another Act passed in this Parliament for the remission of a Loan of Money, which the King had raised. This is almost copied out of an Act to the same effect, that passed in the twenty first year of the Kings Reign: with this addition, That by this Act, those who had got payment, either in whole, or in part, of the Sums so lent the King, were to repay it back to the Exchequer. All business being finished, and a general pardon passed, with the ordinary exceptions of some Crimes, among which, Heresie is one, the Parliament was

[Prorogued

Prorogued on the 29th of *March*, to the 4th of *November*. 1544.

The King had now a War both with *France* and *Scotland* upon him. And therefore to prepare for it, he both enhanced the value of Money, and embased it: for which, he that writes his vindication gives this for the reason; That the Coin being generally embased all over *Europe*, he was forced to do it, lest otherwise all the Money should have gone out of the Kingdom. He resolved to begin the War with *Scotland*, and sent an Army by Sea thither, under the command of the Earl of *Hartford*, (afterwards Duke of *Somerset*,) who landing at *Grantham*, a little above *Leith*, burnt, and spoiled, *Leith*, and *Edenburgh*; in which they found more riches than they thought could possibly have been there; and they went through the Countrey, burning and spoiling it every-where, till they came to *Berwick*. But they did too much if they intended to gain the hearts of that people, and too little if they intended to subdue them. For as they besieged not the Castle of *Edinburgh*, which would have cost them more time, and trouble; so they did not fortifie *Leith*, nor leave a Garrison in it, which was such an inexcusable Omission, that it seems their Counsels were very weak and ill laid. For *Leith* being fortified, and a Fleet kept going between it and *Berwick* or *Tinmouth*, the Trade of the Kingdom must have been quite stopt, *Edinburgh* ruined, the Intercourse between *France* and them cut off, and the whole Kingdom forced to submit to the King. But the spoils this Army made, had no other effect, but to enrage the Kingdom, and unite them so entirely to the *French* Interests; that when the Earl of *Lennox* was sent down by the King, to the Western parts of *Scotland*, where his Power lay, he could get none to follow him. And the Governor of *Dunbritton* Castle, though his own Lieutenant, would not deliver that Castle to him, when he understood he was to put it in the King of *Englands* hands, but drove him out; others say, he fled away of himself, else he had been taken Prisoner.

The Wars against *Scotland* successful.

The King was now to cross the Seas: but, before he went, he studied to settle the matters of Religion, so that both Parties might have some content. *Audley* the Chancellor dying, he made the Lord *Wriothesley*, that had been Secretary, and was of the Popish Party, Lord Chancellor; but made Sir *William Petre*, that was *Cranmers* great friend, Secretary of State. He also committed the Government of the Kingdom in his absence, to the Queen, to whom he joyned the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Hartford*, and Secretary *Petre*. And if there was need of any Force to be raised, he appointed the Earl of *Hartford* his Lieutenant; under whose Government the Reformers needed not fear any thing. But he did another Act, that did wonderfully please that whole Party, which was, the Translating of the Prayers, for the Processions, and Litanies, into the *English* tongue. This was sent to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* on the 11th of *June*, with an Order that it should be used over all his Province, as the Reader will find in the Collection. This was not only very acceptable to that Party, because of the thing it self; but it gave them hope, that the King was again opening his ears to motions for Reformation, to which they had been shut now about six years: And therefore they looked that more things of

Collect. *Numb.* 28.

1545. that nature would quickly follow. And as these Prayers were now set out in *English*, so they doubted not, but there being the same reason to put all the other Offices in the vulgar tongue, they would prevail for that too.

Things being thus setled at home, the King having sent his Forces over before him, crossed the Seas, with much pomp, the Sails of his Ship being of Cloth of Gold. He Landed at *Calais* the 14th of *July*. The Emperor pressed his marching straight to *Paris*. But he thought it of more importance to take *Bulloign*, and after two months Siege, it was surrendred to him; into which he made his Entry with great Triumph on the 18th of *September*. But the Emperor having thus engaged those two Crowns in a War; and designing, while they should fight it out, to make himself Master of *Germany*, concluded a Treaty with the *French* King the very next day, being the 19th of *September*; which is set down at large by the Lord *Herbert*. On the 30th of *September* the King returned into *England*: in *October* following *Bulloign* was very near lost by a surprize, but the Garrison put themselves in order, and beat back the *French*. Several Inroads were made into *Scotland*, but not with the same success, that the former Expedition had. For the *Scots*, animated with supplies sent from *France*, and inflamed with a desire of revenge, resumed their wonted courage, and beat back the *English* with considerable loss.

Bulloign taken.

Next year the *French* King, resolving to recover *Bulloign*, and to take
1545. *Calais*, that so he might drive the *English* out of *France*, intended first to make himself Master of the Sea. And he set out a great Fleet of an hundred and fifty greater Ships, and sixty lesser ones, besides many Gallies brought from the Streights. The King set out about an hundred Ships. On both sides these were only Merchant Ships that were hired for this War. But after the *French* Fleet had looked on *England*, and attempted to Land with ill success, both in the Isle of *Wight*, and in *Sussex*, and had engaged in a Sea-fight for some hours; they returned back without any considerable action: Nor did they any thing at Land. But the Kings Fleet went to *Normandy*, where they made a descent, and burnt the Countrey. So that this year was likewise glorious to the King. The Emperor had now done what he long designed: And therefore being courted by both Crowns, he undertook a Mediation, that under the Colour of Mediating a peace, he might the more effectually keep up the War.

The German Princes mediate a peace.

The Princes of *Germany* saw what mischief was designed against them. The Council of *Trent* was now opened, and was condemning their Doctrine. A League was also concluded between the Pope and the Emperor, for procuring Obedience to their Canons, and Decrees: And an Army was raising. The Emperor was also setting on foot old quarrels with some of the Princes: A firm Peace was concluded with the *Turk*. So that if the Crowns of *England* and *France* were not brought to an Agreement, they were undone. They sent Ambassadors to both Courts to mediate a Peace. With them *Cranmer* joyned his endeavours, but he had not a *Cromwel* in the Court, to manage the Kings temper; who was so provoked with the ill Treatment he had received from *France*, that he would not come to an Agreement:

nor

nor would he restore *Bulloign*, without which the *French* would hear of no Peace. *Cranmer* had at this time almost prevailed with the King to make some further steps in a Reformation. But *Gardiner*, who was then Ambassadour in the Emperours Court, being advertised of it, wrote to the King; That the Emperour would certainly joyn with *France* against him, if he made any further Innovation in Religion. This diverted the King from it; and in *August* this year the only great Friend that *Cranmer* had in the Court died, *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, who had long continued in the height of favor; which was always kept up, not only by an agreement of humours between the King and him, but by the constant success which followed him in all his exploits. He was a Favourer of the Reformation, as far as could consist with his interest at Court, which he never endangered upon any account. 1545.

Now *Cranmer* was left alone, without friend or support. Yet he had gained one great Preferment in the Church, to a man of his own mind. The Arch-Bishoprick of *York* falling void by *Lee's* death, *Robert Alrich*, that was Bishop of *Landaff*, was promoted to that See in *January*; *Kitchin* being made Bishop of *Landaff*, who turned with every Change that was made under the three succeeding Princes. The Arch-Bishop of *York* set about the Reforming of things in his Province, which had layn in great confusion all his Predecessors time: So on the third of *March* he took out a Licence from the King for making a Metropolitical Visitation. *Dell*, that was Bishop of *Worcester* had resigned his Bishoprick the former year, (the reason of which is not set down.) The Bishop of *Rochester*, *Heath*, was Translated to that See: and *Henry Holbeach*, that favoured the Reformation, was made Bishop of *Rochester*. And upon the Translation of *Sampson*, from *Chichester* to *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Day* that was a Moderate man, and inclinable to Reformation, was made Bishop of that See. So that now *Cranmer* had a greater Party among the Bishops than at any time before.

Church resentments given to Informers.

But though there were no great Transactions about Religion in *England* this year, there were very remarkable things done in *Scotland*, though of a different nature; which were the burning of *Wishart*, and some months after that, the killing of Cardinal *Beaton*; the account of both which, will not (I hope) be Ingrateful to the Reader.

Mr. *George Wishart* was descended of a Noble Family; he went to finish his studies in the University of *Cambridge*, where he was so well instructed in the Principles of true Religion, that returning to *Scotland*, *Anno* 1544. He Preached over the Countrey, against the Corruptions which did then so generally prevail. He stayed most at *Dundee*, which was the chief Town in these parts. But the Cardinal offended at this, sent a threatning Message to the Magistrates; upon which one of them, as *Wishart* ended one of his Sermons, was so obsequious as to forbid him to Preach any more among them, or give them any further trouble: to whom he answered, "That God "knew he had no design to trouble them, but for them to reject "the Messengers of God, was not the way to escape trouble; when "he was gone, God would send Messengers of another sort among

Wisharts sufferings in *Scotland*.

Spotswood.

1545. "them. He had to the hazard of his Life, Preached the word of " Salvation to them, and they had now rejected him: but if it was " long well with them, he was not led by the Spirit of Truth; and " if unlooked for trouble fell on them, he bade them remember this " was the Cause of it, and turn to God by Repentance. From thence he went to the Western parts, where he was also much followed. But the Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow*, giving order, that he should not be admitted to Preach in Churches, he Preached often in the fields: and when in some places his followers would have forced the Churches, he checkt them and said, it was the word of Peace that he Preached, and therefore no blood should be shed about it: But after he had stayed a month there, he heard that there was a great Plague in *Dundee*, which broke out the fourth day after he had left it: upon which, he presently returned thither and Preached oft to them, standing over one of the Gates, having taken care that the Infected persons should stand without, and those that were clean within the Gate. He continued among them and took care to supply the poor, and to visit the sick, and do all the Offices of a faithful Pastor in that extremity. Once as he ended his Sermon, a Priest coming to have killed him, was taken with the weapon in his hand, but when the people were rushing furiously on him, *Wishart* got him in his Arms and saved him from their rage, for he said he had done no harm, only they saw what they might look for. He became a little after this more than ordinary serious and apprehensive of his end: he was seen sometimes to rise in the night, and spend the greatest part of it in Prayer; and he often warned his hearers, that his Sufferings were at hand, but that few should suffer after him, and that the Light of true Religion should be spread over the whole Land. He went to a great many places, where his Sermons were well received, and came last to *Lothian*, where he found a greater neglect of the Gospel, than in other parts, for which he threatned them, *That Strangers should chace them from their dwellings and possess them.* He was Lodged in a Gentleman of Qualities house *Cockburn* of *Ormeston*, when in the night the house was beset by some horsemen, who were sent by the Cardinals means to take him. The Earl of *Bothwel* that had the chief Jurisdiction in the County, was with them, who promising that no hurt should be done him, he caused the Gate to be opened, saying, *The Blessed Will of God be done.* When he presented himself to the Earl of *Bothwel*, he desired to be proceeded with according to Law, for he said, he feared less to die openly, than to be Murdered in secret. The Earl promised upon his honour, that no harm should be done him: and for some time seemed resolved, to have made his words good, but the Queen Mother and Cardinal in end prevailed with him, to put *Wishart* in their hands, and they sent him to St. *Andrews*, where it was agreed to make a Sacrifice of him. Upon this the Cardinal called a meeting of the Bishops to St. *Andrews* against the 27th of *February*, to destroy him with the more Ceremony, but the Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow* moved, that there should be a Warrant procured from the Lord Governour for their proceedings. To this the Cardinal consented, thinking the Governour was then so linked to their Interests, that he would deny them nothing: but the

Governor bearing in his heart a ſecret love to Religion, and being plainly dealt with by a Noble Gentleman of his name, *Hamilton* of *Preston*, who laid before him the juſt and terrible Judgments of God he might look for, if he ſuffered poor Innocents to be ſo Murdered at the appetite of the Clergy; ſent the Cardinal word not to proceed till he himſelf came, and that he would not conſent to his death, till the cauſe was well examined; and that if the Cardinal proceeded againſt him, his blood ſhould be required at his hands. But the Cardinal reſolved to go on at his peril, for he apprehended, if he delayed it, there might be either a Legal or a violent reſcue made: ſo he ordered a mock Citation of *Wiſhart* to appear; who being brought the next day to the Abbey-Church, the Proceſs was opened with a Sermon, in which the Preacher delivered a great deal of good Doctrine concerning the Scriptures, being the only Touchſtone by which Hereſie was to be tryed. After Sermon, the Priſoner was brought to the Bar: he firſt fell down on his knees, and after a ſhort Prayer, he ſtood up, and gave a long account of his Sermons, That he had Preached nothing, but what was contained in the ten Commandments, the Apoſtles Creed, and the Lords Prayer; but was interrupted with reproachful words, and required to anſwer plainly to the Articles objected to him. Upon which he appealed to an indifferent Judge: he deſired to be tryed by the word of God and before my Lord Governor, whoſe Priſoner he was: but the Indictment being read, he confeſſing and offering to juſtifie, moſt of the Articles objected againſt him, was Judged an obſtinate Heretick, and Condemned to be burnt. All the next night he ſpent in Prayer: In the Morning, two Friers came to Confeſs him, but he ſaid, he would have nothing to do with them, yet if he could, he would gladly ſpeak with the Learned man, that Preached the day before. So he being ſent to him, after much Conference he asked him, if he would receive the Sacrament? *Wiſhart* anſwered, he would moſt gladly do it, if he might have it as Chriſt had inſtituted it, under both kinds; but the Cardinal would not ſuffer the Sacrament to be given him. And ſo breakfaſt being brought, he diſcourſed to thoſe that were preſent, of the death of Chriſt, and the ends of the Sacrament, and then having bleſſed and conſecrated the Elements, he took the Sacrament himſelf, and gave it to thoſe that were with him. That being done, he would taſte no other thing, but retired to his Devotion. Two hours after the Executioners came, and put on him a Coat of black Linning, full of bags of Powder, and carryed him out to the place of Execution, which was before the Cardinals Caſtle. He ſpake a little to the people, deſiring them not to be offended at the good word of God, for the ſufferings that followed it, it was the true Goſpel of Chriſt that he had Preached, and for which with a moſt glad heart and mind he now offered up his Life. The Cardinal was ſet in ſtate in a great Window of his Caſtle, looking on this ſad Spectacle. When *Wiſhart* was tyed to the Stake, he cryed aloud, *O Saviour of the World have Mercy upon me! Father of Heaven I recommend my Spirit into thy Holy hands.* So the Executioners kindled the fire, but one perceiving after ſome time, that he was yet alive, encouraged him to call ſtill on God, to whom he anſwered, “ The flame hath ſcorched my body, yet hath it not daunted my “ Spirit

1545. " Spirit, but he who from yonder high place (looking up to the Car-
" dinal) beholdeth us with such pride, shall within few days lie in
" the same as ignominiously as now he is seen proudly to rest himself.
The Executioner drawing the Cord that was about his neck straiter, stopt his breath so, that he could speak no more, and his body was soon consumed by the fire. Thus died this eminent servant and witness of Christ, on whose Sufferings I have enlarged the more, because they proved so fatal to the interests of the Popish Clergy, for not any one thing hastned forward the Reformation more, than this did, and since he had both his Education and Ordination in *England*, a full account of him seems no impertinent Digression.

The Clergy rejoyced much at his death, and thought (according to the constant Maxime of all Persecutors) that they should live more at ease, now when *Wishart* was out of the way. They magnified the Cardinal for proceeding so vigorously, without, or rather against the Governors Orders: But the people did universally look on him as a Martyr, and believed an extraordinary measure of Gods Spirit had rested on him, since besides great innocency and purity of Life, his predictions came so oft to pass, that he was believed a Prophet as well as a Saint: And the Reformation was now so much opened by his Preaching, and that was so confirmed by his death that the Nation was generally possessed with the love of it. The Nobility were mightily offended with the Cardinal, and said *Wisharts* death was no less than Murder, since the Clergy without a Warrant from the Secular Power, could dispose of no mans Life: So it came universally to be said, that he now deserved to die by the Law, yet since he was too great for a Legal Tryal, the Kingdom being under the feeble Government of a Regency, it was fit private persons should undertake it; and it was given out, that the killing an Usurper, was always esteemed a commendable Action, and so in that state of things, they thought secret practices might be justified. This agreeing so much with the temper of some in that Nation, who had too much of the heat and forwardness of their Countrey, a few Gentlemen of Quality, who had been ill used by the Cardinal, conspired his death. He was become generally hateful to the whole Nation, and the Marriage of his Bastard Daughter to the Earl of *Crawfords* eldest Son, enraged the Nobility the more against him; and his carriage towards them all was insolent and provoking. These offended Gentlemen came to St. *Andrews* the 29th of *May*, and the next Morning, they and their attendants, being but twelve in all, first attempted the Gate of his Castle, which they found open, and made it sure; and though there were no fewer than an hundred reckoned to be within the Castle, yet they knowing the passages of the House, went with very little noise, to the Servants Chambers, and turned them almost all out of doors; and having thus made the Castle sure, they went to the Cardinals door. He who till then was fast asleep, suspecting nothing, perceived at last by their rudeness, that they were not his friends, and made his door fast against them. So they sent for fire to set to it, upon which he treated with them, and upon assurance of Life he opened the door: but they rushing in, did most cruelly and treacherously Murder him. A Tumult was raised in the Town, and many of his friends came to

rescue him, but the Conspirators carryed the dead body and exposed it to their view, in the same Window out of which he had not long before lookt on, when *Wishart* was burnt, which had been universally censured as a most indecent thing in a Churchman, to delight in such a Spectacle. But those who condemned this Action, yet acknowledged Gods Justice in so exemplary a punishment, and reflecting on *Wisharts* last words, were the more confirmed in the opinion they had of his Sanctity. This Fact was differently censured; some justified it and said, it was only the killing of a mighty Robber, others that were glad he was out of the way, yet condemned the manner of it, as treacherous and inhumane. And though some of the Preachers did afterwards fly to that Castle as a Sanctuary, yet none of them, were either Actors or Consenters to it: it is true they did generally extenuate it, yet I do not find that any of them justified it. The exemplary and signal ends of almost all the Conspirators, scarce any of them dying an ordinary death, made all people the more inclined to condemn it. The day after the Cardinal was killed, about 140 came into the Castle and prepared for a Siege. The House was well furnished in all things necessary, and it lying so near the Sea, they expected help from King *Henry*, to whom they sent a Messenger for his Assistance, and declared for him. So a Siege following, they were so well supplyed from *England*, that after five months the Governor was glad to treat with them, apprehending much the footing the *English* might have, if those within being driven to extremities, should receive a Garrison from King *Henry*: They had the Governor also more at their mercy, for as the Cardinal had taken his Eldest Son into his house, under the pretence of educating him, but really as his Fathers Hostage, designing likewise to infuse in him a violent hatred of the new Preachers; so the Conspirators finding him in the Castle, kept him still to help them to better terms. A Treaty being agreed on, they demanded their pardon for what they had done, together with an Absolution to be procured from *Rome*, for the killing of the Cardinal; and that the Castle and the Governors Son, should remain in their hands, till the Absolution was brought over. Some of the Preachers apprehending the Clergy might revenge the Cardinals death on them, were forced to fly into the Castle; but one of them *John Rough* (who was afterwards burnt in *England* in Queen *Maries* time) being so offended at the licentiousness of the Souldiers that were in the Castle, who were a reproach to that which they pretended to favour, left them, and went away in one of the ships, that brought Provisions out of *England*. When the Absolution came from *Rome*, they excepted to it, for some words in it, that called the killing of the Cardinal, *Crimen irremissibile*, an unpardonable crime; by which they said the Absolution gave them no security, since it was null, if the Fact could not be pardoned. The truth was, they were encouraged from *England*, so they refused to stand to the Capitulation, and rejected the Absolution. But some ships and Souldiers being sent from *France*, the Castle was besieged at Land, and shut up also by Sea, and which was worst of all a Plague broke out within it, of which many died. Upon this no help coming suddenly from *England*, they were forced to deliver up the place on

1545.

1545. no better terms, than that their Lives should be spared, but they were to be Banisht *Scotland*, and never to return to it. The Castle was demolished according to the Canon Law, that appoints all places where any Cardinal is killed to be razed. This was not compleated this year, and not till two years after, only I thought it best to joyn the whole matter together and set it down all at once

A Parliament sits. In *November* following a New Parliament was held: where toward the expence of the Kings Wars, the Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury*, granted a continuation of the former Subsidy of six shillings in the pound, to be payed in two years. But for the Temporality, a Subsidy was demanded from them of another kind: There were in the Kingdom several Colledges, Chappels, Chantries, Hospitals, and Fraternities, consisting of Secular Priests, who enjoyed Pensions for saying Mass for the Souls of those who had endowed them. Now the belief of Purgatory being left indifferent, by the Doctrine set out by the Bishops, and the Trade of redeeming souls being condemned; it was thought needless to keep up so many Endowments to no purpose. Those Priests were also generally ill-affected to the Kings proceedings, since their Trade was so much lessened by them. Therefore many of them had been dealt with to make resignations: And four and twenty of them had surrendred to the King. It was found also, that many of the Founders of these Houses had taken them into their own hands, and that the Master, Wardens, and Governors of them had made agreements for them, and given Leases of them: Therefore now a Subsidy being demanded, all these were given to the King by Act of Parliament; which also confirmed the Deeds that any had made to the King: Empowering him in any time of his life to issue out Commissions for seizing on these Foundations, and taking them into his own possession: which being so seized on, should belong to the King and his successors for ever. They also granted another Subsidy for the War. When all their business was done, the King came to the House, and made a long Speech, of which I cannot sufficiently wonder that no Entry is made in the Journals of the House of Lords; Yet it is not to be doubted but he made it, for it was published by *Hall* soon after.

Chapters and Chanteries given to the King.

When the Speaker of the House of Commons had presented the Bills, with a Speech full of respect and complement, as is usual upon these occasions; The King answered, "Thanking them for the Subsidie, and the Bill about the Colledges and Chanteries; and assured "them that he should take care, both for supplying the Ministers, for "encouraging Learning, and relieving the Poor; and they should "quickly perceive that in these things their expectations should be answered, beyond what they either wished or desired: And after he "had expressed his affection to them, and the assurance he had of their "duty and fidelity to him, he advised them to amend one thing; which "was, that in stead of Charity and Concord, Discord and Division ruled every where. He cited St. *Pauls* words, *That Charity was gentle, "and not envious, nor proud.* But when one called another Heretick, "and the other called him Papist, and Pharisee, were these the signs "of Charity? The fault of this he charged chiefly on the Fathers and "Teachers of the Spiritualty, who preached one against another, without

The Kings speech to the Houses.

"Charity of Discretion; some being too stiff in their old *Mumpsimus*, 1545.
"others too busie and curious in their new *Sumpsimus*; and few Prea-
"ched the Word of God truly and sincerely. And how could the poor
"people live in concord, when they sowed debate among them? There-
"fore he exhorted them to set forth Gods word, by true Preaching,
"and giving a good Example; or else he, as Gods Vicar, and high Mi-
"nister, would see these Enormities corrected, which if he did not
"do, he was an unprofitable Servant and an untrue Officer. He next re-
"proved them of the Temporality, who railed at their Bishops and
"Priests: whereas if they had any thing to lay to their charge, they
"ought to declare it to the King or his Council, and not take up-
"on them to judge such high points. For tho they had the Scriptures
"given them in their Mother-Tongue, yet that was only to in-
"form their own consciences, and instruct their Children and Fami-
"lies; but not to dispute, nor from thence to rail against Priests,
"and Preachers, as some vain persons did. He was sorry that such a
"Jewel, as the Word of God, was so ill used; that Rithmes and Songs
"were taken out of it: but much more sorry that men followed it so
"little; for Charity was never fainter, a godly life never less appeared,
"and God was never less reverenced and worshipped. Therefore he
"exhorted them to live as Brethren in Charity together, to love,
"dread, and serve God; and then the love and union between Him
"and them should never be dissolved. And so exhorting them to look
"to the Execution of the Laws which themselves had desired, he gave
"his Royal Assent to the Bills, and dismissed the Parliament.

The King gave at this time a Commission to the Bishops of *Westminster*, *Worcester*, and *Chichester*, and the Chancellor of the Court of Augmentation, Sir *Edward North*, conteining, "That whereas the King "had founded many Cathedrals, in which he had given large allow-"ances, both to be distributed to the poor, and to be laid out for the "mending of high ways; To *Canterbury* 100 pounds for the poor, "and 40 pounds for the high ways: To *Rochester* 20 pounds for the "poor, and 20 pounds for the High-ways: To *Westminster*, 100 pounds "for the poor, and 40 pounds for the High-ways: To *Winchester* 100 "Marks for the poor, and 50 for the High-ways: To *Bristol*, *Glocester*, "*Chester*, *Burton* upon *Trent*, *Thornton*, *Peterborough*, and *Ely*, 20 pounds "a piece for the poor, and as much for the High-ways: To *Worcester* "40 pounds for the poor, and 40 pounds for the High-ways: To *Duresm* 100 Marks for the poor, and 40 pounds for the High-ways: "And to *Carlile* 15 pounds for the poor, and as much for the High-"ways: In all about 550 pounds a year to the poor, and about 400 "pounds a year for the High-ways: They were to enquire how this "money was distributed; and, if they saw cause, they might order it to "be applied to any other use which they should judge more charitable and convenient. But what followed upon this, does not appear by the Records.

The King confirms the Rights of the Universities.

After the Parliament was dissolved, the Universities made their applications to the King, that they might not be included within the general words in the Act of Dissolution, of Colledges and Fraternities. And Dr. *Cox* Tutor to the Prince, wrote to Secretary *Paget*, to "represent to the King the great want of Schools, Preachers, and

1546. "Houses for Orphans; that Beggery would drive the Clergy to Flattery, Superstition, and the old Idolatry: There were ravenous "Wolves about the King, that would devour Universities, Cathedrals, "and Chantries, and a thousand times as much. Posterity would "wonder at such things: Therefore he desired the Universities might "be secured from their Spoyls. But the King did quickly free them from these fears.

Now I enter into the last year of this Kings Reign. The War in *France* was managed with doubtful success: yet the losses were greater on the *English* side. And the Forces being commanded by the Earl of *Surrey*, who was brave, but unsuccessful, he was not only blamed but recalled, and the Earl of *Hertford* sent to Command in his room. But he being a man of an high Spirit, and disdaining the Earl of *Hertford*, who was now preferred before him, let fall some words of high resentment, and bitter contempt, which not long after wrought his ruine. The King was now alone in the War, which was very chargeable to him; and observing the Progress that the Council of *Trent* was making, where Cardinal *Pole* being one of the Legates, he had reason to look for some severe Decree to be made against himself; since none of the Hereticks of *Germany* were so much hated by the Court of *Rome*, as he was: Therefore he listned to the Counsels of peace. And 'tho he was not old, yet he felt such decays in his strength, that being extremely corpulent, he had no reason to think he could live very long: Therefore that he might not leave his young Son involved in a War of such consequence, Peace was concluded in *June*; which was much to the Kings honour, though the taking and keeping of *Bulloign*, (which by this Peace the King was to keep for eight years,) cost him above 1300000 pounds.

Peace with *France*.

Upon the peace, the *French* Admiral *Annebault* came over to *England*. And now again a Resolution of going on with a Reformation was set on foot: for it was agreed between the King and the Admiral, That in both Kingdoms, the Mass should be changed into a Communion; and *Cranmer* was Ordered to draw a Form of it. They also resolved to press the Emperor to do the like in his Dominions, otherwise to make War upon him. But how this Project failed, does not appear. The Animosities which the former War had raised between the two Kings, were converted into a firm Friendship: which grew so strong on *Francis*'s part, that he never was seen glad at any thing, after he had the news of the Kings death.

A new design for Reformation.

Shaxtons Apostacy.

But now one of the Kings angry fits took him at the Reformers, so that there was a new Prosecution of them. *Nicholas Shaxton*, that was Bishop of *Salisbury*, had been long a Prisoner: but this year, he had said in his Imprisonment, in the Counter in *Bread-street*, *That Christs natural Body was not in the Sacrament, but that it was a Sign and Memorial of his Body that was crucified for us.* Upon this he was endicted, and condemned to be burnt. But the King sent the Bishops of *London*, and *Worcester*, to deal with him to recant; which on the 9th of *July* he did, acknowledging, "That that year he had fallen in his old "age in the Heresie of the Sacramentaries. But that he was now convinced of that error, by their endeavours whom the King had sent "to him. And therefore he thanked the King for delivering him, both

"from Temporal and Eternal fire: and subscribed a Paper of Articles, which will be found in the Collection. Upon this, he had his pardon and discharge sent him the 13 of *July*, and soon after preached the Sermon at the burning of *Anne Askew*; and wrote a Book in defence of the Articles he had subscribed. What became of him all *Edward* the 6ths time, I cannot tell: But I find, he was a cruel prosecutor and Burner of Protestants, in Queen *Maries* days. Yet it seems those to whom he went over, did not consider him much, for they never raised him higher than to be Bishop Suffragan of *Ely*. Others were also Endicted upon the same Statute, who got off by recantation, and were pardoned. But *Anne Askews* Trial had a more bloody Conclusion. 1546. Collect. Numb. 28.

She was nobly descended, and educated beyond what was ordinary in that age to those of her Sex. But she was unfortunately married, to one *Kyme*, who being a violent Papist, drave her out of his House, when he found she favoured the Reformation. So she came to *London*, where information being given of some words, that she had spoken against the Corporal presence in the Sacrament, she was put in Prison: upon which, great applications were made by many of her friends, to have her let out upon Bail. The Bishop of *London* examined her, and after much pains, she was brought to set her hand to a Recantation, by which she acknowledged, "That the natural Body of Christ was present in the Sacrament, after the Consecration; whether the Priest were a good "or an ill man: and that, whether it was presently consumed, or reserved in the *Pix*, it was the true Body of Christ. Yet she added to Her subscription, that she believed all things according to the Catholick Faith, and not otherwise. With this the Bishop was not satisfied; but after much adoe, and many importunate addresses, she was Bailed in the end of *March* this year. But not long after that, she was again apprehended, and examined before the Kings Council then at *Greenwich*, where she seemed very indifferent what they did with her. She answered them in general words, upon which they could fix nothing, and made some sharp reparties upon the Bishop of *Winchester*. Some liked the wit and freedom of her discourse, but others thought she was too forward. From thence she was sent to *Newgate*, where she wrote some devotions, and Letters, that shew her to have been a woman of most extraordinary parts. She wrote to the King, "That as to the Lords Supper, "she believed as much as Christ had said in it, and as much, as the Catholick Church from him did Teach. Upon *Shaxtons* Recantation they sent him to her to prevail with her. But she in stead of yielding to him, charged his Inconstancy home upon him. She had been oft at Court, and was much favoured by many great Ladies there; and it was believed the Queen had shewed kindness to her. So the Lord Chancellor examined her of what Favour or Encouragement she had from any in the Court, particularly from the Dutchess of *Suffolk*, the Countess of *Hertford*, and some other Ladies. But he could draw nothing from her, save that one in Livery had brought her some money, which he said came from two Ladies in the Court. But they resolved to extort further Confessions from her. And therefore carrying her to the *Tower*, they caused her to be laid on the Rack, and gave her a taste of it. Yet she confessed nothing. That she was rackt is very certain, for I find it in an Original Journal of the Transactions in the Tower, written by *An-* The troubles of *Anne Askew*.

1546. thony Anthony; but Fox adds a passage that seems scarce credible, the thing is so extraordinary, and so unlike the Character of the Lord Chancellor, who though he was fiercely zealous for the old Superstition, yet was otherwise a great person: it is, that he commanded the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to stretch her more; but he refused to do it, and being further prest told him plainly he would not do it. The other threatned him, but to no purpose; so the Lord Chancellor throwing off his Gown, drew the Rack so severely, that he almost tore her Body asunder: yet could draw nothing from her, for she endured it with unusual Patience and Courage. When the King heard this, he blamed the Lord Chancellor for his Cruelty, and excused the Lieutenant of the Tower. *Fox* does not vouch any Warrant for this, so that though I have set it down, yet I give no entire credit to it: if it was true, it shews the strange influence of that Religion, and that it corrupts the Noblest natures; yet the poor Gentlewomans being Rackt, wrought no pity in the King towards her, for he left her to be proceeded against according to the Sentence: she was carried to the Stake in *Smithfield* a little after that in a Chair, not being able to stand through the Torments of the Rack. There were brought with her at the same time, one *Nicolas Belenian* a Priest, *John Adams* a Taylor, and *John Lassels* one of the Kings Servants, (it is likely he was the same person that had discovered Queen *Katharine Howard*'s incontinency, for which, all the Popish Party, to be sure, bore him no good will.) They were all convicted upon the Statute of the Six Articles, for denying the Corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament. When they were brought thither, *Shaxton*, to compleat his Apostasie, made a Sermon of the Sacrament, and inveighed against their Errors. That being ended, they were tyed to the Stake; and then the Lord Chancellor sent and offered them their pardon, which was ready passed under the Seal, if they would recant. But they loved not their lives so well, as to redeem them by the loss of a good Conscience; and therefore encouraging one another to suffer patiently for the Testimony of the truth: so they endured to the last, and were made Sacrifices by fire unto God. There were also two in *Suffolk*, and one in *Norfolk*, burnt on the same account a little before this.

She endures the Rack.

And is burnt with some others.

A new design against *Cranmer*.

But that party at Court having incensed the King much against those Hereticks, resolved to drive it further; and to work the ruin, both of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and of the Queen: Concluding, that if these attempts were successful, they should carry every thing else. They therefore renewed their Complaints of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; and told the King, That though there were evident proofs ready to be brought against him, yet because of his Greatness, and the Kings Carriage upon the former Complaints, none durst appear against him. But if he were once put in the *Tower*, that men might hope to be heard, they undertook to bring full and clear Evidences of his being a Heretick. So the King consented, That he should be the next day called before the Council, and sent to the *Tower*, if they saw cause for it. And now they concluded him ruined. But in the night, the King sent Sir *Anthony Denny* to *Lambeth*, to bring the Arch-Bishop to speak with him. And when he came, the King told him what Informations had been brought against him, and

and how far he had yielded to them, that he should be sent to the *Tower* next day: And therefore desired to hear from himself what he had to say upon it. *Cranmer* thanked him, that he had not left him in the dark, to be surprised in a matter that concerned him so neerly. He acknowledged the Equity of the Kings proceedings; and all that he desired, was, That he might be brought to make his answer: And that since he was to be Questioned for some of his Opinions, Judges might be assigned who understood those matters. The King heard this with astonishment, wondering to see a man so little concerned in his own preservation. " But pleasantly told him, he was a "Fool that look'd to his own safety so little. For did he think that " if he were once put in Prison, abundance of false witnesses would " not be suborned to ruin him. Therefore since he did not take care " of himself, he would look to it. And so he ordered him to appear next day before the Council, upon their Summons; and when things were objected to him, to say, that since he was a privy Councellor, he desired they would use him, as they would look to be used in the like case: And therefore to move that his Accusers might be brought face to face, and things be a little better considered before he was sent to the *Tower*. And if they refused to grant that, then he was to appeal personally to the King, (who intended to be absent that day,) and in token of it, should shew them the Kings Seal-Ring which he wore on his finger, and was well known to them all. So the King, giving him his Ring, sent him privately home again. Next Morning a Messenger of the Council came early, and Summoned him to appear that day before the Council. So he went over, but was long kept waiting in the Lobby, before he was called in. At this unusual sight many were astonished. But Doctor *Buts* the Kings Physician, that loved *Cranmer*, and presumed more on a diseased King than others durst do, went and told the King what a strange thing he had seen: "The Primate of all *England* waiting at the Council-"door, among the foot-men and Servants. So the King sent them word, that he should be presently brought in; which being done, they said, That there were many Informations against him, that all the Heresies that were in *England* came from him and his Chaplains. To which he answered as the King had directed him. But they insisting on what was before projected, he said he was sorry to be thus used, by those with whom he had sate so long at that Board, so that he must appeal from them to the King: And with that took out the Kings Ring, and shewed it. This put them in a wonderful confusion, but they all rose up and went to the King; who checkt them "severely for using the Arch-Bishop so unhandsomly. He said, he "thought he had a wiser Council, than now he found they were. "He protested by the Faith he owed to God, laying his hand on his " Breast, That if a Prince could be obliged by his Subject, he was " by the Arch-Bishop, and that he took him to be the most faithful " Subject he had, and the person to whom he was most beholding. The Duke of *Norfolk* made a trifling excuse, and said, They mean't no harm to the Arch-Bishop, but only to vindicate his Innocency by such a Tryal, which would have freed him from the aspersions that were cast on him. But the King answered, he would not suffer men

1546.

The Kings great care of him.

that

1546. that were so dear to him, to be handled in that fashion. He knew the Factions that were among them, and the malice that some of them bore to others; which he would either extinguish or punish very speedily. So he commanded them all to be Reconciled to *Cranmer*: Which was done with the outward Ceremony of taking him by the hand; and was most real on his part, though the other party did not so easily lay down the hatred they bore him. This I place at this time; though *Parker*, who related it, names no year nor time in which it was done; but he leads us very near it, by saying, it was after the Duke of *Suffolks* death; and this being the only time after that, in which the King was in an ill humor against the Reformers, I conclude it fell out at this time.

Antiqu. *Brit.* in vita *Cranmer*

Another design against the Queen.

That Party finding it was in vain to push at *Cranmer* any more, did never again endeavor it. Yet one Design failing, they set on another against the Queen. She was a great Favourer of the Reformers, and had frequently Sermons in her Privy-Chamber, by some of those Preachers; which were not secretly carryed; but became generally known: When it came to the Kings ears, he took no notice of it. And the Queen carryed her self, in all other things, not only with an exact conduct, but with that wonderful care about the Kings person, which became a Wife that was raised by him to so great an honour, he was much taken with her: So that none durst adventure on making any complaints against her. Yet the Kings distempers encreasing, and his peevishness growing with them, he became more uneasie; and whereas she had frequently used to talk to him of Religion, and defend the Opinions of the Reformers, in which he would sometimes pleasantly maintain the Argument; now, becoming more impatient, he took it ill at her hands. And she had sometimes in the heat of discourse gone very far. So one night, after she had left him, the King being displeased, vented it to the Bishop of *Winchester* that stood by: And he craftily and maliciously struck in with the Kings anger, and said all that he could devise against the Queen, to drive his resentments higher: and took in the Lord Chancellor into the design, to assist him. They filled the Kings head with many stories of the Queen, and some of her Ladies: and said, They had favoured *Anne Askew*, and had Heretical Books amongst them; and he perswaded the King, that they were Traitors as well as Hereticks. The matter went so far, that Articles were drawn against her, which the King Signed; for without that, it was not safe for any to Impeach the Queen. But the Lord Chancellor putting up that Paper carelesly it dropt from him: And being taken up by one of the Queens Party, was carryed to her. Whether the King had really designed her ruin, or not, is differently represented by the Writers who lived near that time. But she seeing his hand to such a Paper, had reason to conclude her self lost. Yet by advice of one of her Friends, she went to see the King. who receiving her kindly, set on a Discourse about Religion. But she answered, that women, by their first Creation, were made subject to men; and they being made after the Image of God, as the Women were after their Image, ought to instruct their Wives; who were to learn of them: and she much more, was to be taught by his Majesty, who was a Prince of such excel-

lent

lent Learning, and Wiſdom. *Not ſo by* St. *Mary*, ſaid the King, *you are become a Doctor, able to Instruct us, and not to be Instructed by us.* To which ſhe anſwered, That it ſeemed he had much miſtaken the freedom ſhe had taken to argue with him, ſince ſhe did it partly to engage him in diſcourſe, and ſo put over the time, and make him forget his pain; and partly to receive Inſtructions from him, by which ſhe had profited much. *And is it even ſo?* ſaid the King, *then we are friends again.* So he embraced her with great affection, and ſent her away with very tender aſſurances of his conſtant Love to her. But the next day had been appointed for carrying her, and ſome of her Ladies, to the *Tower*. The day being fair, the King went to take a little air in the Garden, and ſent for her to bear him company. As they were together, the Lord Chancellor came in, having about forty of the Guard with him, to have arreſted the Queen. But the King ſtept aſide to him, and after a little diſcourſe, he was heard to call him *Knave, Fool*, and *Beaſt*, and he bade him get him out of his Sight. The Innocent Queen who underſtood not that her danger was ſo near, ſtudied to mitigate the Kings diſpleaſure, and interceded for the Lord Chancellor. But the King told her, ſhe had no reaſon to plead for him. 1546.

So this deſign miſcarried, which as it abſolutely diſheartned the Papiſts, ſo it did totally alienate the King from them; and in particular from the Biſhop of *Winchester*, whoſe ſight he could never after this endure. But he made an humble Submiſſion to the King, which though it preſerved him from further puniſhment, yet could not reſtore him to the Kings favour. But the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Son the Earl of *Surrey*, fell under a deeper Misfortune. The Duke of *Norfolk* had been long Lord Treaſurer of *England*: He had done great ſervices to the Crown on many ſignal Occaſions, and ſucceſs had always accompanied him. His Son the Earl of *Surrey* was alſo a brave and noble perſon, Witty and Learned to an high degree, but did not command Armies with ſuch Succeſs. He was much provoked at the Earl of *Hertfords* being ſent over to *France* in his room, and upon that had ſaid, *That within a little-while they ſhould ſmart for it*; with ſome other expreſſions that ſavoured of Revenge, and a diſlike of the King, and a hatred of the Counſellors. The Duke of *Norfolk* had endeavoured to ally himſelf to the Earl of *Hertford*, and to his Brother Sir *Thomas Seimour*, perceiving how much they were in the Kings favour, and how great an Intereſt they were like to have under the ſucceeding Prince. And therefore would have engaged his Son, being then a Widower, to Marry that Earls Daughter: And preſſed his Daughter, the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*, Widow to the Kings Natural Son, to Marry Sir *Thomas Seimour*. But though the Earl of *Surrey* adviſed his Siſter to the Marriage projected for her, yet he would not conſent to that deſigned for himſelf, nor did the Propoſition about his Siſter take effect. The *Seimours*, could not but ſee the Enmity the Earl of *Surrey* bore them, and they might well be jealous of the Greatneſs of that Family; which was not only too big for a Subject of it ſelf, but was raiſed ſo high by the dependence of the whole Popiſh Party, both at home and abroad, that they were like to be very dangerous Competitors for the chief Government of Affairs,

The cauſes of the Duke of Norfolks diſgrace.

1546. fairs, if the King were once out of the way; whose disease was now growing so fast upon him, that he could not live many weeks. Nor is it unlikely that they perswaded the King, that if the Earl of *Surrey* should marry the Lady *Mary*, it might embroil his Sons Government, and perhaps ruine him. And it was suggested, That he had some such high project in his thoughts, both by his continuing unmarried, and by his using the Armes of *Edward* the Confessor, which of late he had given in his Coat, without a Diminution. But to compleat the Duke of *Norfolks* ruin, his Dutchess who had complained of his using her ill, and had been separated from him about four years, turned Informer against him. His Son and Daughter were also in ill terms together. So the Sister Informed all that she could against her Brother. And one Mrs *Holland*, for whom the Duke was believed to have an unlawful affection, discovered all she knew; but all amounted to no more, than some passionate Expressions of the Son, and some Complaints of the Father, who thought he was not beloved by the King, and his Councellors, and that he was ill used, in not being trusted with the secret of affairs. And all persons being encouraged to bring Informations against them, Sr. *Richard Southwell* charged the Earl of *Surrey* in some points that were of a higher nature: which the Earl denied, and desired to be admitted, according to the Martial Law, to fight in his shirt with *Southwel*. But that not being granted, he and his Father were committed to the *Tower*. That which was most insisted on, was, their giving the Arms of *Edward* the Confessor which were only to be given by the Kings of *England*. This the Earl of *Surrey* justified, and said, they gave their Arms, according to the opinion of the Kings Heraulds. But all excuses availed nothing, for his Father and he were designed to be destroyed, upon reasons of State; for which, some colours were to be found out.

1547. The Earl of *Surrey* being but a Commoner, was brought to his Tryal at *Guildhall*; and put upon an Inquest of Commoners consisting of nine Knights and three Esquires, by whom he was found guilty of Treason, and had Sentence of death passed upon him, which was executed on the 19th of *January* at *Tower-Hill*. It was generally condemned, as an Act of high injustice and severity, which loaded the *Seimours* with a popular *Odium* that they could never overcome. He was much pitied, being a man of great parts and high courage, with many other Noble Qualities.

The Earl of *Surrey* Executed.

The Dukes submission to the King.

But the King who never hated nor ruined any body by halves, resolved to compleat the misfortunes of that Family, by the Attaindor of the Father. And as all his Eminent Services were now forgotten, so the Submissions he made, could not allay a displeasure, that was only to be satisfied with his Life and Fortune. He wrote to the King, Protesting his Innocency: "That he had never a thought "to his prejudice, and could not imagine what could be laid to his "Charge: He had spent his whole Life in his Service, and did not "know that ever he had offended any person; or that any were dis-"pleased with him, except for prosecuting the breakers of the Act "about the Sacrament of the Altar. But in that, and in every thing "else, as he had been always obedient to the Kings Laws, so he was "resolved still to obey any Laws he should make. He desired he might

be

1547.

"be examined with his Accusers face to face, before the King, or "at least before his Council; and if it did not appear that he was "wrongfully accused, let him be punished as he deserved. In Con-"clusion he begged the King would have pity on him, and restore "him to his favour; taking all his Lands, or Goods from him, or as "much of them, as he pleased. Yet all this had no effect on the King. So he was desired to make a more formal Submission; which he did on the 12th of *January* under his hand, ten Privy Councellors being Witnesses. In it he confessed, "First his discovering the "Secrets of the Kings Council. *Secondly*, his concealing his Sons Trea-"son, in using to give the Arms of St. *Edward* the Confessor, which "did only belong to the King, and to which his Son had no Right. "*Thirdly*, That he had ever since his Fathers death, born in the first "quarter of his Arms, the Arms of *England*: with a difference of the "Labells of Silver, that are the proper Arms of the Prince; which was "done in prejudice of the King and the Prince: and gave occasion "for disturbing or interrupting the Succession to the Crown of the "Realm. This he acknowledged was high Treason, he confessed he "deserved to be attainted of high Treason; and humbly begged the "Kings Mercy and Compassion. He yielded to all this, hoping by such a Submission and Compliance to have overcome the Kings displeasure. but his Expectations failed him.

The Parliament meets.

A Parliament was called, the reason whereof was pretended to be the Coronation of the Prince of *Wales*. But it was thought the true cause of calling it, was, to Attaint the Duke of *Norfolk*: for which they had not colour enough, to do it in a Tryal by his Peers. Therefore an Attaindor by Act of Parliament was thought the better way. So it was moved, that the King intending to Crown his Son, Prince of *Wales*, desired they would go on with all possible haste in the Attaindor of the Duke of *Norfolk*; that so these Places which he held by Patent, might be disposed of by the King to such as he thought fit, who should Assist at the Coronation. And upon this slight pretence, since a better could not be found; The Bill of Attaindor was read the first time on the 18th of *January*: And on the 19th and 20th it was read the second and third time. And so passed in the House of Lords: and was sent down to the Commons. Who on the 24th sent it up also passed. On the 27th the Lords were ordered to be in their Robes, That the Royal assent might be given to it: which the Lord Chancellor, with some others joyned in Commission, did give by vertue of the Kings Letters Patents. And it had been executed the next Morning, if the Kings death had not prevented it. Upon what grounds this Attaindor was founded, I can only give this Account from the 34th Act of the first Parliament of Queen *Mary*; in which this Act is declared null and void, by the Common Law of the Land; for I cannot find the Act it self upon Record. In the Act of Repeal it is said, "That there was no special matter in the Act of "Attaindor, but only general words of Treasons and Conspiracies; "and that out of their care of the preservation of the King and the "Prince, they passed it. But the Act of Repeal says also, That the "only thing with which he was charged, was, For bearing of Arms, "which he and his Ancestors had born, both within and without the

The Duke of Norfolk Attainted.

1547. "Kingdom: both in the Kings presence, and in the sight of his Pro-"genitors: which they might Lawfully bear and give, as by good "and substantial matter of Record it did appear. It is also added, "That the King dyed after the date of the Commission, That the "King only empowered them to give his Assent, but did not give "it himself: And that it did not appear by any Record, that they "gave it. That the King did not Sign the Commission with his own "hand, his Stamp being only set to it: and that not to the upper, "but the nether part of it, contrary to the Kings custom. All these particulars, though cleared afterwards, I mention now, because they give light to this matter.

His death prevented by the Kings.

As soon as the Act was passed, a Warrant was sent to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to cut off his head the next Morning; but the King dying in the night, the Lieutenant could do nothing on that Warrant. And it seems it was not thought advisable, to begin the new Kings Reign with such an Odious Execution. And thus the Duke of *Norfolk* escaped very narrowly. Both Parties descanted on this differently. The Conscientious Papists said, it was Gods just Judgment on him, (who had in all things followed the Kings pleasure, oftentimes against his own Conscience;) That he should smart under that Power, which himself had helped so considerably to make it be raised so high. The Protestants could not but observe an hand of God, in measuring out such a hard measure to him, that was so heavy on all those poor people that were questioned for Heresie. But *Cranmers* carriage in this matter was suitable to the other parts of his Life, for he withdrew to *Croydon*, and would not so much as be present in Parliament, when so unjust an Act was passed, and his absence at this time was the more considerable, since the King was so dangerously ill, that it must be concluded it could be no slight Cause that made him withdraw at such a time. But the Duke of *Norfolk* had been his constant Enemy, therefore he would not so much as be near the publick Councils, when so strange an Act was passing. But at the same time the Bishop of *Winchester* was officiously hanging on in the Court: and though he was forbid to come to Council, yet always when the Councellors went into the Kings Bed-Chamber, he went with them to the door, to make the World believe he was still one of the number, and staying at the door till the rest came out, he returned with them. But he was absolutely lost in the Kings Opinion.

Fox.

The Emperors designs against the Protestants.

There is but one other step of Forreign business in this Reign; which was an Embassy sent over by the Duke of *Saxony*, to let the King know of the League between the Pope and the Emperor, for the Extirpation of Heresie: And that the Emperor was making War on him, and the other Princes, in pursuance of that League. Therefore he desired the Kings Assistance. But at the same time, the Emperor did by his Agents every-where disown, that the War was made upon a Religious Account: And said it was only to maintain the Rights of the Empire; which those Princes had affronted. So the King answered, that as soon as it did appear to him, that Religion was the cause of the War, he would Assist them. But that which made this so involved, was, That though at *Rome* the Pope declared it was a Holy War, and ordered Prayers and Processions to be made,

for Succeſs; yet the Emperor in all his Declarations took no notice of Religion: He had alſo divided the Proteſtant Party, ſo that ſome of them joyned with him, and others were Neutrals. And when in *Germany* it ſelf this matter was ſo little underſtood, it was eaſie to abuſe Strangers by giving them a wrong Account of it. 1547.

The Kings ſickneſs.

The King was now overgrown with corpulency and fatneſs, ſo that he became more and more unwieldy. He could not go up or down ſtairs, but as he was raiſed up, or let down by an Engine. And an old ſore in his Leg became very uneaſie to him; ſo that all the humors in his Body ſinking down into his Leg, he was much pained, and became exceeding froward and intractable, to which his inexcuſable ſeverity to the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Son may be in a great meaſure imputed. His Servants durſt ſcarce ſpeak to him, to put him in mind of his approaching end. And an Act of Parliament which was made for the ſecurity of the Kings Life, had ſome words in it againſt the Foretelling of his death; which made every one afraid to ſpeak to him of it: leſt he in his angry and imperious humors ſhould have Ordered them to be Endicted upon that Statute. But he felt nature declining apace, and ſo made the Will that he had left behind him at his laſt going into *France*, be written over again; with this only difference, That *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, whom he had appointed one of the Executors of his Will, and of the Councellors to his Son, till he came of Age, was now left out: Of which when Sir *Anthony Brown* put the King in mind apprehending it was only an Omiſſion, he anſwered, That he knew *Gardiners* temper well enough, and though he could Govern him, yet none of them would be able to do it; and that he would give them much trouble. And when *Brown* at another time repeated the motion to the King; he told him, if he ſpake more of that, he would ſtrike him out of his Will too. The Will was ſaid to be Signed the 30th of *December*. It is Printed at large by *Fuller*; and the moſt Material parts of it by *Heylin*. So I need ſay little of it, only the moſt ſignal Clauſe in it, was, That he excluded the Line of *Scotland* out of the Succeſſion, and preferred the two Daughters of the *French* Queen by *Charles Brandon* to them. And this leads me to diſcover ſeveral things concerning this Will, which have been hitherto unknown. I draw them from a Letter written to Sir *William Cecil*, then Secretary of State to Queen *Elizabeth*, (afterwards Lord *Burleigh*,) by *William Maitland* of *Leithingtoun* Secretary of State to the Queen of *Scotland*. This *Maitland* was accounted a man of the greateſt parts of any in his Nation at that time; though his Treachery in turning over to the Party that was againſt the Queen, very much blemiſhed his other Qualities: but he expiated his fault by a real Repentance; which appeared in his returning to his duty, and loſing all afterwards in her quarrel. His Letter will be found in the *Collection*. The Subſtance and deſign of it, is, to clear the Right his Miſtreſs had to the Crown of *England*: in caſe the Queen ſhould die without Heirs of her Body. Therein after he had anſwered other Objections, he comes to this of the Will. To it he ſays. "That according to the Act of Parliament, the Kings Will was to be Signed with his own hand; but "this Will was only Signed by the Stamp. Then the King never Or-

Collect. *Numb.* 30.

His latter will a Forgery

1542. "dered the Stamp to be put to it: He had been oft desired to Sign "it, but had always put it off; but when they saw his death approaching, one *William Clark* servant to *Thomas Hennage* put the Stamp "to it, and some Gentlemen that were waiting without, were called in to Sign it as Witnesses. For this he appeal'd to the deposition of the Lord *Paget*, and desired the Marquess of *Winchester*, "and *Northampton*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Henry Nevil*, Sir *Maurice Berkley*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Doctor *Buts*, and "some others, might be examined; and that their Depositions might "be entred in the Chancery. He also appealed to the Original Will, "by which it would appear, That it was not Signed, but only Stamped; and that not being according to the Act of Parliament, which "in such extraordinary things must be strictly taken, the Will was of no force. Thus it appears, what vulgar Errors pass upon the World. And though for seventy five years, the *Scotish* Race has enjoyed the Crown of *England*, and after so long a possession it is very superfluous to clear a Title which is universally acknowledged; yet the Reader will not be ill pleased to see how ill-grounded that pretence was, which some managed very seditiously during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, for excluding that Line.

But if this Will was not signed by the King, other Grants was certainly made by him on his death-bed: one was to the City of *London*, of 500 Marks a year for endowing an Hospital which was called *Christs Hospital*; and he order'd the Church of the *Franciscans* a little within *Newgate* to be opened, which he gave to the Hospital. This was done the 3d of *January*. Another was of *Trinity* Colledg in *Cambridg* one of the Noblest Foundations in Christendom. He continued in a decay till the 27 of the moneth; and then many signs of his approaching end appearing, few would adventure on so unwelcom a thing as to put him in mind of his change then imminent: but Sir *Anthony Denny* had the honesty and courage to do it, and desired him to prepare for death, and remember his former life, and to call on God for mercy through Jesus Christ. Upon which the King expressed his grief for the Sins of his past Life, yet he said he trusted in the mercies of Christ, which were greater than they were. Then *Denny* asked him if any Churchman should be sent for; and he said, if any, it should be Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*: and after he had rested a little, finding his Spirits decay apace, he ordered him to be sent for to *Croydon*, where he was then. But before he could come, the King was Speechless. So *Cranmer* desired him to give some sign of his dying in the Faith of Christ, upon which he squeezed his hand, and soon after died; after he had Reigned 37 years, and 9 months, in the six and fiftieth year of his age. His death was kept up three dayes, for the Journals of the House of Lords shew, that they continued reading Bills, and going on in business till the 31st. and no sooner did the Lord Chancellor signify to them that the King was dead, and that the Parliament was thereby dissolved. It is certain the Parliament had no being after the Kings breath was out; so their sitting till the 31st shews, that the Kings death was not generally known all those three dayes. The reasons of concealing it so long might either be, that they were considering what to do with the Duke of *Norfolk*, or that the *Seymours* were

were laying their matters, so as to be secure in the Government before they published the Kings Death. I shall not adventure on adding any further Character of him, to that which is done with so much Wit and Judgment by the Lord *Herbert*, but shall refer the Reader wholly to him; only adding an account of the blackest part of it, the Attaindors that passed the last 13 years of his life: which are comprehended within this Book, of which I have cast over the Relation to the Conclusion of it. 1547.

In the latter part of his Reign, there were many things that seem great severities, especially as they are represented by the Writers of the *Roman* party; whose relations are not a little strengthned by the faint excuses and the mistaken accounts, that most of the Protestant Historians have made. The King was naturally impetuous, and could not bear provocation; the times were very ticklish; his Subjects were generally addicted to the old Superstition, especially in the Northern parts; the Monks and Friers were both numerous and wealthy; the Pope was his implacable Enemy, the Emperor was a formidable Prince, and being then Master of all the *Netherlands*, had many advantages for the War he designed against *England*. Cardinal *Pole* his kinsman, was going over all the Courts of Christendom, to perswade a League against *England*; as being a thing of greater necessity and merit than a War against the *Turk*. This being, without the least aggravation, the state of affairs at that time, it must be confessed he was sore put to it. A Superstition that was so blind and headstrong, and Enemies that were both so powerful, so spiteful, and so industrious, made rigour necessary: nor is any General of an Army more concerned to deal severely with Spies and Intelligencers, than he was to proceed against all the Popes adherents, or such as kept correspondence with *Pole*. He had observed in History, that upon much less provocation than himself had given, not only several Emperors and forreign Princes had been dispossessed of their Dominions; but two of his own Ancestors *Henry* the 2d and King *John* had been driven to great extremities, and forced to unusual and most indecent submissions by the means of the Popes and their Clergy.

An account of the Kings severities against the Popish Party.

The Popes power over the Clergy was so absolute, and their dependence and obedience to him was so implicite; and the Popish Clergy had so great an interest in the superstitious multitude, whose consciences they governed, that nothing but a stronger passion could either tame the Clergy, or quiet the People. If there had been the least hope of impunity; the last part of his Reign would have been one continued Rebellion; therefore to prevent a more profuse effusion of blood, it seemed necessary to execute Laws severely in some particular instances.

There is one calumny that runs in a thread through all the Historians of the Popish side, which not a few of our own have ignorantly taken up, That many were put to death for not swearing the Kings Supremacy. It is an impudent falshood; for not so much as one person suffered on that account; nor was there any Law for any such Oath before the Parliament in the 28th year of the Kings Reign, when the unsufferable Bull of Pope *Paul* the 3d, engaged him to look a little more to his own safety. Then indeed in the Oath for maintaining

1547. ing the succession of the Crown, the Subjects were required under the pains of Treason, to swear that the King was supream head of the Church of *England*; but that was not mentioned in the former Oath that was made in the 25th, and enacted in the 26 year of his Reign. It cannot but be confessed, that to enact under pain of death that none should deny the Kings Titles, and to proceed upon that against offenders, is a very different thing, from forcing them to swear the King to be the Supream Head of the Church.

Some *Carthusian* executed for denying the Kings Supremacy.

The first instance of these Capital proceedings was in *Easter-Term*, in the beginning of the 27th year of his reign. Three Priors, and a Monk, of the *Carthusian* Order, were then endited of Treason, for saying, *that the King was not Supream head under Christ of the Church of* England. These were *John Houghton* Prior of the *Charter-house* near *London*, *Augustin Webster* Prior of *Axholme*, *Robert Laurence* Prior of *Bevoll*, and *Richard Reynolds* a Monk of *Sion*: this last was esteemed a learned man, for that time, and that Order. They were tried in *Westminster-Hall* by a Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*: they pleaded not guilty, but the Jury found them guilty, and judgment was given that they should suffer as Traitors. The Record mentions no other particulars; but the writers of the Popish side make a splendid recital of the courage and constancy they expressed both in their Tryal, and at their Death. It was no difficult thing for men so used to the Legend, and the making of fine stories for the Saints and Martyrs of their Orders, to dress up such Narratives with much pomp. But as their pleading *Not Guilty* to the Endictment, shews no extraordinary resolution, so the account that is given by them of one *Hall* a Secular Priest that died with them, is so false, that there is good reason to suspect all. He is said to have suffered on the same account; but the Record of his Attaindor gives a very different relation of it.

And *Hall* a Priest for conspiring against the King.

He, and *Robert Feron*, were endited at the same time for having "said many spiteful and Treasonable things, as that the King was a "Tyrant, an Heretick, a Robber, and an Adulterer; that they hoped "he should die such a death as King *John*, and *Richard* the 3d died; "that they looked when those in *Ireland* and *Wales* should invade *England*; and they were assured that three parts of four in *England* would "be against the King: they also said that they should never live merrily till the King and the Rulers were plucked by the Pates, and "brought to the Pot, and that it would never be well with the Church "till that was done. *Hall* had not only said this, but had also written it to *Feron* the 10th of *March* that year. When they were brought to the Bar, they at first pleaded Not Guilty; but full proof being brought, they themselves confessed the Enditement, before the Jury went aside, and put themselves on the Kings mercy: upon which, this being an imagining and contriving both War against the King, and the Kings death, judgment was given as in cases of Treason: but no mention being made of *Ferons* death, it seems he had his pardon. *Hall* suffered with the four *Carthusians* who were hanged in their habits.

Three other Monks Executed.

They proceeded no further in *Easter-Term*: but in *Trinity-Term* there was another Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, by which *Humphrey Middlemore*, *William Exmew*, and *Sebastian Nudigate*, three Monks of the

the *Charter-house* near *London*, were Endited of Treason, for having said on the 25 of *May* "that they neither could nor would con- 1535.
"sent to be obedient to the Kings Highness, as true lawful and obedi-
"ent Subjects; to take him to be Supream Head on Earth of the
"Church of *England*. They all pleaded *not-Guilty*, but were found Guilty by the Jury; and Judgment was given. When they were condemned, they desired that they might receive the body of Christ before their death. But (as Judge *Spelman* writ) the Court would not grant it, since that was never done in such cases but by Order from the King. Two dayes after that, they were Executed. Two other Monks of that same Order, *John Rochester*, and *James Wolver*, suffered on the same account at *York* in *May* this year. Ten other *Carthusian* Monks were shut up within their Cells; where nine of them dyed, the tenth was hanged in the beginning of *August*. Concerning those persons I find this said in some Original Letters, that they had brought over into *England*, and vented in it, some Books that were written beyond Sea, against the Kings Marriage, and his other proceedings, which being found in their house, they were pressed to peruse the Books that were written for the King, but obstinately refused to do it; they had also been involved in the business of the Maid of *Kent*, for which, though all the Complices in it, except those who suffered for it, were pardoned by Act of Parliament, yet such as had been concerned in it, were still under jealousie: and it is no wonder that upon new provocations they met with the uttermost rigor of the Law.

Fishers Tryal and death.

These Tryals made way for two others that were more Signal: of the Bishop of *Rochester*, and Sir *Thomas More*. The first of these had been a Prisoner above a year, and was very severely used: he complained in his Letters to *Cromwell*, that he had neither Cloaths, nor fire, being then about fourscore. This was understood at *Rome*, and upon it, Pope *Clement*, by an Officious kindness to him, or rather in spite to King *Henry*, declared him a Cardinal, and sent him a Red-hat. When the King knew this, he sent to Examine him about it; but he protested he had used no endeavours to procure it, and valued it so little, that if the Hat were lying at his feet, he would not take it up. It never came nearer him than *Picardy*: yet this did precipitate his ruin. But if he had kept his opinion of the Kings Supremacy to himself, they could not have proceeded further. He would not do that, but did upon several occasions speak against it, so he was brought to his Tryal on the 17th of *June*. The Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and some other Lords, together with the Judges, sate upon him by a Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*. He pleaded *not-Guilty*, but being found Guilty, Judgment was passed on him to die as a Traitor; but he was by a Warrant from the King, beheaded. Upon the 22d of *June*, being the day of his Execution, he dressed himself with more than ordinary care; and when his man took notice of it, he told him, he was to be that day a Bridegroom. As he was led to the place of Execution, being stopt in the way by the croud, he opened his new Testament, and prayed to this purpose; that, as that Book had been his companion and chief comfort in his imprisonment, so then some place might turn up to him, that might

comfort

1547. comfort him in his last passage: This being said, he opened the Book at a venture, in which these words of St. *Johns* Gospel turned up: *This is Life eternal to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.* So he shut the Book with much saisfaction, and all the way was repeating, and meditating on them. When he came to the Scaffold he pronounced the *Te Deum*, and after some other devotions his head was cut off.

His Character. Thus dyed *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, in the 80th year of his Age. He was a Learned and devout man, but much addicted to the superstitions in which he had been bred up: And that led him to great severities against all that opposed them. He had been for many years Confessor to the Kings Grand-Mother, the Countess of *Richmond*; and it was believed that he perswaded her to these Noble designs for the advancement of Learning, of Founding two Colledges in *Cambridge*, St. *Johns*, and *Christs Colledge*, and Divinity Professors in both Universities. And in acknowledgment of this, he was chosen Chancellor of the University of *Cambridge*. *Henry* the 7th gave him the Bishoprick of *Rochester*, which he, following the rule of the Primitive Church, would never change for a better; he used to say his Church was his Wife, and he would never part with her, because she was poor. He continued in great favour with the King, till the business of the Divorce was set on foot; and then he adhered so firmly to the Queens cause, and the Popes Supremacy, that he was carryed by that, headlong into great Errors; as appears by the business of the Maid of *Kent*: Many thought the King ought to have proceeded against him rather upon that, which was a point of State, than upon the Supremacy, which was matter of Conscience. But the King was resolved to let all his Subjects see, there was no Mercy to be expected by any that denyed his being Supream head of the Church; and therefore made him and *More*, two Examples for terrifying the rest. This being much censured beyond Sea, *Gardiner*, that was never wanting in the most servile complyances, wrote a vindication of the Kings proceedings. The Lord *Herbert* had it in his hands, and tells us it was written in elegant Latine, but that he thought it too long, and others judged it was too vehement, to be inserted in his History.

Mores Tryal and death. On the 1st of *July*, Sir *Thomas More* was brought to his Tryal. The special matter in his Endictment, is, that on the 7th of *May* preceeding, before *Cromwell*, *Bedyll*, and some others that were pressing him concerning the Kings Supremacy, he said he would not meddle with any such matter: and was fully resolved to serve God, and think upon his passion, and his own passage out of this World. He had also sent divers messages by one *George Gold* to *Fisher* to encourage "him in his obstinacy; and said, the Act of Parliament is like a "sword with two edges, for if a man answer one way, it will confound "his Soul, and if he answer another way, it will confound his Body. He had said the same thing on the third of *June*, in the hearing of the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*; and others; and that he would not be the occasion of the shortning his own Life. And when *Rich* the Kings Sollicitor came to deal with him further about it, but protested that he came not with any Authority to examine him,

VERA EFFIGIES THOMÆ MORI QVONDAM TOTIVS ANGLIÆ CANCELLARII DIGNISSIMI, ET. S.

H. Holbein pinxit. *R. White sculpsit.*

Natus 1482
Angliæ Can-
cellarius
1529



Capite trun-
catus An: 1535
July 6.to

Printed for Ric: Chiswell, at the Rose, and Crowne, in St. Pauls Churchyard.

they discoursed the matter fully; *Rich* pressed him, "that since the "Parliament had Enacted that the King was Supream Head, the Sub- "jects ought to agree to it, and said *Rich*, what if the Parliament "should declare me King, would you not acknowledge me? I would, "said *More*, *Quia* (as it is in the Indictment) *Rex per Parliamentum fieri* "*potest*, & *per Parliamentum deprivari*; but *More* turned the Argument " on *Rich*, and said, what if the Parliament made an Act that God "was not God; *Rich* acknowledged it could not bind: but replyed to "*More*, that since he would acknowledg him King, if he were made "so by Act of Parliament, why would he not acknowledg the King "Supream Head, since it was enacted by Parliament. To that *More* "answered, that the Parliament had power to make a King, and the "people were bound to acknowledg him, whom they made; but for "the Supremacy, though the Parliament had Enacted it, yet those in "forreign parts had never assented to it. This was carryed by *Rich* to the King, and all these particulars were laid together, and judged to amount to a denyal of the Supremacy. Judge *Spelman* writ, that *More* being on his Tryal, pleaded strongly against the Statute that made it Treason to deny the Supremacy, and argued that the King could not be Supream Head of the Church: When he was brought to the Bar, he pleaded not Guilty, but being found Guilty, judgment was given against him as a Traitor. He received it with that equal temper of mind, which he had shewed in both conditions of Life, and then set himself wholly to prepare for death; he expressed great contempt of the World, and that he was weary of Life, and longed for death; which was so little terrible to him, that his ordinary facetiousness remained with him even on the Scaffold. It was censured by many as light and undecent; but others said, that way having been so natural to him on all other occasions, it was not at all affected; but shewed that death did no way discompose him, and could not so much as put him out of his ordinary humour. Yet his rallying every thing on the Scaffold, was thought to have more of the Stoick than the Christian in it. After some time spent in secret devotions, he was beheaded on the 6th of *July*.

1535.

His Character.

Thus did Sir *Thomas More* end his days, in the 53d year of his age. He was a man of rare vertues, and excellent parts: In his youth he had freer thoughts of things, as appears by his *Utopia*, and his Letters to *Erasmus*; but afterwards he became superstitiously devoted to the interests and passions of the Popish Clergy: and as he served them when he was in Authority, even to assist them in in all their cruelties; so he employed his pen in the same cause, both in writing against all the new opinions in general, and in particular against *Tindal*, *Frith*, and *Barnes*, as also an unknown Writer, who seemed of neither party, but reprooved the corruptions of the Clergy, and condemned their cruel proceedings. *More* was no Divine at all, and it is plain to any that reads his writings, that he knew nothing of Antiquity; beyond the quotations he found in the Canon-Law, and in the Master of the sentences: (only he had read some of St. *Austins* treatises,) for upon all points of Controversie, he quotes only what he found in these Collections; nor was he at all conversant in the critical learning upon the Scriptures; but his peculiar excellency in writing, was, that he had a

1535. natural easie expression, and presented all the opinions of Popery with their fair side to the Reader, disguising or concealing the black side of them with great Art; and was no less dextrous in exposing all the ill consequences that could follow on the Doctrine of the Reformers: and had upon all occasions great store of pleasant tales, which he applyed wittily to his purpose. And in this consists the great strength of his Writings, which were designed rather for the Rabble, than for Learned men. But for justice, contempt of money, humility, and a true generosity of mind, he was an example to the Age in which he lived.

But there is one thing unjustly added to the praise of these two great men, or rather feigned, on design to lessen the Kings honour; that *Fisher* and he penned the book which the King wrote against *Luther*. This *Sanders* first published, and *Bellarmin* and others since have taken it up upon his Authority. Strangers may be pardoned such errors, but they are inexcusable in an *English* man. For in *Mores* printed works there is a Letter written by him out of the *Tower* to *Cromwel*, in which he gives an account of his behaviour concerning the Kings Divorce and Supremacy: among other particulars one is, "that "when the King shewed him his Book against *Luther*, in which he "had asserted the Popes Primacy to be of Divine right, *More* desir-"ed him to leave it out; since as there had been many contests be-"tween Popes and other Princes, so there might fall in some between "the Pope and the King; therefore he thought it was not fit for the "King to publish any thing, which might be afterwards made use of "against himself: and advised him either to leave out that point, or "to touch it very tenderly; but the King would not follow his coun-"sel, being perhaps so fond of what he had writ, that he would rather run himself upon a great inconvenience, than leave out any thing that he fancied so well written. This shews that *More* knew that Book was written by the Kings own pen; and either *Sanders* never read this, or maliciously concealed it, lest it should discover his foul dealing.

These Executions so terrified all people, that there were no further provocations given: and all persons either took the Oaths, or did so dextrously conceal their opinions, that till the Rebellions of *Lincolnshire*, and the North, broke out, none suffered after this upon a publick account. But when these were quieted, then the King resolved to make the chief Authors and Leaders of those Commotions publick examples to the rest. The Duke of *Norfolk* proceeded against many of them by Martial Law, there were also Tryals at common Law of a great many more that were taken Prisoners, and sent up to *London*. The Lords *Darcy* and *Hussie* were tryed by their Peers, the Marquis of *Exceter* sitting *Steward*. And a Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer* being issued out for the Tryal of the rest, Sir *Robert Constable*, Sir *John Bulmer* and his Lady, Sir *Francis Pigot*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, and Sir *Thomas Piercy*, and *Ask*, that had been their Captain; with the Abbots of *Whalley*, *Jerveux*, *Bridlington*, *Lenton*, *Woburn*, and *Kingstead*, and *Mackrall* the Monk, that first raised the *Lincolnshire* Rebellion, with sixteen more were Indicted of high Treason, for the late Rebellions. And after all the steps of the Rebellion were reckoned up, it is added

Attaindors after the Rebellion was quieted.

ded in the Indictment, that they had met together on the 17th of *January*, and consulted how to renew it, and prosecute it further, being encouraged by the new Risings that were then in the North; by which they had forfeited all the favour, to which they could have pretended, by vertue of the Indemnity that was granted in the end of *December*, and of the pardons which they had taken out. They were all found Guilty, and had judgment as in cases of Treason; divers of them were carryed down into *Lincolnshire*, and *Yorkshire*, and executed in the places where their Treasons were committed; but most of them suffered at *London*, and among others the Lady *Bulmer*, (whom others call Sir *John Bulmers* harlot) was burnt for it in *Smithfield*. 1537. Hall.

The only censure that passed on this, was, that advantages were taken on too slight grounds to break the Kings Indemnity and pardon: since it does not appear, that after their pardon they did any thing more than meet and consult. But the Kingdom was so shaken with that Rebellion, that if it had not been for the great conduct of the Duke of *Norfolk*, the King had by all appearance lost his Crown. And it will not seem strange that a King, (especially so tempered as this was,) had a mind to strike terror into the rest of his Subjects, by some signal Examples, and to put out of the way the chief leaders of that design: nor was it to be wondered at, that the Abbots and other Clergy-men who had been so active in that Commotion, were severely handled. It was by their means that the discontents were chiefly fomented; they had taken all the Oaths that were enjoyned them, and yet continued to be still practising against the State; which, as it was highly contrary to the peaceable Doctrines of the Christian Religion, so it was in a special manner contrary to the Rules which they professed; that obliged them to forsake the World, and to follow a Religious and Spiritual course of Life. Censures past upon it.

1538.

The next Example of justice was a year after this, of one *Forrest* an *Observant* Frier; he had been, as *Sanders* says, Confessor to Queen *Katharine*, but it seems departed from her interests; for he insinuated himself so into the King, that he recovered his good Opinion. Being an ignorant and lewd man, he was accounted by the better sort of that House, to which he belonged in *Greenwich*, a Reproach to their Order, (concerning this, I have seen a large account in an Original Letter written by a Brother of the same House.) Having regained the Kings good Opinion, he put all those who had favoured the Divorce under great fears, for he proceeded cruelly against them. And one *Rainscroft*, being suspected to have given secret Intelligence of what was done among them, was shut up, and so hardly used that he dyed in their hands, which was (as that Letter relates) done by Frier *Forrests* means. This Frier was found to have denyed the Kings Supremacy: for though he himself had sworn it, yet he had infused it into many in Confession, that the King was not the Supream Head of the Church. Being questioned for these practices, which were so contrary to the Oath that he had taken, "he answer-"ed, that he took that Oath with his outward man, but his inward "man had never consented to it. Being brought to his Tryal, and accused of several Heretical opinions that he held, he submitted him- *Forrests* equivocation and Heresie. Hall.

1538. ſelf to the Church. Upon this he had more freedom allowed him in the Priſon; but ſome coming to him diverted him from the Submiſſion he had offered; ſo that when the Paper of Abjuration was brought him, he refuſed to ſet his hand to it: upon which he was judged an Obſtinate Heretick. The Records of theſe Proceedings are loſt, but the Books of that time ſay, that he denyed the Goſpel; it is like it was upon that pretence, that without the determination of the Church it had no Authority, upon which, ſeveral writers of the Roman Communion have ſaid undecent and ſcandalous things of the holy Scriptures. He was brought to *Smithfield*, where were preſent the Lords of the Council, to offer him his pardon if he would abjure. *Latimer* made a Sermon againſt his errors, and ſtudyed to perſwade him to recant; but he continued in his former opinions, ſo he was put to death in a moſt ſevere manner. He was hanged in a chain about his middle, and the great Image that was brought out of *Wales*, was broken to pieces, and ſerved for fewel to burn him. He ſhewed great unquietneſs of mind, and ended his Life in an ungodly manner, as *Hall* ſays, who adds this Character of him, "that "he had little knowledg of God and his ſincere truth, and leſs truſt in "him at his ending.

The proceedings againſt Cardinal *Pools* friends.

In Winter that year a correſpondence was diſcovered with Cardinal *Pole*, who was barefaced in his Treaſonable deſigns againſt the King. His Brother Sir *Geofrey Pole* diſcovered the whole Plot. For which the Marqueſs of *Exceter*, (that was the Kings Couſin-german by his Mother, who was *Edward* the 4ths Daughter,) the Lord *Montacute*, the Cardinals Brother, Sir *Geofrey Pole*, and Sir *Edward Nevill*, were ſent to the *Tower* in the beginning of *November*. They were accuſed for having maintained a correſpondence with the Cardinal, and for expreſſing an hatred of the King, with a diſlike of his proceedings, and a readineſs to riſe upon any good opportunity that might offer it ſelf.

The ſpecial matter brought againſt the Lord *Montacute*, and the Marquis of *Exceter*, who were tryed by their Peers on the 2d and 3d of *December*, in the 30th year of this Reign, is, "that whereas Car"dinal *Pole*, and others, had caſt off their Alleageance to the King, "and gone and ſubmitted themſelves to the Pope the Kings mortal "enemy, the Lord *Montacute* did on the 24th of *July* in the 28th year "of the Kings Reign, a few months before the Rebellion broke out, ſay "that he liked well the proceedings of his Brother the Cardinal, but "did not like the proceedings of the Realm; and ſaid, I truſt to ſee a "change of this World; I truſt to have a fair day upon thoſe Knaves "that rule about the King; and I truſt to ſee a merry World one day. Words to the ſame purpoſe were alſo charged on the Marqueſs: the Lord *Montacute* further ſaid, "I would I were over the Sea with my "Brother, for this World will one day come to ſtripes: it muſt needs "ſo come to paſs, and I fear we ſhall lack nothing ſo much as honeſt "men: he alſo ſaid, he had dreamed that the King was dead, and "though he was not yet dead, he would die ſuddenly; one day his "Leg will kill him, and then we ſhall have jolly ſtirring; ſaying "alſo, that he had never loved him from his childhood, and that Car"dinal *Wolſey* would have been an honeſt man, if he had had an ho-

"neſt

"nest Matter. And the King having said to the Lords he would leave 1538.
"them one day, having some apprehensions he might shortly die, that
"Lord said, if he will serve us so, we shall be happily rid; a time
"will come, I fear, we shall not tarry the time, we shall do well e-
"nough. He had also said, he was sorry the Lord *Abergaveny* was
"dead, for he could have made ten thousand men; and for his part
"he would go and live in the West, where the Marquess of *Exceter*
"was strong: and had also said upon the breaking of the Northern
"Rebellion, that the Lord *Darcy* played the fool, for he went to pluck
"away the Council, but he should have begun with the head first,
"but I beshrew him for leaving off so soon. These were the Words charged on those Lords, as clear discoveries of their Treasonable designs; and that they knew of the Rebellion that brake out, and only intended to have kept it off to a fitter opportunity: they were also accused of Correspondence with Cardinal *Pole*, that was the Kings declared Enemy. Upon these points the Lords pleaded *not Guilty*, but were found Guilty by their Peers, and so Judgment was given.

On the 4th of *December* were Indicted Sir *Geofrey Pole*, for holding Correspondence with his Brother the Cardinal, and saying that he approved of his proceedings, but not of the Kings; Sir *Edward Nevill*, Brother to the Lord *Abergaveny*, for saying, the King was a Beast, and worse than a Beast; *George Crofts*, Chancellor of the Cathedral of *Chichester*, for saying, *the King was not, but the Pope was, Supream head of the Church*; and *John Collins*, for saying, *the King would hang in Hell one day for the plucking down of Abbeys*: All those, Sir *Edward Nevill* only excepted, pleaded *Guilty*, and so they were condemned; but Sir *Geofrey Pole* was the only person of the number that was not Executed, for he had discovered the matter. At the same time also, Cardinal *Pole*, *Michael Throgmorton* Gentleman, *John Hilliard* and *Thomas Goldwell* Clerks, and *William Peyto* a Franciscan of the Observance, were Attainted in Absence; because they had cast off their duty to the King, and had subjected themselves to the Bishop of *Rome*, *Pole* being made Cardinal by him; and for writing Treasonable Letters, and sending them into *England*. On the 4th of *February* following, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, that was both Master of the Horse, and Knight of the Garter, was Arraigned for being an adherent to the Marquess of *Exeter*, and having spoke of his Attaindor as unjust and cruel, he was also Attainted and Executed upon the 3d of *March*. When he was brought to the Scaffold, he openly acknowledged the errors and superstition in which he had formerly lived; and blessed God for his Imprisonment, "for he then began to relish
"the Life and sweetness of Gods holy Word, which was brought him
"by his Keeper, one *Phillips*, who followed the Reformation, and
"had formerly suffered for it. 1539.

After these Executions, followed the Parliament in the year 1539, in which not only these Attaindors that were already passed were confirmed, but new ones of a strange and unheard-of nature were Enacted. It is a blemish never to be washed off, and which cannot be enough condemned, and was a breach of the most sacred and unalterable Rules of Justice, which is capable of no excuse; it was the Attainting of some persons, whom they held in custody, without bringing

Some Attaindors without hearing the parties.

1539. bringing them to a Tryal. Concerning which, I shall add what the great Lord Chief Justice *Cook* writes, "although I question not the

4 Instit. 37. 38. "Power of the Parliament, for without question the Attaindor stands "of force in Law, yet this I say of the manner of proceeding, *Auferat Oblivio, si potest, si non utrumque silentium tegat*. For the more "high and absolute the Jurisdiction of the Court is, the more just "and honourable it ought to be in the proceedings, and to give Ex-"ample of Justice to inferior Courts. The chief of these were the Marchioness of *Exeter* and the Countess of *Sarum*. The special matter charged on the former, is, her confederating her self to Sir *Nicolas Carew* in his Treasons; to which is added, "that she had com-"mitted divers other abominable Treasons. The latter is said to have "confederated her self with her Son the Cardinal, with other aggra-"vating words. It does not appear by the Journal that any Witnesses were examined; only that day that the Bills were read the third time in the House of Lords, *Cromwell* shewed them a Coat of white silk, which the Lord Admiral had found among the Countess of *Sarums* Cloaths, in which the Arms of *England* were wrought on the one side, and the Standard that was carryed before the Rebels was on the other side. This was brought as an evidence that she approved of the Rebellion. Three *Irish* Priests were also Attainted for carrying Letters out of *Ireland*, to the Pope and Cardinal *Pole*, as also Sir *Adrian Fortescue* for endeavouring to raise Rebellion, *Thomas Dingley* a Knight of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*, and *Robert Granceter* Merchant, for going to several Forreign Princes, and perswading them to make War upon the King, and assist the Lords *Darcy* and *Hussie* in the Rebellion they had raised. Two Gentlemen, a Dominican Frier, and a Yeoman, were by the same Act Attainted, for saying that, *that venemous Serpent the Bishop of* Rome *was Supream Head of the Church of England*. Another Gentleman, two Priests, and a Yeoman are Attainted for Treason in general, no particular crime being specified. Thus sixteen persons were in this manner Attainted, and if there was any Examination of Witnesses for convicting them, it was either in the Star-Chamber, or before the Privy Council; for there is no mention of any evidence that was brought in the Journals: There was also much haste made in the passing this Bill: it being brought in the 10th of *May*, was read that day for the first, and second time, and the 11th of *May* for the third time. The Commons kept it five days before they sent it back, and added some more to those that were in the Bill at first; but how many were named in the Bill Originally, and how many were afterwards added, cannot be known. *Fortescue* and *Dingley* suffered the 10th of *July*. As for the Countess of *Sarum*, the Lord *Herbert* saw in a Record, that Bulls from the Pope were found in her House, "that she kept correspondence with her Son, and that she forbade "her Tenants to have the new Testament in *English*, or any other "of the Books that had been published by the Kings Authority. She was then about seventy years of Age, but shewed by the answers she made, that she had a vigorous and masculine mind. She was kept two years Prisoner in the *Tower*, after the Act had passed, the King by that reprieve designing to oblige her Son to a better behaviour; but upon a fresh provocation by a new Rebellion in the North, she was beheaded,

headed, and in her, the name and line of *Plantagenet* determined. 1540.
The Marchioness of *Exceter* died a natural death. In *November* this year were the Abbots of *Reading*, *Glossenbury* and *Colechester* Attainted of Treason, of which mention was made formerly.

In the Parliament that sate in the year 1540 they went on to follow that strange precedent, which they had made the former year. By the 56th Act *Giles Heron* was Attainted of Treason, no special matter being mentioned.

By the 57th Act, *Richard Fetherstoun*, *Thomas Abell*, and *Edward Pole* Priests, and *William Horn* a Yeoman were Attainted, for denying the Kings Supremacy, and adhering to the Bishop of *Rome*: by the same Act the Wife of one *Tirrell* Esquire was Attainted, for refusing her duty of Alleageance, and denying Prince *Edward* to be Prince and heir of the Crown; and one *Laurence Cook* of *Doncaster* was also Attainted for contriving the Kings death.

By the 58th Act, *Gregory Buttolph*, *Adam Damplip*, and *Edward Brindeholm* Clerks, and *Clement Philpot* Gentleman, were Attainted, for adhering to the Bishop of *Rome*, for corresponding with Cardinal *Pole*, and endeavouring to surprize the Town of *Callais*: By the same Act *Barnes*, *Gerard*, and *Jerome*, were Attainted, of whose sufferings an account has been already given.

By the 59th Act, *William Bird* a Priest, and Chaplain to the Lord *Hungerford* was attainted, for having said to one that was going to Assist the King against the Rebels in the North, "I am sorry thou goest, seest thou not how the King plucketh down Images and Abbies every day? and if the King go thither himself, he will never come home again, nor any of them all which go with him, and in truth it were pity he should ever come home again; and at another time upon ones saying, O good Lord, I ween all the World will be Hereticks in a little time: *Bird* said, doest thou marvel at that? I tell thee it is no marvel, for the great Master of all is an Heretick, and such a one as there is not his like in the World.

By the same Act the Lord *Hungerford* was likewise Attainted. "The Crimes specified are, that he knowing *Bird* to be a Traitor, did entertain him in his house as his Chaplain; that he ordered another of his Chaplains, Sir *Hugh Wood*, and one Doctor *Maudlin* to use Conjuring, that they might know how long the King should live, and whether he should be victorious over his Enemies or not; and that these three years last past he had frequently committed the detestable sin of Sodomy with several of his Servants: All these were Attainted by that Parliament. The Lord *Hungerford* was Executed the same day with *Cromwell*; he dyed in such disorder that some thought he was frenetick, for he called often to the Executioner to dispatch him, and said he was weary of Life, and longed to be dead, which seemed strange in a man that had so little cause to hope in his death. For *Powel*, *Fetherstoun*, and *Abell*, they suffered the same day with *Barnes* and his friends, as hath been already shewn.

This year *Sampson* Bishop of *Chichester*, and one Doctor *Wilson* were put in the *Tower*, upon suspition of correspondence with the Pope. But upon their submission they had their pardon and liberty. In the year 1541, five Priests and ten secular persons, some of them being Gen-

1535. tlemen of Quality, were raising a new Rebellion in *Yorkshire*; which was suppressed in time, and the Promoters of it being apprehended, were Attainted and Executed, and this occasioned the death of the Countess of *Sarum*, after the Execution of the Sentence had been delayed almost two years.

The last instance of the Kings severity was in the year 1543, in which one *Gardiner* that was the Bishop of *Winchesters* kinsman and Secretary, and three other Priests, were tryed, for denying the Kings Supremacy, and soon after Executed. But what special matter was laid to their charge, cannot be known, for the Record of their Attaindor is lost.

The Conclusion. These were the proceedings of this King against those that adhered to the interests of *Rome*: in which, though there is great ground for just censure, for as the Laws were rigorous, so the Execution of them was raised to the highest that the Law could admit; yet there is nothing in them to justifie all the clamors, which that party have raised against King *Henry*, and by which they pursue his memory to this day; and are far short, both in number and degrees, of the cruelties of Queen *Maries* Reign, which yet they endeavour all that is possible to extenuate or deny.

To Conclude, we have now gone through the Reign of King *Henry* the 8th, who is rather to be reckoned among the *Great* than the *Good* Princes. He exercised so much severity on men of both perswasions, that the writers of both sides have laid open his faults, and taxed his cruelty. But as neither of them were much obliged to him, so none have taken so much care to set forth his good qualities, as his Enemies have done to enlarge on his Vices: I do not deny that he is to be numbered among the *ill* Princes, yet I cannot rank him with the *worst*.

The End of the third Book and of the first Part.

A D-

ADDENDA.

After some of the sheets of this History were wrought off, I met with Manuscripts of great Authority, out of which I have Collected several particulars, that give a clear light to the proceedings in those times, which since they came too late to my knowledg to be put in their proper places, I shall here add them with references to the places to which they belong.

Ad Page 202. *line* 13.

THere it is said, that the Earl of *Wiltshire* Father to Queen *Anne Boleyn* was one of the Peers that Judged her.

In this I too Implicitly followed Doctor *Heylin*, he seeming to write with more than ordinary care for the Vindication of that Queen, and with such assurance, as if he had seen the Records concerning her, so that I took this upon trust from him. The reason of it was, that in the search I made of Attaindors, I did not find the Record of her Tryal; so I concluded, that either it was destroyed by Order during her Daughters Reign, or was accidentally lost since that time: And thus having no Record to direct me, I too easily followed the Printed Books in that particular. But after that part of this History was wrought off, I by chance met with it in another place where it was mislaid; and there I discovered the error I had committed. The Earl of *Wiltshire* was not one of her Judges; these by whom she was tryed were the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Exceter*, the Earls of *Arundell*, *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Westmoreland*, *Derby*, *Worcester*, *Rutland*, *Sussex*, and *Huntington*, and the Lords *Audley*, *Delaware*, *Mountague*, *Morley*, *Dacres*, *Cobham*, *Maltravers*, *Powis*, *Mounteagle*, *Clinton*, *Sands*, *Windsor*, *Wentworth*, *Burgh*, and *Mordant*: in all twenty six, and not twenty Eight as I reckoned them upon a Vulgar Error. The Record mentions one particular concerning the Earl of *Northumberland*, that he was taken with a sudden fit of sickness, and was forced to leave the Court before the Lord *Rochford* was Tryed. This might have been only Casual: but since he was once in Love with the Queen, and had designed to Marry her (see Page 44) it is no wonder if so sad a change in her Condition, did raise an unusual disorder in him.

When I had discovered the mistake I had made, as I resolved to publish this free Confession of it; so I set my self not without some Indignation to examine upon what Authority Doctor *Heylin* had led me into it. I could find no Author that went before him in it, but *Sanders*; the chief design of whose writing, was to defame Queen *Elizabeth*, and to blast her Title to the Crown. To that end it was no ill piece of his skill, to perswade the World of her Mother lewdness, to say, that her own Father was convinced of it, and condemn-

ed her for it. And Doctor *Heylin* took this, as he has done many other things, too easily upon *Sanders* Testimony.

Ad Page 217. *line* 37.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 1. The Articles of Religion of which an abstract is there set down, are indeed published by *Fuller*: but he saw not the Original, with all the Subscriptions to it; which I have had in my hands, and therefore I have put it in the Collection with three other Papers, which were soon after offered to the King by *Cranmer*.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 2. The one is in the form of fifteen queries, concerning some abuses by which the people had been deceived; as namely, by these Doctrines, that without Contrition sinners may be reconciled to God; that it is in the Power of the Priest, to pardon or not to pardon sin at his pleasure; and that Gods pardon cannot be obtained without Priestly Absolution. Also he complained that the people trusted to outward Ceremonies; and their Curates for their own gain, encouraged them in it. It was observed that the opinion of Clergy-mens being exempted from the secular Judge was ill grounded; that Bishops did ordain without due care and Tryal: that the Dignified Clergy misapplyed their Revenues, did not follow their first Institution, and did not reside upon their Benefices.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 3. And in fine he moves that the four Sacraments, which had been left undetermined by the former Articles, might be examined: the outward signs and actions, the promises made upon them, and the efficacy that was in them being well considered.

The second Paper consists of two Resolutions, made concerning Confirmation by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and *Stokesley* Bishop of *London* (by which I perceive the way of examining matters by giving out of questions to Bishops and Divines was sooner practised, then when I first tooknotice of it page 286.) there are several other Papers concerning Confirmation, but these are only Subscribed: and the rest do generally follow these two Prelates who were then the heads of two different parties. The Arch-Bishop went on this ground, that all things were to be tryed by the Scripture; but *Stokesley* and almost the whole Clergy, were for receiving the Tradition of the Church, as not much inferiour to the Scriptures, which he asserts in his Subscription.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 4. The third Paper was offered to the King by *Cranmer*, to perswade him to proceed to a further Reformation: that things might be long and well considered before they were determined, that nothing might be declared a part of Gods faith, without good proofs from Scripture: the departing from which rule had been the occasion of all the Errors that had been in the Church: that now men would not be led as they had been, but would examine matters: that many things were now acknowledged to be truths, such as the unlawfulness of the Popes Usurped Power, for which many had fotmerly suffered death. Whereupon he desires that some points might be Examined by Scrinture, as, whether there is a Purgatory, whether departed Souls ought to be Invocated, whether Tradition ought to be believed; whether there be any satisfaction besides the satisfaction of Christ, whether free will may

may dispose it self to grace, and whether Images ought to be kissed, or used to any other end, but as representations of a piece of History? In all these he desired the King would suspend his Judgment: and in particular, that he would not determine against the Lawfulness of the Marriage of the Clergy, but would for some time silence both parties. He also proposed that this point might by order from the King, be examined in the Universities before indifferent Judges: that all the Arguments against it, might be given to the Defenders twelve days before the publick disputation; and he offered, that if those who should defend the Lawfulness of Priests Marriage, were in the Opinion of indifferent Judges overcome, they should willingly suffer death for it; but if otherwise, all they desired was, that in that point the King might leave them in the liberty to which the Word of God left them.

Ad Page 249. *line* 18.

I have seen a much fuller paper concerning Orders and Ecclesiastical functions (which the Reader will find in the Collection) signed by *Cromwell*, the two Arch-Bishops and eleven Bishops, and twenty Divines and Canonists, Declaring that the Power of the Keys and other Church-functions is formally distinct from the Power of the Sword. That this Power is not absolute, but to be limited by the Rules that are in the Scripture; and is ordained only for the edification and good of the Church: that this Power ought to be still preserved, since it was given by Christ as the mean of reconciling sinners to God. Orders were also declared a Sacrament, since they consisted of an outward action instituted by Christ, and an inward grace conferred with them: But that all Inferiour Orders, *Janitors*, *Lectors*, &c. were brought into the Church to beautifie and adorn it, and were taken from the Temple of the *Jews*: And that in the New Testament there is no mention made but of Deacons or Ministers, and Priests or Bishops: nor is there belonging to Orders any other Ceremony mentioned in the Scripture, but Prayer and Imposition of hands. This was signed either in the year 1537 or 1538, since it is Subscribed both by *John Hilsey* Bishop of *Rochester*, and *Edward Fox* Bishop of *Hereford*, for the one was consecrated in 1537, and the other dyed in *May* 1538. Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 5.

On this Paper I will add two remarks, the one is, that after this I do never find the Inferiour Degrees under a Deacon mentioned in this Church; so it seems at this time they were laid aside. They were first set up in the Church about the end of the second or the beginning of the third Century, in the middle of which we find both *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*, and St. *Cyprian* mentioning them as Orders that were then established; and it seems they were designed as previous steps to the Sacred functions, that none might be Ordained to these, but such as had been long before separated from a secular state of Life, and had given good proofs of themselves in these lower degrees. But it turned in the Church of *Rome* to be only a matter of form; and many took the first Tonsure, that they might be exempted from the Secular Power, and be qualified for Commendams, and some other Worldly advantages to which these lower Orders were sufficient, by those Rules which the Canonists had brought in.

Another thing is, that both in this Writing and in the Necessary Erudition of a Christian man, Bishops and Priests are spoken of as one and the same Office. In the Antient Church they knew none of those Subtilties which were found out in the latter Ages. It was then thought enough that a Bishop was to be dedicated to his function by a new Imposition of hands, and that several Offices could not be performed without Bishops, such as Ordination Confirmation, *&c.* but they did not refine in these matters, so much as to enquire whether Bishops and Priests differed in Order and Office or only in degree. But after the Schoolmen fell to examine matters of Divinity with Logical and Unintelligible niceties, and the Canonists began to Comment upon the rules of the Ancient Church, they studied to make Bishops and Priests seem very near one another, so that the difference was but small. They did it with different designs. The Schoolmen having set up the grand Mystery of Transubstantiation, were to exalt the Priestly Office as much as was possible: for the turning the Host into God was so great an action, that they reckoned there could be no Office higher than that which qualified a man to so mighty a Performance: therefore as they changed the form of Ordination from what it was Anciently believed to consist in, to a delivering of the Sacred Vessels, and held that a Priest had his Orders by that rite, and not by the Imposition of hands; so they raised their Order or Office so high as to make it equal with the Order of a Bishop: But as they designed to extol the Order of Priesthood, so the Canonists had as great a mind to depress the Episcopal Order. They generally wrote for preferment, and the way to it was to exalt the Papacy. Nothing could do that so effectually as to bring down the Power of Bishops. This only could justifie the Exemptions of the Monks and Friers, the Popes setting up Legantine Courts, and receiving at first Appeals, and then Original causes before them; together with many other Encroachments on their Jurisdiction: All which were unlawful, if the Bishops had by Divine right, Jurisdiction in their Dioceses: Therefore it was necessary to lay them as low as could be, and to make them think that the Power they held, was rather as Delegates of the Apostolick See, than by a Commission from Christ or his Apostles: So that they looked on the declaring Episcopal Authority to be of Divine right, as a blow that would be fatal to the Court of *Rome*; and therefore they did after this at *Trent* use all possible endeavours to hinder any such Decision. It having been then the Common stile of that Age to reckon Bishops and Priests as the same Office, it is no wonder if at this time the Clergy of this Church, the greatest part of them being still leavened with the old superstition, and the rest of them not having enough of spare-time to examine lesser matters, retained still the former phrases in this particular.

On this I have insisted the more, that it may appear how little they have considered things, who are so far carryed with their zeal against the established Government of this Church, as to make much use of some passages of the Schoolmen and Canonists that deny them to be distinct Offices; for these are the very dregs of Popery, the one raising the Priests higher for the sake of Transubstantiation, the other pulling the Bishops lower for the sake of the Popes Supremacy, and by

by such means bringing them almost to an equality. So partial are some men to their particular conceits, that they make use of the most mischievous Topicks when they can serve their turn, not considering how much further these Arguments will run if they ever admit them.

Ad Page 255. *line* 28.

The Princes of *Germany* did always press the King to enter into a Religious League with them: the first League that was made in the year 1536 was conceived in general terms, against the Pope as the Common Enemy, and for setting up true Religion according to the Gospel: But they did afterwards send over Ambassadors to treat about particulars; and they having presented a Memorial of these, there were Conferences appointed between them and some Bishops and Divines of this Church. I find no Divines was sent over hither but *Frederick Miconius* Minister of *Gotha*, by whom *Melanthon*, who could not be spared out of *Germany*, sent several Letters to the King; the fullest and longest of them will be found in the Collection. It is all to this purpose, to perswade the King to go on vigorously in the Reforming of Abuses according to the word of God. The King sent over the particulars which they proposed in order to a perfect agreement, to *Gardiner* who was then at *Paris*: Upon which he sent back his Opinion touching them all; the Original of which, under his own hand I have seen, but it relates so much to the other Paper that was sent him, which I never saw, that without it his meaning can hardly be understood, and therefore I have not put it in the Collection. The main thing in it, at which it chiefly drives, is to press the King to finish first a Civil League with them, and to leave those particulars concerning Religion to be afterwards treated of. The King followed his advice so far as to write to the *German* Princes to that effect. But when the King declared his resolution to have the six Articles established, all that favoured the Reformation were much alarmed at it, and pressed their friends in *Germany* to interpose with the King for preventing it. I have seen an Original Letter of *Hains* Dean of *Exeter*, in which he laments the sad effects that would follow on that Act, which was then preparing; that all the Corruptions in the Church rose from the establishing some points without clear proofs from Scripture: he wished the *Germans* would consider of it, for if the King and Parliament should make such a Law, this was a President for the Emperor to make the like in the Diet of the Empire. Neither were the *German* Ambassadors backward in doing their friends in *England* all the service they could: for after they had held several conferences with these that were appointed by the King to treat with them; they finding they could not prevail with them, wrote a long and Learned Letter to the King, against the taking away the Chalice in the Sacrament, and against private Masses and the Celibate of the Clergy, with some other abuses which the Reader will find in the Collection, as it is Copied from the Original which I have seen. To this I have added the Answer which the King wrote to it: He employed *Tonstall* Bishop of *Duresm* to draw it, for I have seen a rude draught of a great part of it written with his hand. By

Collect. Addenda Numb. 6.

Collect. Addenda Numb. 7.

Collect. Addenda Numb. 8.

both

both these compared together, every indifferent Reader will clearly see the force and simplicity of the Arguments on the one hand, and the art and shuffling that was used on the other side. As soon as the Act was past, notwithstanding all their endeavours to the contrary, they in an Audience before the King, represented the great concern their Masters would have, when the King on whom they had relyed so much, as the Defender of the Faith, should proceed with the severity expressed in that Act, against those that agreed with them in Doctrine, and pressed the King earnestly to put a stop to the Execution of it. The King promised he would see to it, and that though he judged the Act necessary to restrain the Insolence of some of his Subjects; yet it should not be Executed but upon great provocation: he also proposed the renewing a Civil League with them, without mentioning matters of Religion. To this the Princes made answer, that the League as it was at first projected, was chiefly upon a design of Religion, and therefore without a common consent of all that were in their League, they could not alter it: they lamented this passing of the late Act, but writ their thanks to the King for stopping the Execution of it, and warn'd him that some of his Bishops, who set him on to these courses, were in their hearts still for all the old Abuses, and for the Popes Supremacy, and were pressing on the King to be severe against his best Subjects, that they might thereby bring on a design which they could not hope to effect any other way: they advised the King to beware of such Counsels. They also proposed that there might be a Conference agreed on between such Divines as the King would name, and such as they should depute, to meet either in *Gueldres, Hamburgh, Bremen,* or any other place that should be appointed by the King, to examine the Lawfulness of private Masses, of denying the Chalice, and the Prohibiting the Marriage of the Clergy. On these things they continued treating till the Divorce of *Anne* of *Cleve* and *Cromwells* fall, after which I find little Correspondence between the King and them.

Ad Page 256. line 4.

Collect. Addenda Numb. 9.

When I mentioned the Kings Letters, directing the Bishops how to proceed in a Reformation, I had not seen them, but I have since seen an Original of them subscribed by the Kings hand. In these he challenged the Clergy as guilty of great Indiscretions: that the late Rebellion had been occasioned by them; therefore he required the Bishops to take care, that the Articles formerly published should be exactly obeyed; and to go over their Dioceses in person, and preach Obedience to the Laws, and the good ends of those Ceremonies that were then retained, that the people might neither despise them, nor put too much trust in them: and to silence all disputes and contentions concerning things indifferent; and to signifie to the Kings Council, if there were any Priests in their Diocesses that were Marryed, and yet did discharge any part of the Priestly Office. All which, will be better understood by the Letter it self, that I have put into the Collection.

Ad

Ad Page 258. *line* 8.

I do there acknowledg that I knew not what Arguments were used against the necessity of Auricular Confession: But I have made since that time, a Considerable discovery in this particular, from an Original Letter written all with the Kings own hand to *Tonstal*; by which it appears, there had been conferences in the House, and that the Arch-Bishop of *York*, the Bishop of *Winchester* and *Duresm* had pleaded much for it, as necessary by a Divine Institution, and that both the King and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* had maintained, that though it was good and profitable, yet it was not necessary by any precept of the Gospel: and that though the Bishops brought several texts out of Scripture and Ancient Doctors, yet these were so clearly answered by the King, and the Arch-Bishop, that the whole House was satisfied with it: Yet *Tonstall* drew up in a writing all the reasons he had made use of in that debate, and brought them to the King, which will be found in the Collection, with the Anotations and reflections which the King wrote on the Margent, with his own hand, taken from the Original; together with the Kings Letter written in answer to them: By this it will appear that the King did set himself much to study points of Divinity, and examined matters with a scrupulous exactness. The issue of the debate was, that though the Popish party endeavoured to have got Auricular Confession declared to be Commanded by Christ, as a part of the Sacrament of Pennance; yet the King overruled that, so it was enacted that Auricular Confession *was necessary and expedient to be retained in the Church of God.* These debates were in the House of Lords, which appears not only by the Kings Letter, that speaks of the *House*, but by the Act of Parliament in the Preamble of which it is said, that the King had come himself to the Parliament, and had opened several points of high Learning to them.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 10.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 11.

Ad Page 262. *line* 23.

There I mention the Kings diligence in drawing an Act of Parliament with his own hand; but since that was Printed, I have seen many other Acts and Papers, if not Originally Penned by the King, yet so much altered by his Corrections, that in some sort they may be esteemed his draughts. There are two draughts of the Act of the six Articles, both corrected in many places by the King, and in some of these the Correction is three lines long. There is another Act concerning Precontracts of Marriage, likewise Corrected very much by his Pen. Many draughts of Proclamations, particularly these about the use of the Bible in *English* are yet extant interlined and altered with his Pen. There is a large Paper written by *Tonstall*, of arguments for Purgatory, with Copious Animadversions on it, likewise written by the King; which shew that then he did not believe there was a Purgatory. I have also seen the draught of that part of the Necessary Erudition for a Christian man, which explains the Creed, full of Corrections

with

with the Kings own Pen; as alſo the Queries concerning the Sacraments mentioned page 289. with large Annotations written with his hand on the Margent, likewiſe an Extract all written with his own hand of paſſages out of the Fathers againſt the Marriage of the Clergy: and to conclude there is a Paper with which the Collection ends, containing the true Notion of the Catholick Church, which has large Emendations added with the Kings hand, thoſe I have ſet by themſelves on the Margent of the Paper.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 12.

A

A TABLE OF THE CONTENTS OF THE HISTORY.

BOOK I.

A Summary View of King *Henry* the Eighth's Reign, till the Procefs of his Divorce was begun, in which the State of *England*, chiefly as it related to *Religion*, is opened.

BOOK II.

Of the Process of Divorce between King *Henry* and Queen *Katherine*, and of what passed from the 19th to the 25th year of his Reign, in which he was declared Supream Head of the Church of *England*.

Anno

Anno 1533.

Anno 1534.

BOOK III.

Of the other Transactions about Religion and Reformation, during the rest of the Reign of King *Henry* the 8th.

The

A COLLECTION OF RECORDS AND Original Papers;

With other

INSTRUMENTS

Referred to in the

Former Hiſtory.

I. *The Record of Card.* Adrian's *Oath of Fidelity to* Henry *the 7th, for the Bishoprick of* Bath *and* Wells.

HEnricus Rex, &c. Reverend. in Christo Patri Domino Sylvestro Episcop. Wigorn. venerabili viro Domino Roberto Sherbourn Ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli London. decano, nostris in Romana curia oratoribus, ac Magistro Hugoni Yowng Sacræ Theologiæ Professori, salutem. Cum omnes & singuli Archiepiscopi & Episcopi hujus nostri Inclyti Regni, quorum omnium nominationes, & promotiones, ad ipsas supremas dignitates, nobis attinent ex regali & peculiari quadam Prærogativa, atq; municipali, ac inveterata consuetudine, hactenus in hoc nostro Regno inconcusse & inviolabiliter observata, teneantur & astringantur, statim & immediate post impetratas Bullas Apostolicas, super eorundem promotione ad ipsam nostram nominationem, coram nobis & in præsentia nostra, si in hoc Regno nostro fuerunt, vel coram Commissarijs nostris, ad hoc sufficienter & legittime deputatis, si alibi moram traxerunt, non solum palam, publice, & expresse, totaliter cedere, & in manus nostras renunciare omnibus, & quibuscunq; verbis, clausulis, & sententiis in ipsis Bullis Apostolicis contentis, & descriptis, quæ sunt, vel quovis modo in futurum esse poterunt, præjudicialia, sive damnosa, nobis, hæredibusq; de corpore nostro legittime procreatis Angliæ regibus, Coronæ aut Regno nostro, juribus vel consuetudinibus aut Prærogativis ejusdem Regni nostri, & quoad hoc totaliter seipsos submittere & ponere in nostra bona venia & gratia; sed etiam juramentum fidelitatis & homagij ad Sancta Dei Evangelia, per eosdem respective corporaliter tacta, nobis facere & præstare: Cumq; nos ob præclara merita eximiasq; virtutes quibus Reverendissimum in Christo Patrem, Dominum Adrianum tituli Sancti Chrisogoni Presbyterum Cardinalem, abunde refertum conspicimus, obq; diuturnum & fidele obsequium per ipsum Cardinalem nobis factum & impensum, eundem ad Ecclesias Bathon. & Wellen. invicem unitas nominavimus & promovimus, qui idcirco & ob id quod in curia Romana continue moram trahit, non potest commode hujusmodi renunciationem & juramentum coram nobis personaliter facere & præstare: Hinc est quod nos de fidelitatibus vestris & provida circumspectione, ad plenum confidentes, dedimus, & concessimus, ac per præsentes damus & concedimus, vobis, tribus aut duobus vestrum, quorum præfatum Episcopum Wigorn. unicum esse volumus, plenam potestatem & autoritatem, vice & nomine nostris, hujusmodi renunciationem in manus vestras, & juramentum ad Sancta Dei Evangelia corporaliter tacta, juxta formam & verum tenorem, de verbo in verbum inferius descriptum, ab eodem Reverendissimo Domino Cardinali recipiendi, exigendi, & cum effectu præstari videndi; ipsumq; Cardinalem, ut hujusmodi renunciationem & juramentum per ipsum sic ut permittatis fiendum, & præstandum, manu & subscriptione suis signet, & muniat, requirendi, & ut ita fiat cum effectu videndi, literas quoq; & instrumenta publica super hujusmodi renunciatione, & juramento fieri petendi, & notarium sive notarios publicos, Treat. Rolls.

unum vel plures, ut ipsa instrumenta conficiant; Necnon testes qui tunc præsentes erunt, ut veritati testimonium perhibeant rogandi & requirendi, ipsaq; juramentum vel instrumenta taliter fienda, verum ordinem rei gerendæ, & renunciationis ac juramenti tenores in se continens vel continentia, nobis destinandi & transmittendi; Et generaliter omnia & singula faciendi, gerendi, & exercendi, quæ in prædictis & quolibet prædictorum necessaria fuerint, seu quomodolibet opportuna, ac quæ rei qualitas exigit & requirit, & quæ nos ipsi facere & exercere possemus si præsens & personaliter interessemus, etiam si talia forent quæ de se mandatum exigant magis speciale. Tenor Renunciationis sequitur & est talis: Ego Adrianus miseratione divina tituli Sancti Chrisogoni Presbyt. Cardinalis Episcopus Bathon. & Wellen. coram vobis Reverendo Patre Episcopo Wigorn. Domino Roberto Shurborno decano Sancti Pauli London. & Hugone Yowng in Theologia Professore, Commissariis ad hoc a serenissimo atq; excellentissimo Principe Domino, Henrico Dei Gratia Rege Angliæ, & Franciæ, & Domino Hiberniæ, ejus nominis septimo, Domino meo supremo, sufficienter & legittime deputatis, expresse renuncio, & in his scriptis manu & sigillo meis in præsentia notariorum & testium subscriptorum munitis, totaliter cedo omnibus & quibuscunq; verbis, clausulis & sententiis, in bullis Apostolicis mihi factis de prædict. Episcopat. Bathon. & Wellen. contentis & descriptis, quæ sunt vel quovis modo in futurū esse poterint præjudicialia sive damnosa præfato serenissimo Regi, Domino meo supremo, & hæredibus suis de corpore suo legittime procreatis Angl. Regibus, Coronæ aut Regno, sive Majestatis Juribus vel consuetudinibus, aut Prærogativis ejusdem Regni: & quoad hoc me integraliter submitto & pono in gratia suæ Celsitudinis, humillime supplicans suam Majestatem, dignetur mihi concedere temporalia dicti Episcopatus Bathon. & Wellen. quæ recognosco tenere a sua Majestate tanquam a Domino meo Supremo. Tenor Juramenti sequitur & est talis: Et ego idem Adrianus Cardinalis prædictus Juro ad hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia per me corporaliter tactu, quod ab hac die & in antea, vita mea naturali durante, ero fidelis & verus ligens, ac fidelitatem in ligencia mea pure & sincere servabo, fideleq; & verum obsequium secundum optimum posse meum faciam & impendam serenissimo Principi Henrico ejus nominis septimo, Dei Gratia Angl. & Fran. Regi ac Domino Hiber. Domino meo supremo, & hæredibus suis de corpore suo legittime procreatis Angl. Regibus, contra quascunq; personas, cujuscunq; status, gradus, præeminentiæ aut conditionis extiterint: nec quicquam faciam aut attemptabo fieri, ne aut attemptari consentiam, quod in damnum, incommodum, aut præjudicium, ipsius serenissimi Regis aut hæredum suorum prædictorum, jurium, libertatum, Prærogativarum, privilegiorum & consuetudinum sui incliti Regni, quovis modo cedere poterit; sed omne id quod jam scio, vel imposterum cognoscam inhonorabile, damnosum aut præjudiciale, suæ Serenitati, aut Regno suo, seu contrarium honori aut Serenitati suæ Majestatis, aut hæredum suorum prædictorum, non solum impediam ad extremum potentiæ meæ, sed etiam cum omni possibili diligentia id ostendam et significabo, ostendive aut significari faciam eidem serenissimo Regi, omni favore, metu, promisso aut Jurejurando cuicunq; personæ aut quibuscunq; personis cujuscunq; status, gradus, ordinis præeminentiæ conditionisve extiterunt, quod antehac per me factū aut interpositū seu imposterum fiendū aut interponendū, penitus sublato & non obstantibus. Honorem insuper suæ Majestati ad extremum potentiæ meæ

servabo,

servabo; Parliamentis quoq; & aliis Consiliis suæ Celsitudinis cum in ejus Regno fuero diligenter attendam; Consilium quod sua Serenitas per se seu literas aut nuncium suum mihi manifestabit, nemini pandam nisi iis quibus ipse jusserit: & si consilium meum super aliquo facto Majestas sua postulaverit, fideliter sibi consulam, & quod magis suæ Serenitati videbitur expedire, & conducere juxta opinionem & scire meum, dicam & aperiam, atque id si sua Serenitas mandaverit pro posse meo diligenter faciam. Causas insuper & negotia omnia suæ Serenitatis mihi commissa, seu imposterum committenda, in Curia Romana prosequenda, pertractanda & solicitanda, fideliter, accurate & diligenter, cum omnimoda dexteritate prosequar, pertractabo & solicitabo: Bullasq; & alias Literas Apostolicas validas & efficaces, in debita Juris forma, super eisdem causis & negotiis impetrare & obtinere absq; fraude, dolo aut sinistra quavis machinatione quantum in me erit, cum omni effectu enitar, operam dabo & conabor: ac easdem taliter expeditas, cum ea quam res expostulat diligentia, suæ Serenitati, transmittam aut per alios transmitti, tradi & liberari curabo, & faciam. Servitia quoq; & homagia pro temporalibus dicti Episcopatus, quæ recognosco tenere a sua Celsitudine tanquam a Domino meo supremo, fideliter faciam & implebo. Ita me Deus adjuvet & hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia. In cujus, &c. T.R. apud Westm. 13 die Octob.

Per ipsum Regem.

II. *Pope* Julius's *Letter to Archbishop* Warham *for giving K.* Henry *the 8th the Golden Rose.*

Julius Secundus Papa venerabili Fratri Guilielmo Archiepiscop. Cantuarien.

VEnerabilis Frater, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Charissimum in Christo Filium nostrum Henricum Angliæ Regem Illustrissimum, quem peculiari charitate complectimur, aliquo insigni Apostolico munere in hoc Regni sui primordio, decorandum putantes, mittimus nunc ad eum Rosam Auream, Sancto Chrismate delibutam, & odorifero Musco aspersam, nostrisq; manibus de more Romanorum Pontificum benedictam, quam ei a tua Fraternitate inter Missarum solemnia per te celebranda, cum cæremoniis in notula alligata contentis, dari volumus nostra & Apostolica benedictione. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris 5 April. 1510. Pontificatus nostri Anno septimo. Registrum *Warhami* Fol. 26.

Sigismundus.

The Note of the Ceremonies of delivering the Rose, referred to in the Letter, was not thought worthy to be put in the Register.

III. *A Writ for Summoning Convocations.*

REX, &c. Reverendissimo in Christo Patri Cantuarien. Archiepisc. totius Angliæ Primati & Apostolicæ sedis Legato, salutem. Quibusdam arduis & urgentibus negotiis, Nos, defensionem & securitatem *Tonst.* Regist. Fol. 33.

Ecclesiæ

Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem, tranquillitatem, & bonum publicum, & defensionem Regni nostri & subditorum nostrorum ejusdem concernentibus, vobis in fide & dilectione quibus nobis tenemini rogando mandamus, quatenus præmissis debito intuitu attentis & ponderatis, universos & singulos Episcopos vestræ Provinciæ, ac Decanos & Priores Ecclesiarum Cathedralium, Abbates, Priores & alios Electivos, Exemptos & non exemptos, necnon Archidiaconos, Conventus, Capitula, & Collegia, totumq; Clerum, cujuslibet Dioceseos ejusdem Provinciæ, ad conveniendum coram vobis in Ecclesia Sancti Pauli London. vel alibi prout melius expedire videritis, cum omni celeritate accommoda, modo debito convocari faciatis ad tractandum, consentiendum, & concludendum super præmissis, & aliis quæ sibi clarius proponentur, tunc & ibidem ex parte nostra. Et hoc, sicut Nos et statum Regni nostri, & honorem & utilitatem Ecclesiæ prædictæ diligitis, nullatenus omittatis. Teste meipso, &c. apud Westminst. 6. Feb. Anno Regni 14.

Warham *in his Writ of executing this Summons, prefixes the* 20*th of* April *for the day of their meeting.*

IV. *A Writ for a Convocation summoned by* Warham *on an Ecclesiastical account.*

Regist. *Fitz-Williams.*

WIllielmus permissione divina Cantuar. Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas & Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, venerabili confratri nostro Domino Ricardo Dei Gratia London. Episcopo, salutem & fraternam in Domino caritatem. Cum nuper Ecclesia Anglicana, quæ majorum nostrorum temporibus, multis ac magnis libertatibus & immunitatibus gaudere solebat, quorundam iniquorum hominum malitiis, & nequitiis fortiter fuerit inquietata & perturbata, qui omnia quæ a majoribus nostris sancte & pie, ob tranquillitatem dictæ Ecclesiæ, fuerunt ordinata ac sancita, vel prava & sinistra interpretatione prope subvertentes, vel personas Ecclesiasticas male tractantes, ac eas contemptui habentes, dictam Ecclesiam pene prostraverunt ac pedibus conculcarunt: Ne igitur dicta Ecclesia Anglicana ad calamitatem insignem seu ruinam ac jacturam, & quod absit, desolationem perveniat, quas diu eadem Ecclesia Anglicana per diversas personas, ut præfertur præ oculis suis Deum non habentes, nec censuras Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ timentes, sustinuit & sustinebat, prout de verisimili Reformatione non habita in futurum sustinere debeat; Nos prout tenemur, congruum remedium in hac parte providere cupientes, & ob id ipsum Prælatos & Clerum nostræ Cantuar. Provinciæ convocare volentes; Fraternitati vestræ igitur committimus & mandamus, quatenus omnes & singulos dictæ nostræ Cant. Ecclesiæ Suffraganeos infra nostram Provinciam constitutos, & absentium Episcoporum si qui fuerunt Vicarios in Spiritualibus generales, ac Diocesium vacantium Custodes Spiritualitatis, & Officiales citetis seu citari faciatis, peremptorie, & per eos Decanos & Priores Ecclesiarum Cath. ac singula Capitula eorundum, Archidiaconos, Abbates & Priores, Conventus sub se habentes, & alios Ecclesiarum Prælatos exemptos, & non exemptos, Clerumq; cujuslibet Dioceseos Provinciæ nostræ antedictæ, citari peremptorie & præmoneri

volumus

volumus & mandamus, Quod iidem Episcopi Suffraganei, nostri Vicarii Generales, Decani & Custodes sive Officiales, Abbates, Priores, Archidiaconi ac cæteri Ecclesiarum Prælati, exempti & non exempti, personaliter, & quodlibet Capitulum Ecclesiarum Cath. per unum de Capitulo graduatum, vel magis idoneum, dictiq; singuli Abbates, sive Priores, Conventus sub se habentes, nullo obstante impedimento legittimo, per unam Religiosam personam de Conventu graduatam si quæ sit, ceu alias per unam magis idoneam de eodem Conventu, Clerusq; cujuslibet Dioc. Provinciæ antedictæ per duos procuratores graduatos ejusdem Dioc. seu alias si non fuerunt, per duos sufficientiores & habiliores Dioc. in eorum Beneficiis realiter residentes, compareant coram nobis aut nostris in hac parte locumtenentibus, vel Commissariis si nos tunc (quod absit) impediri contigerit in Ecclesia Cathed. Sancti Pauli London. die Sabbat. viz. 26. mensis Januarii &c. Dat in Manerio nostro de Lambeth. primo die mensis Novembris Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo nono, & nostræ Translat. Anno sexto.

V. *The Preamble of the Act of Subsidy granted by the Clergy.*

Quum Illustrissimus & Potentissimus Dominus noster Rex Angliæ & Franciæ, Defensor Fidei & Dominus Hibern. semper extitit constantissimus Ecclesiæ Protector & Patronus optime meritus, atq; superioribus annis, in diebus fœlicis recordationis Julij ejus nominis Papæ secundi, grave Schisma in Ecclesia Romana exortum pacavit & extinxit; & postea ipsam Ecclesiam Romanam contra vim & potentiam Gallorum, qui tunc Italiam & Urbem Romanam in servitutem redigere moliebantur, validissimo excercitu & bello longe omnium sumptuosissimo fæliciter defendit, & securam reddidit: Ac præterea postremis his diebus Lutheranas, Hæreses, in Ecclesiæ Sacramenta Ecclesiæq; statum furiose debaccantes doctissimo & nunquam satis laudato libello contudit & superavit; vicissim tam gladio quam calamo hostes Ecclesiæ strenuissime profligans, quibus meritis suam clarissimam famam immortali gloriæ pariter consecravit, tales laudes & gratias sua incomparabili bonitate ab Ecclesia promeruit, quales nunquam satis dignas quisquam mortaliũ referre poterit sed Deus affatim persolvet præmia digna. Quumq; idem Rex noster & Protector illustrissimus a Rege Gallorum per Mare & per Terras, incolas hujus Regni contra percussum fœdus, promissam fidem, & suum ipsius salvum conductum assidue infestante, & Scotos contra Regnum hoc instigante ac suis stipendiis conducente, atq; ducem Albaniæ in perniciem principis Scotorum nostri Regis ex sorore Nepotis impellente, aliasq; injurias multas & graves contra Regiam Majestatem suosq; amicos & subditos quotidie multiplicante, provocatur, irritatur atq; urgetur ut bellum suscipiat, suumq; Regnum tam contra Gallos quam contra Scotos ut decet invictissimum Principem potenter defendat; non enim ultra pacem colere vel pacem longius expectare convenit postquam Rex Gallorum summum Pontificem bene moventem, & quæ pacis sunt suadentem, audire recusat, exercitum instruens & bellum apparans, fortassis in multos annos duraturum: dignissimum est ob præfata tam præclara facinora, ut sicut Rex noster illustrissimus plus cæteris Regibus antecessoribus suis pro Ecclesiæ defensione, utilitate & honore insudavit, & plus expensarum sustinuit; ita ad sustinenda

Anno Dom. 1523. Regist. Cuthberti Tonstall. Folio 40.

nenda bellorum onera imminentia, pro Ecclesiæ & totius Regni hujus defensione, per Ecclesiam tali subsidio adjuvetur quale anterioribus Regibus nunquam antehac concessum est, nec fortassis posterioribus Regibus unquam simile, nisi ob talia benefacta vel extremam bellorum necessitatem postea concedetur. Quocirca ut Regia Majestas ad fovendam & protegendam Ecclesiam, & Clerum Angliæ, magis indies animetur, & ut jura, libertates & privilegia Ecclesiæ concessa benigne Ecclesiæ servet, & ab aliis servari faciat, & ne præfata benefacta in ingratos contulisse videatur.

NOs Prælati & Clerus Cant. Provinciæ in hac Sacra Synodo Provinciali sive Prælatorum & Cleri ejusdem Convocatione, in Ecclesia Cathed. Divi Pauli London. vicesimo die mensis Aprilis Anno Dom. millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo tertio inchoata, ac usq; ad & in decimum quartum diem mensis Augusti proxime ex tunc sequentis de diebus in dies continuata, congregati, Illustrissimo Domino Regi perpetuo & potentissimo Fidei & Ecclesiæ defensori, subsidium dare & concedere Decrevimus, quam nostram Benevolentiam ut gratam & acceptam habeat humillime deprecamur, protestantes expresse, quod per præsentem concessionem, quam tanquam novam & ante insolitam pro nostra singulari & personali in Regiam Majestatem observantia sine exemplo donamus, omnino nolumus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ aut successoribus nostris in aliquo præjudicium generari, nec casum hunc singularem ad sequen. trahi: Quod si præsentem Concessionem pro exemplo & (ut vocant) pro Præsidente ad similes unquam Concessiones exigendas accipiendam fore præsentiremus, certe in eam omnino consentire recusassemus; quandoquidem subsidium sub modis, formis, conditionibus, exceptionibus ac provisionibus, & protestatione super & infrascriptis, & non aliter, neq; alio modo, Damus & Concedimus, viz. Subsidium se extendens ad Medietatem sive mediam partem valoris omnium fructuum reddituum, & proventuum, possessionum, unius anni, omnium & singulorum Episcopatuum, Ecclesiarum Cathed. & Collegiatarum, Dignitatum, Hospitalium, Monast. Abbaciarum, Prioratuum aliarumq; domorum Religiosarum, necnon quorumcunq; beneficiorum & Possessionum Ecclesiasticarum, &c.

VI. *Bishop* Tonstal's *Licence to Sir* Thomas More *for reading Heretical Books.*

Regist. *Tonst.* Fol. 138.

CUthbertus permissione Divina London. Episcopus Clarissimo & Egregio viro Domino Thomæ More fratri & amico Charissimo Salutem in Domino & benedict. Quia nuper, postquam Ecclesia Dei per Germaniam ab hæreticis infestata est, juncti sunt nonnulli iniquitatis Filii, qui, veterem & damnatam hæresim Wyckliffianam & Lutherianam, etiam hæresis Wycliffianæ alumni transferendis in nostratem vernaculam linguam corruptissimis quibuscunq; eorum opusculis, atque illis ipsis magna copia impressis, in hanc nostram Regionem inducere conantur; quam sane pestilentissimis dogmatibus Catholicæ fidei veritati repugnantibus maculare atq; inficere magnis conatibus moliuntur. Magnopere igitur verendum est ne Catholica veritas in totum periclitetur nisi boni &

& eruditi viri malignitati tam prædictorum hominum strenue occurrant, id quod nulla ratione melius & aptius fieri poterit, quam si in lingua Catholica veritas in totum expugnans hæc insana dogmata simul etiam ipsissima prodeat in lucem. Quo fiet ut Sacrarum Litterarum imperiti homines in manus sumentes novos istos Hæreticos Libros, atq; una etiam Catholicos ipsos refellentes, vel ipsi per se verum discernere, vel ab aliis quorum perspicacius est judicium recte admoneri & doceri possint. Et quia tu, Frater Clarissime, in lingua nostra vernacula, sicut etiam in Latina, Demosthenem quendam præstare potes, & Catholicæ veritatis assertor acerrimus in omni congressu esse soles, melius subcisivas horas, si quas tuis occupationibus suffurari potes, collocare nunquam poteris, quam in nostrate lingua aliqua edas quæ simplicibus & ideotis hominibus subdolam hæreticorum malignitatem aperiant, ac contra tam impios Ecclesiæ supplantatores reddant eos instructiores: habes ad id exemplum quod imiteris præclarissimum, illustrissimi Domini nostri Regis Henrici octavi, qui Sacramenta Ecclesiæ contra Lutherum totis viribus ea subvertentē asserere aggressus, immortale nomen Defensoris Ecclesiæ in omne ævum promeruit. Et ne Andabatarum more cum ejusmodi larvis lucteris, ignorans ipse quod oppugnes, mitto ad te insanas in nostrate lingua istorū nænias, atque una etiam nonnullos Lutheri Libros ex quibus hæc opinionū monstra prodierunt. Quibus abs te diligenter perlectis, facilius intelligas quibus latibulis tortuosi serpentes sese condant, quibusq; anfractibus elabi deprehensi studeant. Magni enim ad victoriam momenti est hostium Consilia explorata habere, & quid sentiant quove tendant penitus nosse: nam si convellere pares quæ isti se non sensisse dicent, in totum perdas operam. Macte igitur virtute, tam sanctum opus aggredere, quo & Dei Ecclesiæ prosis, & tibi immortale nomen atq; æternam in Cœlis gloriam pares: quod ut facias atque Dei Ecclesiam tuo patrocinio munias, magnopere in Domino obsecramus, atq; ad illum finem ejusmodi libros & retinendi & legendi facultatem atq; licentiam impertimur & concedimus. Dat. 7 die Martii, Anno 1527 & nostræ Consf. sexto.

Ad Librum Secundum.

I. *The Bull for the King's Marriage with Queen* Katherine.

Julius Episcopus servus servorum Dei, dilecto Filio Henrico carissimi in Christo Filii Henrici Angliæ Regis illustriss. Nato, & dilectæ in Christo Filiæ Catharinæ, Carissimi in Christo Filii nostri Ferdinandi Regis, ac Carissimæ in Christo Filiæ nostræ Elizabeth. Reginæ Hispaniarum & Siciliæ Catholicorum natæ, illustribus, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Romani Pontificis præcellens Autoritas concessa sibi desuper utitur potestate, prout personarum, negotiorum & temporum qualitate pensata, id in Domino conspicit salubriter expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte vestra petitionis series continebat, Quod cum alias tu Filia Catharina, & tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus, Carissimi in Christo Filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis illustrissimi primogenitus, pro conservandis pacis & amicitiæ nexibus & fœderibus inter carissimum in Christo Filium nostrum Ferdinandum, & Carissimam in Christo Filiam *Cott. lib. Vitel. B.12.*

nostram Elizabeth. Hispaniarum & Siciliæ Catholicos, ac præfatum Angliæ Reges & Reginam, matrimonium per verba legitime de præsenti contraxissetis, illudq; carnali Copula forsan consummavissetis, Dominus Arthurus prole ex hujusmodi Matrimonio non suscepta decessit; Cum autem, sicut eadem petitio subjungebat, ad hoc ut hujusmodi vinclum Pacis & Amicitiæ inter præfatos Reges & Reginam diutius permaneat, cupiatis Matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præsenti contrahere, supplicari nobis fecistis, ut vobis in præmissis de opportunæ Dispensationis gratia providere de benignitate Apostolica dignaremur: Nos igitur, qui inter singulos Christi fideles, præsertim Catholicos Reges & Principes, Pacis & Concordiæ amænitatem vigere intensis desideriis affectamus, vosque & quemlibet vestrum a quibuscunque Excommunicationis, Suspensionis & Interdicti aliisque Ecclesiasticis Sententiis, Censuris, Pænis, a jure vel ab homine, quavis occasione vel causa latis, si quibus quomodolibet innodati existitis, ad effectum præsentium duntaxat consequendum, harum serie absolventes, & absolutos fore censentes hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, vobiscum, ut impedimento affinitatis hujusmodi ex præmissis proveniente, ac Constitutionibus & Ordinationibus Apostolicis cæterisq; contrariis nequaquam obstantibus, Matrimonium per verba legitime de præsenti inter vos contrahere, & in eo, postquam Contractum fuerit, etiamsi jam forsan hactenus de facto publice vel clandestine contraxeritis, ac illud Carnali Copula consummaveritis, licite remanere valeatis, Auctoritate Apostolica tenore præsentium de specialis dono Gratiæ Dispensamus; ac vos & quemlibet vestrorum si contraxeritis (ut præfertur) ab excessu hujusmodi, ac Excommunicationis Sententia quam propterea incurristis, eadem Auctoritate Absolvimus, Prolem ex hujusmodi Matrimonio, sive contracto, sive contrahendo, susceptam forsan vel suscipiendam legitimam decernendo. Proviso quod tu (Filia Catharina) propter hoc rapta non fueris; volumus autem quod si hujusmodi Matrimonium de facto contraxistis, Confessor, per vos & quemlibet vestrum eligendus, pænitentiam salutarem propterea vobis injungat, quam adimplere teneamini. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ Absolutionis, Dispensationis & voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire; si quis autem hoc attemptare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei ac Beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo tertio, septimo Cal. Januarii, Pontificatus nostri Anno primo.

II. *The King's Protestation against the Marriage.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitell. B.* 12.

IN Dei Nomine, Amen. Coram vobis Reverendo in Christo Patre & Domino, Domino Richardo Dei & Apostolicæ sedis gratia Episcopo Wintoniensi, Ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps, Dux Cornubiæ & Comes Cestriæ, dico, allego & in his Scriptis propono, Quod licet ego minorem ætatem agens, & intra annos pubertatis notorie existens, cum Serenissima Domina Katharina Hispaniarum Regis Filia, Matrimonium de facto contraxerim, qui quidem Contractus, quamvis obstante ipsa minore ætate mea de se jam invalidus, imperfectus, nullus efficaciæ aut vigoris extiterit; quia tamen annis pubertatis & matura ætate jam supervenientе, Contractus ipse per tacitum Consensum, mutuam cohabitationem, munerum aut intersignium dationem seu receptionem, vel alium quem-

quemcunq; modum jure declaratum, forsan existimari seu videri poterit apparenter validatus aut confirmatus; Ea-propter, Ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps prædictus, jam proximus pubertati existens, & annos pubertatis attingens, Protestor, quod non intendo eundem prætensum contractum per quæcunq; per me dicta seu dicenda, facta aut facienda, in aliquo approbare, validare, seu ratum habere, sed nunc in præsenti, non vi, dolo, nec prece inductus, sed sponte & libere, nullo modo coactus, contra hujusmodi Contractum reclamo, & eidem dissentio, voloq; & omnino intendo ab eodem contractu Matrimoniali prætenso, melioribus modo & forma, quibus de jure melius, validius, aut efficacius potero vel possim, penitus resilire, & eidem expresse dissentire, prout in præsenti contra eundem reclamo, & eidem dissentio. Protestorq; quod per nullum dictum, factum, actum, aut gestum per me, aut nomine meo per alium quemcunque, quandocunq; aut qualemcunque, imposterum faciendum, agendum, gerendum, aut explicandum, volo aut intendo in præfatum contractum Matrimonialem, aut in dictam Dominam Catharinam tanquam Sponsam aut Uxorem meam consentire. Super quibus vos omnes testimonium perhibere volo, requiro, rogo, atque obtestor.

Per me Henricum Walliæ Principem.

Lecta fuit & facta suprascripta Protestatio, per præfatum Serenissimum Principem Dominum Henricum, coram Reverendo in Christo Patre & Domino Domino Richardo permissione Divina Winton. Episcopo, Judicialiter pro tribunali sedent. Et me Notarium infra scriptum ad tunc præsentem in ejus Actorum Scribam in hac parte assumente, & Testium infrascriptorum præsentiis. Anno Dom. 1505. Indictione octava, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris & Domini nostri Julii, Divina Providentia eo nomine Papæ secundi Anno secundo, Mensis vero Junii die 27; quo die Dominus Serenissimus Princeps proximus pubertati, & annos pubertatis attingens erat, ut tunc ibidem asserebat, in quadam bassa Camera infra Palatium Regium Richemondiæ, in parte occidentali ejusdem Palatii situat. Super quibus omnibus & singulis, præfatus Serenissimus Princeps me Notarium præmemoratum Instrumentum conficere, & testes infra nominatos testimonium perhibere requisivit instanter, & rogavit. In quorum omnium & singulorum fidem & testimonium, præfatus Serenissimus Princeps supra, & testes, ut præmittitur, rogati & requisiti, sua nomina propriis manibus infra scripserunt. Ita est ut supra, quod ego Joannes Raed manu & signo meo manuali Attestor.

Giles Daubney, C. Somerset.
Thomas Rowthale.
Nicholas West.
Henry Marny.

III. *Cardinal* Wolsey's *first Letter to Sir* Gregory Cassali, *about the Divorce. Taken from the Original.*

Cotton libr. *Vitellius* B. 9.

DOmine Gregori, Post meam cordatissimam Commendationem, post ultimum vestrum a me discessum ex compendio ad vos scripsi, ut ob nonnullas maximi momenti causas procurare differretis quod de Regiæ Majestatis negotio in quibusdam nobis traditis Commissionibus continebatur, quoad rursus vobis significarem quid ea in re fieri vellemus. Ubi vero ad Regiam Majestatem rediissem, variis crebrisq; cum ea habitis sermonibus, adeo abunde ac distincte illi aperui quam ex animo ac diligenter, & quam sincere & ex fide, diu noctuque exoptetis eidem Regiæ Majestati inservire; neque ullum unquam laborem, periculum aut molestiam vos velle recusare, ut omni studio ac viribus id fideliter præstare possitis quod illi gratum aut acceptum quoquo modo esse [illegible]se cognoveritis, omnemq; industriam vos esse adhibituros quo vestræ fidei curæque commissa optatum finem consequantur; quem vestrum animum propensissima voluntate sic sub mea fide Regiæ Majestati insinuavi, ut meam hanc relationem atque sponsionem pectori suo constantissime adfixerit, certissimaque fiducia concepit, omnino futurum ut nostræ tunc expectationi quacunque in re & occasione respondeatis: Ex quo fit ut vestræ operæ, curæ atque prudentiæ ea nunc tractanda & procuranda committat, quibus nihil magis cordi habeat, nihil ardentius exoptet, aut majoris sit momenti vel gravioris successius, nec ullum habet Consiliarium, utcunque intimum, cui graviora possit committere. Quum itaque, me intercedente & procurante, nunc vos Regia Majestas præ cæteris ad hoc fidei adsciverit & elegerit, ut in re tam gravi fidelissima vestra opera ac ministerio utatur, fidemque illi meam de vobis jam ei adstrinxerim, nihil ambigens quin postquam ejus animum ac voluntatem cognoveritis, fueritisque abunde instructi quam maximi hæc quæ nunc expono sunt momenti, utpote quæ potissimum concernunt Regiæ conscientiæ exonerationem animæque suæ salutem, vitæ conservationem & incolumitatem, Regii Stemmatis continuationem, publicumque commodum & quietem subditorum omnium, eorum pariter qui sub ejus imperio nunc vivunt vel qui postea unquam in hoc suo Regno vivent; quumque perspiciam sedulum vestrum Ministerium hoc in negotio impendendom omnino redundaturum esse in præcipuam vestram exaltationem & utilitatem, postquam infelices istos jam passos successus occasionem se obtulisse videtis; qua vestra familia hujusmodi operam huic Serenissimo Principi navare possit, quod statum omnem vestrum in longe meliorem quam antea sit haud dubie restituturus & adaucturus, certissimum compertissimumque habeo, quod ob has tam urgentes causas & tam graves successuros effectus, adeo toto pectore vires omnes vestras industria ac studio tantæ conficiendæ rei addicetis, ut omnia queatis ad optatum exitum perducere; atque ita promissum fidemque meam præstabitis, tam optimum Regiæ Majestatis institutum juvabitis, ejus desiderio & expectationi omni ex parte satisfacietis, & præter bene peractæ rei honorem & laudem comparandam, mercedem quoque reportabitis tanti Principis liberalitate dignam, quæ certissime cedet in perpetuum vestrum totiusque vestræ familiæ commodum & incrementum: Et quum jam mihi persuadeam futurum

rum

rum omnino ut officiis actionibusque vestris sitis promissis sponsionibusque meis omnino satisfacturi, ad id pluribus verbis neutiquam adhortabor, proinde ad rem nunc ipsam venio. Ante hoc tempus vobis aperui, quemadmodum Regia Majestas, partim assiduo suo studio & eruditione, partim relatu ac judicio multorum Theologorum, & in omni Doctrinæ genere doctorum virorum asseveratione, existimans conscientiam suam non esse sufficienter exoneratam, quod in conjugio existeret cum Regina, Deumque primo & ante omnia ac animæ suæ quietem & salutem respiciens, mox vero suæ Successionis securitatem, perpendensque accurate quam gravia hinc mala provenirent, aperte sentit quam maxime futurum sit Deo molestum, inhonorificum sibi, & ingratum apud homines, suisque subditis periculosum, ex hoc non sufficienti conjugio, si deprehendatur dicta Majestas sciens ac volens in eo perstare, & vivere præter modum debitum, juxtaque ritum & legitima Ecclesiæ Statuta: quibus igitur ex causis longo jam tempore, intimo suæ conscientiæ remorsu, summique Dei [illegible]tionem habens, existimat animam suam læsam & offensam, adeo quod, quum in suis conatibus actionibusque quibuscunque Deum potissimum sibi semper proponat, ingenti cum molestia cordisque perturbatione in hoc Matrimonio degit; super qua re maturum sanumque judicium consuluit clarissimorum celeberrimorumq; Doctorum aliorumq; complurium in omni eruditionis genere excellentiorum virorum ac Prælatorum, partim Theologorum, partim Jurisperitorum, tum in suo Regno, tum alibi existentium, ut aperte vereq; cognosceret, an Dispensatio antea concessa pro se & Regina, ex eo quod Regina Fratris sui uterini Uxor antea extiterit, valida & sufficiens foret, necne; demumq; a variis multisq; ex his Doctoribus asseritur, quod Papa non potest dispensare in primo gradu affinitatis, tanquam ex jure Divino, moraliter, naturaliterq; prohibito, ac si potest, omnes affirmant & consentiunt quod hoc non potest, nisi ex urgentissimis & ardius causis, quales non subfuerunt, Bulla præterea Dispensationis fundatur & concessa est sub quibusdam rationibus falso suggestis & enarratis, in ea namq; asseritur, quod hæc Regia Majestas Matrimonium hoc cum Regina percupiebat, pro bono pacis inter Henricum septimum Ferdinandū & Elizabetham, quum revera nulla tunc dissensio aut belli suspicio esset inter dictos Principes, vel Regiam Majestatem prædictam, quæ in teneris adhuc annis, nec in discretione aut judicio constitutis agebat; nunquam deinde assensit, aut quicquam cognovit de hujusmodi bullæ Impetratione, nec unquam hoc Matrimonium optavit, aut aliquid de eo accepit ante bullæ Impetrationem. Quocirca ab his omnibus Doctoribus atq; Prælatis judicatur hujusmodi Dispensationem non adeo validam & idoneam esse ac efficacem, ut prædictum Matrimonium manifeste justum legitimumq; sit; sed potius quod multa possunt objici, magnis probabilibusq; fundata & corroborata rationibus, in non leve periculum Regiæ prolis, totiusq; Regni ac subditorum gravem perturbationem. Adhæc, postquam Regia Majestas, qui Walliæ Princeps tunc erat, decimum quartum annum attigisset, contractus Revocatio subsequuta est, Rege Patre expresse nolente quod hujusmodi Matrimonium ullo pacto sortiretur effectum. His causis Rex hic Serenissimus, tanquam bonus & Catholicus Princeps, timens ne ob tam diuturnam cum Regina continuationem, indignatus & iratus Deus citius ex humanis evocaverit Masculam e Regina susceptam prolem, graviusq; a Deo supplicium expavescit si in Matrimonio

trimonio

trimonio hoc non-legitimo perseveraverit; ex hac ideo occasione, intimis præcordiis hunc Conscientiæ scrupulum concepit; in animo nihilominus habens, pro animi conscientiæq; suæ quiete & salute, prolisq; securitate, ad Sanctam Domini nostri sedemq; Apostolicam confugere, tantæ rei remedium impetraturus confidens, quod ob complura sua erga eam merita & officia tum calamo ingeniiq; viribus, tum armis præstita, subsidia in Ecclesiæ calamitatibus prompte subministrata, Sanctissimus Dominus noster non gravabitur sua benignitate, Authoritate ac facultate, intimum hunc Regiæ Majestatis cordi inhærentem dolorem amovere, eumq; modum ac rationem inire qua Regia Majestas prædicta Uxorem aliam ducere, &, Deo volente, masculam prolem in suæ successionis securitatem queat ex ea suscipere, & tam certam quietem in suo Regno constituere: Quumq; ejus Sanctitas ab his nunc captiva detineatur, qui pro virili sua forsan conabuntur impedire, turbareq; hoc Regiæ Majestatis desiderium & Statutum, ipsa præterea cogitur vias omnes excogitare, quibus dicta Sanctitas de hac re dexterius & commodius instrui, & facilius adduci queat ad ea concedenda, quorũ medio & vigore Regiæ Majestatis animus & desiderium queat optatum sortiri effectum: Proinde ipsa Regia Majestas de fide, industria, dexteritate prudentiaq; vestra plenissime confidens, vult ut statim his literis acceptis, rebus aliis omnibus quibuscunq; ab eo vel a quovis alio vobis commissis omnino posthabitis, vias modosq; omnes possibiles excogitetis quibus potestis secretissime, mutato habitu & tanquam alicujus Minister, vel tanquam Commissionem habens a Duce Ferrariæ pro nonnullis inter Pontificem & eum componendis controversiis, vel alia qua licuerit securiori via, ad Pontificis præsentiam & colloquium accedendi, omnibus arbitris semotis, si fieri possit, pro vestris obeundis mandatis; quorum obtinendorum gratia, si ita expedire judicaveritis, eam mercedem ac pecuniarum summam promittetis ac tradetis, his qui revera volent atq; poterunt hoc negotium ad effectum pertrahere, quam summam, & ejus limitationem, judicio, prudentiæque vestræ integram Regia Majestas remittit; etiam si his danda foret qui Pontificem asservant, vel cuicunq; alio qui vos tuto ad secretum cum sua Sanctitate Sermonem adducere, in locumq; tutum reducere posset: Cujus rei gratia, aliisq; ad hunc finem consequendum sustinendis oneribus necessariis, pecuniæ ad summam decem mille ducatorum, per Mensarios Venetias transmittentur, qui illic in promptu aderunt, persolvendæ & consignandæ Prothonotario Fratri vestro, Regio illic existenti Oratori; per eumq; de tempore in tempus ad vos transmitti ea summa poterit quam huic obtinendo negotio conducere posse existimaveritis, nihilq; ambigo quin dictam pecuniam fideliter collocetis, ex Regiæ Majestatis utilitate, expectatione atq; sententia. Atq; ubi ad Sanctum Dominum nostrum accesseritis, post filiales & cordatissimas Regiæ Majestatis measq; devotas & humillimas commendationes, & post exhibitas a Rege Credentiæ literas, in quibus in negotii adjumentum clausula vehemens est propria ejus manu conscripta, ut ex earum exemplo cognoscetis, ejus Sanctitati exponetis quam grave, molestumq; Regiæ Majestati & mihi sit, audire infælicissimos eventus, calamitatemq; miserandam, in qua nunc ejus Sanctitas cum Reverendiss. Cardinalib. versatur, cum gravissimo detrimento irreparabiliq; sedis Apostolicæ illiusq; Patrimonii jactura, ad quæ mala sublevanda & corrigenda nullum in Regia Majestate officium desiderabitur, quod ab ullo erga Sanctam Domini nostri vel sedem Apostolicam

ſtolicam obſervantiſſimo Principe queat excogitari ; in eoq; omne meum miniſterium ac ſtudium non minus promptum aderit, quam ſi ex ea re ſolum poſſem mihi cœlum comparare : quemadmodum experientia, aliqua in parte, jam docuit, & Deo duce poſthac uberius comprobabit : quam rem copioſius optimiſq; verbis agetis, præſertim, quum ſciatis quanto & quam ſincero affectu Regia Majeſtas ejus Sanctitatem proſequatur, & quanta mea ſit in ipſam devotio, in hiſque ſermonibus inſiſtetis prout loci, temporis, negociique ratio videbitur judicio veſtro poſtulare.

Secundo, Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro ſolita veſtra dexteritate aperietis id quod in his ipſis literis ad vos ſcripſi concernens hujus Matrimonii inſufficientiam, ab hiſq; rationibus & cauſis fundamentum capietis, quæ ſuperius enarrantur integrumq; diſcurſum ejus Sanctitati declarabitis, non omittentes intrinſecum dolorem, conſcientiæ ſcrupulum, Dei rationem, Maſculæ prolis reſpectum, hujus Regni bonum, & alia omnia ut ſuperius ſcripta ſunt : addentes inſuper, nihil vehementius optari a tota Regni Nobilitate, ſubditiſq; omnibus nullo diſcrimine, quam è Regiæ Majeſtatis corpore Maſculum hæredem a Deo ſibi dari, in perpetuam conſolationem, gaudium, quietem, ac totius Regni ſecuritatem, poſteritatiſq; firmiſſimum columen ; prudentiorumq; opinionem eſſe, quod Deus omnipotens a tanto bono concedendo divinam ſuam manum ſubſtrahit, ob errorem, culpamq; in dicto Matrimonio hactenus admiſſam, quæ niſi mature corrigatur, graviora ex hac occaſione in hoc Regno mala ſuccedent, quam antea unquam fuerunt audita ; etenim ſi hoc negotium in ſuſpenſo & indiſcuſſum relinqueretur, hujuſmodi poſſent quæſtiones, controverſiæ & contentiones ac factiones poſt defunctum Regem exoriri, ob Regni hæreditatem, quæ non poſſent in multorum ævo reſtingui, ut antea olim ex cauſa longe leviori accidit, neq; ex re tam ambigua, tam ſævæ olim depopulationes, bella, inteſtinæq; controverſiæ exortæ, & ad multum tempus continuatæ ſunt, in extremum & ferme ultimum Regni excidium ; quæ quum tam gravia ſunt, Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter veluti pater & gubernator Chriſtianitatis proſpicere ex officio debet, & quibuſcunq; modis poteſt, pro viribus adniti & conari, ut hæc Regna ac dominia quæ nunc ſuper-ſunt in fide & obedientia Eccleſiæ aſſidue contineat, inter quæ, Deo ſit laus, hoc Regnum haud recenſendum eſt inter minima ſed tanquam illud quod hactenus juvavit, & poſthac pro tuto præſidio ſemper haberi poterit, adverſus ea quæ cedere poſſent in Eccleſiæ Catholicæ vel ſanctæ fidei detrimentum.

Tertio, Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro proponetis præſentem Eccleſiæ ſtatum, rogabitiſq; ut in mentem velit redigere, quo nunc in ſtatu ſuæ Sanctitatis res cum Chriſtianis Principibus verſentur, cumq; privatæ contentiones, quæ illi ſunt cum magna eorum principum parte, addita & ambitione immoderatoq; regum appetitu & ex arbitrio ſuo, Temporale jus omne atq; Spirituale tractandi, Eccleſiaſticamq; Juriſdictionem & Authoritatem invertendi, eo certe animo ut ſedis Apoſtolicæ dignitatem extinguant ; his omnibus in unum connexis ac bene conſideratis, ejus Sanctitas manifeſte cognoſcet, Principem nullum, neq; portum, aut refugium tam tutum, cui in omnem eventum queat inhærere, ſibi relictum eſſe, quam hæc Regia Majeſtas eſt quæ nihil ſibi vendicat, nil ambit, quod præjudicio eſſe poſſit dictæ Sanctitati, ſed ejus, Apoſtolicæque

que ſedis, ſemper fuit, eſt, eſſeq; decrevit firmiſſimum ſcutum, tutiſſi-
mumq; propugnaculum, ita ſuas actiones cum cæteris Principibus fir-
mans & connectens, ut ſemper ex ea occaſione in ſuam hanc optimam
ſententiam reliquos poſſit attrahere, adeo quod Regi tam optime in
Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum affecto nihil denegari debeat, utcunq;
maximum quod poſſit ab ejus Sanctitate præſtari ordinaria vel abſoluta
ſua Authoritate; nam procul dubio, poſt vias modoſq; omnes tentatos,
omnino perſpicietur omnia alia amicitiæ officia, ſi huic quod petitur
comparentur, eſſe perquam exigua, & hoc amicum officium hujuſmodi
futurum, ex quo reliqua queant incrementum capere, ſine eo futura
alioquin parvi ac nullius fere momenti.

Tertio, probe notandum eſt, quod res nunc aperta & petita, a Re-
giaq; Majeſtate tantopere optata, ex tam magno conſcientiæ ſcrupulo,
cordiſq; remorſu oritur, ut unicuiq; debita ſit, quantumcunq; minori
quam Regia Majeſtas ſit de Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro merito. Quo-
circa judicat, & pro re comperta ſibi perſuadet, quod ſi ulla merito-
rum vel officiorum ratio habeatur, nunc ipſius Sanctitas huic ſuo de-
ſiderio & petitioni benigniſſime liberrimeque adjuvet, nullo pror-
ſus dubio, difficultate, contradictione aut mora injecta. Negotiumque
hujuſmodi eſt, ut cognita Diſpenſationis inſufficientia, quamvis id
non requiſiviſſet Rex, ultro proponi offerrique debuiſſet ab eadem San-
ctitate tanquam a Patre Spirituali, in ejus ſalutis & conſcientiæ benefi-
cium.

In gratiam igitur & contemplationem præmiſſorum omnium inſtan-
tiſſime vehementiſſimeq; a Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro requiretis &
contendetis, ut dubio, metuq; omni ſepoſito, reſpicere velit ad cauſæ
ſtatum, & ad ea quæ ſubſequutura videantur, rationemq; habere infi-
nitorum commodorum, quæ ex hac re ſuæ Sanctitati Apoſtolicæq; ſedi
inde provenient, rem hanc ſtatim, abſq; temporis tractu, & cauſæ cir-
cumſtantia, nemini eam aperiens, libere concedere & indulgere nulliq;
communicata ſpecialem Commiſſionem ad hunc effectum & finem con-
fectam in forma Brevis concedere, & ad me dirigere, Facultatem ad-
dens, ut mihi liceat quoſcunq; voluero ad me vocare, mihiq; aſciſcere
ad procedendum in hac cauſa, & inquirendum de dictæ Bullæ ac Di-
ſpenſationis ſufficientia, juxta formam ac tenorem expreſſum in quodam
libello hujus rei gratia confecto; quem cum his ad vos mitto, ſic in de-
bita forma conſcriptum & digeſtum ut non ſit futurum opus quo denuo
ab ullo alio exſcribatur, ſi forſan periculoſum putaretur eam rem cuiq;
patefacere vel in dubium aut dilationem protractum iri negotium, ſi ulli
ex Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri officiariis committeretur rurſus conſcriben-
dum; ſed quod in hujuſmodi periculi eventum poſſit ejus Sanctitas ſine
ullo diſcrimine vel alicujus cognitione eam dicto libello ſignaturam, ſi-
gillumq; apponere, ut aperte inde conſtet, Pontificis meram volunta-
tem ſic eſſe, illiuſq; Signaturæ ac Sigilli vigore, legitime & ſufficienter
poſſim ego procedere ad inquiſitionem de dictæ Diſpenſationis inſuffici-
entia, cognitionem & aliarum cauſarum & rationum, quæ adduci poſ-
ſunt pro dicti Matrimonii invaliditate.

Item cum his ad vos mitto Diſpenſationem in debita forma confectam
& ſcriptam in modum Brevis, ſecreto impetrandam & expediendam ei-
dem Signaturam vel Sigillum apponendo, vel alio quovis modo vali-
do: Et quamvis ex hac re multa pendeant, ob quæ iſta requiruntur, &

quæ,

quæ, Deo favente, neutiquam timenda sunt; Attamen Regia Majestas exemplo innitens, & recordationi complurium rerum, quæ olim præteritis temporibus fuerunt injuste asserta, vel adducta, in animo habens causas suas omnes absq; ulla controversia aut difficultate ad perfectum finem perducere, & ne ullo quovis prætextu, argumento aut colore, postmodum emergente perturbarentur, hoc a Sanctissimo Domino nostro requirit, veluti rem necessariam, qua nullo pacto carere queat; firmiter confidens, quod Sanctitas sua, benigne atq; amanter isti ejus desiderio assentiet, & concedet sine ullo obstaculo dictam Commissionem, juxta formam quam Regia Majestas petit & eodem tempore, atq; hæc omnia ita benigne ac liberaliter expedire, secretiori & validiori quo fieri possit modo, quo optatus finis subsequi possit in eum effectum, laudabileque propositum, de quo superius dictum est; Qua ex occasione Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum in perpetuum sibi adstringet, indissolubiliq; amicitiæ vinculo hanc Regiam Majestatem sibi alligabit, quæ nulli labori, periculo, opibus, Regno, subditis, nec ipsi sanguini parcens, ab ejus Sanctitate nunquam divelletur aut eam deseret, sed totis suis viribus constantissime semper illi adhærebit, tum in suæ Sanctitatis & Cardinalium liberationem, tum in hostibus persequendis; ad quem finem, magnam jam pecuniarum summam ad Regem Christianissimum misit, pro illo Italiæ exercitu continuando, & præter id in animo statutum habet, quod nisi Cæsar de dicta Sanctitate liberanda consentire, & ad pacem devenire voluerit, bellum gerere adversus has inferiores Cæsaris Regiones & Dominia, quo vehementius urgeat Sanctissimi Domini nostri liberationem, Ecclesiæq; in pristinam suam dignitatem & authoritatem restitutionem, eaq; de se indicia exhibebit ut universo orbi manifestum sit futurum, dictam suam Majestatem esse solidum perfectum amicum, filium obsequentissimum & ejus devotissimum; a qua pectoris sui sententia, nullo thesauro, nullis opibus, nullis Regnis, seu Ditionibus, vel occasione quacunq; unquam adducetur, sed ex filiali sua observantia & in Christianam Religionem zelo, innatoq; erga sedem Apostolicam studio, & præcipuo quodam affectu, quem Sanctissimo Domino nostro gerit: in compensationem quoq; gratitudinis, quam tam avide in hoc suo negotio ab ejus Sanctitate expectat, decretum prorsus habet in constantissimo hoc & indissolubili amicitiæ & conjunctionis vinculo sincerissimo perstare, id quod dicta Regia Majestas Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum vehementissime rogat, ut probe velit in omnem partem librare, vicissemq; efficere, ut ex Regiæ petitionis indulgentia palam constet parem benevolentiam & humanitatem a Sanctissimo Domino nostro ex mutuo præstari.

Hac autem causa ipsius Sanctitati a vobis, ut dictum est, exposita & declarata, neutiquam dubitandum est, quin benevole atq; libenter statim adnuat Regiæ Majestatis expectationi & quod huic assentiet, dictam Commissionem secreto modo ipsa concedens, neminem de ea re ut dictum est, participem faciens; qui modus servandus est, si videritis hæc effici non posse, nisi cum periculo quin hæc res eis communicetur, qui eam sint interturbaturi, vel si id præstare fuerit in Sanctissimi Domini nostri arbitrio, tunc ejus Sanctitas non gravetur, per Brevia, vel per Bullas, prout validius & magis sufficiens fore judicaverit, præmissa omnia concedere, ad quod vestram omnem industriam, prudentiam, studium, diligentiamq; adhibebitis: Sic omnia prudenter ac circumspecte agentes,

ne in discrimen deveniatur negotium hoc his detegendi, qui illud vel impedire vel retardare forsan voluerint aut poterint, sed potius quam ad id periculi res deducatur contenti eritis sola dictorum libellorum Signatura, in eam formam confecta, quum ex ea palam constet, Pontificis assensum in id actualiter concurrisse, qui postea recentioribus scriptis, si ita opus fuerit, firmius confirmari corroborariq; poterit.

Et quoniam incertum est, utrum ante vestrum ad Pontificem accessum, ejus Sanctitas fuerit in suam libertatem restituta, necne, quæ forsan libera non tanti faciet Regiæ Majestatis amicitiam & conjunctionem, vel allegabit, se nec audere nec posse, ex suis cum Cæsare conventionibus ista concedere, nec secreto ullo modo, vel ullo colore, quod ea in re fecisset apud Cæsarem justificare, & potuisset antea in Regiæ Majestatis auxilio pro sua liberatione sperans, dum adhuc detineretur captivus; eo casu Sanctissimo Domino nostro in mentem redigetis, quam parum fidere possit ullis sibi factis a Cæsare promissis, quum nulla in parte redundare possit in commodum aut securitatem, sed solum in extremum excidium ac detrimentum sedis Apostolicæ; & licet ad breve tempus multa videretur Cæsar in ejus Sanctitatis gratiam facturus, compertissimum tamen semper Pontifici esse debet Cæsarianos ea facere, semperq; facturos, quæ Cæsarem possint exaltare, & tendant ad usurpationem potius & depressionem status Ecclesiastici, quam ad ejus continuationem, vel conservationem; & quotiens adversus Ecclesiam ista tentarentur, Regia Majestas in hac sua petitione passa repulsam, quæ alioquin ejus Sanctitati in omnem eventum firmissime adhæsisset, & alios suos confœderatos in eandem sententiam pertraxisset, quam, ea deficiente, in contrarium facile possent allici, quo animo futura sit, & quam bene suum affectum & observantiam collocasse existimatura: summæ est prudentiæ omnia considerare.

Haud incognitum præterea est Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum ad Cæsaris instantiam, quum non multam ab ejus Sanctitate gratiam promeritus esset, ei concessisse Dispensationem & Absolutionem a jurejurando ab illo præstito, de ducenda in Conjugem Domina Principissa, nullo ut par fuisset a Regia Majestate habito, seu petito consensu, non obstante quod Cæsar in validissima forma, non solum præstito jurejurando, sed cautione & Ecclesiasticarum censurarum & pænarum abhibita, quod perstringeretur de dicto Matrimonio perimplendo, ac si Pontifex contentus esse potuit, tantam ei ostendere gratitudinem, quum veluti hostis indies certior tunc poterat haberi, & qui majora parabat quam juste posset optare, suis petitionibus, Regia Majestate inconsulta, neutiquam parcens, quanto propensius ejus Sanctitas adnuere debet ejus Principis voto, cujus fidem & observantiam vere filialem sæpe experta est. Verum tamen si Sanctissimus Dominus noster difficulter visus fuerit posse adduci, ut in meam Personam dictæ Commissioni assentiat, allegans quod non sum indifferens, cui ex suæ Sanctitatis honore hoc negotium committi possit, cum Regiæ Majestati sum subditus & intimus Consiliarius, tunc tamdiu persistetis ea in re, quoad vobis visum fuerit conveniens, negotii expeditionem non ideo protrahentes, aut differentes, sed instantes ut hujusmodi Commissio concedatur; affirmabitisq; me pro re nulla quantumlibet grandi, nullo favore, aut commodo, quicquam effecturum esse, quod aversetur officio meo, & erga Christum præstitæ professioni, neq; unquam a recto, vero, justoq; tramite digressurum; Et quin Cardina-

lis,

lis sim & Apostolicæ sedis de latere Legatus, ejus Sanctitatis honor, integraque conscientia, a me omnino conservaretur, ex hujusmodique concessa Commissione, omni ex parte exoneraretur. Tandem si ad hoc, nullis rationibus Pontifex potuerit adduci, ab ejus Sanctitate requiretis ut dictam velit Commissionem concedere in personam Domini Staphylei Decani Rotæ, qui & vir indifferens est, & hujusmodi rei ob eruditionem accommodatus, nullo pacto omittentes Dispensationis expeditionem, ut dictum est; & hujus rei gratia Commissionem nunc ad vos mitto, in debita forma confectam & paratam, quæ signetur ad dictum Dominum Staphyleum directa, quam Sanctissimo Domino nostro reddetis; casu quo alia nequeat obtineri, rogabitisq; ut cum dicta Dispensatione eam velit concedere. Et quoniam fieri possit quod dum fieret mentio de me excipiendo, forsitan ejus Sanctitas aliquem alium quam Dominum Staphyleum nominaret, ad quem Commissio hujusmodi dirigeretur, hoc vero in loco tenacissime insistetis, firmiterq; inhærebitis ei rei, nec in alium aliquem virum exterum ullo pacto consentientes, sed solum pro eodem Domino Staphyleio instantes, ejus Sanctitatem summis precibus vehementissime rogantes, & rationibus omnibus suadentes, ne alium ullum nominare velit, asserentes quod quum in Instructionibus vestris non contineatur, nec de alio ullo fiat mentio, nisi illo, me recusato, iterum atq; iterum ab eadem Sanctitate petetis, ut nomine hujus Auditoris Rotæ hæc fiat & expediatur commissio, vos nec audere nec posse vobis præscriptos fines transgredi.

De Regii vero desiderii ac petitionis frustratione super dicta Commissione obtinenda, diretis unum & idem esse, hanc illi denegare, vel alii concedere quam in vestris Instructionibus contineatur, non quod Regia Majestas de aliorum rectitudine aut indifferentia quicquam suspicetur, vel quod judicet eorum aliquem affectibus obnoxium; sed quod pro re certissima credidit, quod Sanctissimus Dominus noster in neminem tam facile condescenderet, quam in dictæ Rotæ Decanum, ob idque de eo in Instructionibus vestris mentionem fecit: sed Commissiones in debita forma cum his nominibus fieri & conscribi jussit, quod si huic credidissemus, Dom. Staphileum habitum istic iri pro suspecto, affirmare potestis me fuisse omnino missurum consimilem Commissionis formulam, spatio relicto pro aliquo alio inscribendo nomine, aliquamq; aliam super ea re Instructionem me daturum fuisse, & haud dubie; si de nominibus duntaxat fuerit controversia, hæ rationes facile poterunt Pontificem attrahere, ut in me consentiat, vel in Staphyleum. De aliis vero neminem admittetis; nec tamen Pontifici aperietis vos, ne id faciatis habere in mandatis, sed superius enarratas Causas in vestram excusationem allegantes, omnino ut vobis injungitur ea in re insistetis.

Quod si nullis modis dictam Commissionem, & Dispensationem impetrare poteritis, ad idq; nequiverit Pontifex adduci, nisi rem prius alicui ex Cardinalibus vel Officiariis communicaverit, in eo tunc casu, ejus Sanctitati in memoriam reducite, quot & quam gravia mala ex hujus negotii propalatione possent provenire, si ex ea occasione aliquæ contrarietates vel impedimentum suboriretur, unde Regiæ Majestatis expectatio postmodum frustaretur: Quo igitur, si ullæ injiciantur in hac re tractandæ difficultates, ut Pontifex etiam facilior ad Regium votum concedendum promptiorq; reddatur, alias etiam præter has literas seorsim ad vos scripsi, quas una cum his accipietis, in quibus copiose aggessi, quam multas

magni momenti rationes, ob quas sententia judiciumq; meum est, ne ullo pacto Pontifex hanc petitionem Regiæ Majestatis deneget; quas literas, quum in eis argumentum vehemens est, nec ob prolixitatem tædiosum aut molestum quod legatur, modum aliquem ipsius Sanctitati legendi invenietis; spemq; certam habeo, si earum summa, tenor, atq; sententia profunde perpendatur, quam satis id esse poterit ad omnem tollendam difficultatem, quæ possit obversari in dicta Commissione Dispensationeque obtinenda, in eis contenta sigillatim exponetis adeo, quod hoc negotium confici queat, Arbitris aut Consiliaribus ad id neutiquam accitis, si fieri possit: si tamen Pontifex speraverit se posse hæc omnia eos celare qui huic rei forsan voluerint refragari, & omnino decreverit aliquos Cardinales vel Officiarios istius causæ participes facere, omnem tunc industriam statim adhibebitis, ut his cognitis eorum gratiam & favorem ea in re vobis comparetis, partim eis respectus, & causas omnes in meis literis contentas, etiam in causæ commodum facientes, uberius exponentes, partim vero eam remunerationem illis dantes, quæ judicio vestro conveniens habebitur, dummodo optatum res sortiatur effectum. Et ut omnia queatis præstare commodius cum his, meas literas accipietis quas ad Cardinalem *Sanctorum Quatuor* & Collegium Cardinalium scribo, easque reddetis ut expedire censueritis, plane confidens nihil a vobis omissum iri, ut hac in re eorum gratiam atq; favorem queatis obtinere, in quem eventum ea munera offeretis, quæ convenientia visa fuerint, Regiaq; Majestas quicquid ejus nomine promiseritis, id fidelissime, uberrimeq; præstabit, pro quarum rerum expeditione, illis pecuniis uti poteritis per literas Cambii Venetias transmissis, quousq; suffecerint, necessariumq; vos existimaveritis rei impetrandæ. Et quum ambiguum sit an vobis licuerit hoc tempore ad Pontificis præsentiam accedere, hujusmodi accessus defectus, si aliæ rem ad bonum exitum perducendi rationes non excogitarentur, causa esse posset longioris moræ, & totius rei impedimento; proinde Regia Majestas, ut modos omnes experiatur, nec uni soli inhæreat, hæc eadem in mandatis dedit Domino Secretario, quem non procul ab Urbe esse intelleximus, quemadmodum in his aliisq; meis brevioribus literis continentur, ita quod alter vestrum, vel uterque, si fieri possit, ad Pontificis præsentiam accessum habeat; nihil tamen, sub spe Domini Secretarii, vestræ vos diligentiæ aut industriæ omittetis, nec ille sub spe vestra, in re hac modis omnibus promovenda, remissior erit, sed nihil conjunctim aut divisim intentatum relinquetis. Quod si uterq; vestrum ad Pontificem admittatur, alter de altero nescius, id non oberit, sed multum proficiet, etiam si ante alterius adventum negotium hoc alter impetrasset; sed si aliquis vestrum cognoverit causam hanc expeditam esse, omniaq; pro certo impetrata esse, tunc labori & sumptibus Pontificem pro eadem re accedendi parcere poteritis, neq; in eam amplius ingerere, neq; necessarium aut opportunum erit, ut pro ulla alia re in præsentia quam pro hac apud Sanctissimũ Dominũ nostrũ agatis, sed solum nunc procurabitis de Commissione & Dispensatione juxta formam ad vos missam obtinenda, necnon de professtmatione illa, quam compendio ad vos dedi, in quibus omnibus & singulis apte tractandis Regia Majestas magnam fiduciam in vestra prudentia collocavit, in quibus, cum tam magni sint momenti, ex Regiæ Majestatis sententia nunc vobis maxime elaborandum est.

Deniq; quum intelligam Dominum Lautrek nonnihil mirari, quod Regiæ

Regiæ Majestatis istic agentes, nullam suorum mandatorum partem cum eo conferunt, ad eum nunc scribo, & nonnulla Domino Roberto Jernyngham ei exponenda committo concernentia actiones cum Ferrariæ Duce; & alia quædam eodem Domino Lautrek; significans, vos missos esse ad dictas causas juvandas, & Pontificis liberationem promovendam; quemadmodum ex literarum ad Dominum Jernyngham exemplo cognoscetis: expediens itaq; fuerit, ut præ se feratis, vos dictæ rei gratia missos esse, ne forsan Dominus Lautrek in falsam aliquam conjecturam aut suspicionem incideret, quæ communibus rebus nocere posset, & in vestrarum quoq; actionum impedimentum redundare.

Illud deinde reticere nolui, quod si ullo pacto vobis liceat ad Sanctissimi Domini nostri præsentiam accedere, nihil omittatis in favorem & gratiam Reverendi Domini Datarii, de cujus animo nihil dubitamus, comparandam, eiq; asseretis, quod quum in nostris omnibus occurrentiis illius opera ac Patrocinio semper usi fuerimus, ipse vero tanta semper fide ac sedulitate omnia effecerit quæ nobis grata & optata esse cognovit, ut nostram omnem operam suis rebus reddiderit, promptissimam, & suæ utilitatis & exaltationis cupidissimam. Quocirca hæc Regia Majestas hac in re, qua nullam magis cordi habet, nec gravioris momenti quicquam sibi accidere posse judicat, ex animi sui sententia conficienda, post Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum, in Domino Datario spem omnem collocavit, qui ex hac occasione, si operam suam ad optatum usq; exitum interponere non gravetur, Regiæ Majestatis animum & pectus, sic omni ex parte promerebitur, ut dicta Majestas non solum omnia curatura sit, quæ ex Domini Veronensis commodo & ornamento fuerint, sed eam etiam munificentiam & gratitudinem addet, quæ majorem vel integram partem, a captivitate Redemtionis persolvendæ compensabit; In me vero non aliam fidem & amicitiam experietur, quam ab ullo fratre posset expectare. Et bene valete. Londini ex meis Ædibus. Die quinto Decemb. M. D. XXVII.

Vester tanquam frater Amantiss.

T. Cardinalis Eborac.

Rome *Jan.* 1. 1528.

IV. *Two Letters of Secretary* Knights *to the Cardinal and the King, giving an account of his Conference with the Pope about his Divorce. Taken from the Originals.*

PLease it your Grace to understand, That immediately upon the receipt of your Graces Letters, severally directed unto Mr. *Gregory* and me; he and I resorted unto the Pope his Holiness, making congratulation of his restitution unto liberty on yours and his behalf, to his singular comfort and consolation; and so much the more, because that I was the first that made like salutation in any great Princes Name; He being well assured that I spake the same on the behalf of his two chief, sincere, & unfeigned Friends: Wherefore with great high thanks, and long discourse, *Cotton* Libr. *Vitell. B.* 10.

discourse, with rehearsal of the King's and your Merits and Acts, in most vertuous and Catholick manner, employed for his restitution, and your continual and effectual study how the See Apostolique might recover the pristine Reputation and Dignity; He confirmed as much as I had spoken. After this Mr. *Gregory* and I entred into our Charge, shewing at length the high deserts of the Princes and Realm of *England*, the devotion of the same towards the Church; how expedient it was, as well for the See Apostolique, as for the said Realm, to foresee and provide that all occasions of Dissension and War were extinct and put away; which for lack of Heir Male of our Sovereign's Line, and Stem, should undoubtedly follow, with other considerations at length contained in our Instructions. We desired his Holiness to commit the knowledg of the Dispensation that was obtained in time of *Julius*, of famous memory, for Matrimony to be had between the King and the Widow, Relict late of Prince *Arthur*; and that we might have it in form as that was that your Grace sent hither. His Holiness answered, That our sayings had great likelihood of truth, for lacking of Issue Male of the King's Stem, considering the nature of Men being prone unto Novelties, and disposed unto Parties and Factions. The Realm of *England* would not only enter into their accustomed Divisions, but also would owe or do small devotion unto the Church; Wherefore his Holiness was right well content and ready to adhibit all Remedy that in him was possible as this time would serve. And because he was not expert in making of Commissions, he would consult with the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, and use his advice, which we should shortly know.

We perceiving that the obtaining of our Charges after the King's and your Graces pleasure, depended much upon the Advice of *Sanctorum Quatuor*, did prevent his going unto the Pope and delivering your Grace's Letters with Recommendations accordingly, we desired him to be good and favourable unto our Requests in the King's behalf; and for the better obtaining of our desires, we promised to see unto him with a competent reward. And this communication had, we shewed unto him the Commission, which he said could not pass without perpetual dishonour unto the Pope, the King, and your Grace; and a great part of such Clauses as be omitted, he hath touched and laid reason for the same in a Writing, which I do send unto your Grace with this. Considering his great Experience, Wisdom, Learning, and the entire affection that he beareth unto the King and your Grace; and that it was far from the King's desire, and nothing for your purposes, that I should first have sent the said Cardinal's Sayings unto your Grace, and abide answer, and eft-soons prevent to do the same: Considering also that the said King desireth a Commission convenient and sufficient, we desired him to make the minute of one, which he gladly did: When it was made, the Pope said, That at his being in the Castle of St. *Angelo*, the General of the Observants in *Spain*, required his Holiness, in the Emperor's Name, not to grant unto any Act that might be preparative, or otherwise, to Divorce to be made between the King and the Queen: and moreover desired an Inhibition, that the said Cause should not come in knowledg before any Judg within the King's Dominions. The Pope answered that *Inhibitio non datur nisi post litem motam.* And as unto the first his Holiness was content, if any like thing were demanded,

ed, to advertise the Emperor before, that he did let it pass; and this was in a manner for his Holiness being in Captivity. But his Holiness being yet in Captivity, as your Grace reports, and esteemeth him to be as long as the *Almaines* and *Spaniards* continueth in *Italy*; he thought if he should grant this Commission, that he should have the Emperor his perpetual Enemy, without any hope of reconciliation: Notwithstanding he was content rather to put himself in evident ruine, and utter undoing, then the King, or your Grace, should suspect any point of ingratitude in him, heartily desiring *cum suspiriis & lachrimis*, that the King and your Grace, which have always been fast and good unto him, will not now suddenly precipitate him for ever; which should be done, if immediately upon delivering of the Commission your Grace should begin Process. He intendeth to save all upright thus: If *Monsieur de Lautrech* would set forwards, which he saith daily that he will do, but yet he doth not, at his coming the Pope's Holiness may have good colour to say, He was required by the Ambassadour of *England* of a like Commission. And denying the same, because of his promise unto the General, he was eft-soons by *Monsieur de Lautrech*, to grant the said Commission, inasmuch as it was but a Letter of Justice. And by this colour he would cover the Matter, so that it might appear unto the Emperor, That the Pope did it not as he that would gladly do displeasure unto the Emperor, but as an indifferent Prince that could not nor might deny Justice, specially being required by such Personages; and immediately he would dispatch a Commission, bearing date after the time that *Monsieur Lautrech* had been with him or nigh unto him. The Pope most instantly beseecheth your Grace, to be a mean that the King's Highness may accept this in a good part, and that he will take patience for this little time, which as it is supposed will be but short, and (*in omnem eventum*) I do bring a Commission with me, and a Dispensation, which I trust the King and your Grace will like well.

We have given unto my Lord Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor* 4000 Crowns, and unto the Secretary 30 Crowns.

With this Your Grace shall receive a Letter from the Pope's Holiness, *Item*, a Counsel of *Oldrand.* that giveth light unto the King's Cause. I shall make the most diligence homeward that I can. Our Lord Jesus preserve Your Grace.

At *Orvieto*, this first day of *January*.

Your most humble Servant and Chaplain,

W. Knight.

Rome

Rome *Jan.* 1. 1528.

To the KING.

PLease it your Highneſs to underſtand, That as ſoon as the Pope was at liberty, and came unto *Orvieto*, I reſorted unto his Holineſs with all diligence; and at my coming unto him, did make congratulation on your Highneſs behalf; foraſmuch as he was reſtored unto his Liberty, which he accepted very joyfully and thankfully, giving unto your Highneſs manifold and high thanks for your great goodneſs, as well proved in his adverſity, as when he was in his moſt felicity. After this he rehearſed my being at *Rome*, how dangerous it was, inaſmuch as when my being there was detect, eſpial was made, and I was not paſſed out of *Rome* by the ſpace of two hours, or two hundred *Spaniards* invaded and ſearched the Houſe. He ſhewed alſo that he had received all ſuch Letters as I at my being in *Rome* did ſend unto his Holineſs; whereby he did perceive the Effect of your Highneſs deſire concerning your Diſpenſation: And albeit he did ſend me word that I ſhould depart, and his Holineſs would ſend unto me the ſaid Diſpenſation fully ſpeed. Nevertheleſs he truſted that your Highneſs would be content to tarry for a time: for the General of the Obſervants in *Spain* being lately in *Rome*, had required him, according unto his Inſtructions, that he ſhould ſuffer nothing to paſs that might be prejudicial or againſt the Queen, directly or indirectly, but that the Pope ſhould firſt advertiſe thereof certain of the *Cæſarians* here. And foraſmuch as this Diſpenſation might encourage your Grace to cauſe my Lord Legate *Auctoritate Legationis* to hear and decern in the Cauſe that your Highneſs intendeth, and his Holineſs ſtandeth as yet in manner in captivity and perplexity: His Holineſs therefore beſought your Grace to have patience for a time, and it ſhould not be long e're your Highneſs ſhould have, not only that Diſpenſation, but any thing elſe that may lie in his power. I replied unto this, That his Holineſs had once granted it, and that I had diſpatched a Poſt, and made relation thereof, by my Writings, unto your Highneſs; ſo that I could not imagine by what reaſon I might perſwade unto you that he would perform the promiſe that he had once broken. In concluſion; He was content that your Highneſs ſhould have it, but he would have it delivered with this condition; That the *Prothonotary* and *Gambora* and I, ſhould beſeech your Highneſs not to attempt any thing in your Cauſe againſt the Queen, till ſuch time as the Pope were frankly at his Liberty; which could not be as long as the *Almaynes* and *Spaniards* did thus reign in *Italy*; and promiſe made, we ſhould deliver the Diſpenſation: and in my poor judgment, it was beſt always to be in poſſeſſion of this Diſpenſation. After this he ſhewed the Minute unto the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, willing him to reform it according to the ſtile of this Court; which done, he ſhewed it unto me, and after ſaid, That he thought good I ſhould depart, becauſe I rode but competent Journies, and the Prothonotary *Gambora* ſhould follow by Poſt and bring the Bull with him, which is of the ſame form and ſubſtance that your Highneſs's Minute is of: And if there be any thing omitted,

ted, or to be added, his Holiness is always content to reform it, and to put it under the same date that the same Dispensation now beareth; the Copy whereof I do send unto your Highness with this, the Commission General and Protestation being void, because they were conceived *durante captivitate* only. And here, on my behalf, none other thing being to be done, I took my leave of the Pope and departed. At my coming unto *Scarperii* near unto *Bonony*, I did meet with *Thadeus* this Courier, which brought certain Expeditions Triplicat; the one unto the Prothonotar *Gambora*, the other unto *Gregory de Cassali*, and the third unto me; among which was a general Commission Triplicat, the one to be committed to my Lord Legate; and if that could not be obtained, because my Lord Legate might be thought partial, then the same to be committed unto *Staphileius*. *Item*; There was a Copy of a Dispensation, where I perceived, by your Grace's Letter, that your pleasure was to have your Dispensation in form, after the minute that *Barlow* brought, which was then sped, and already passed; so remained nothing to be sped, but the Commission your Highness pleases. This knowing, I caused my Servants to continue their Journey, and with one Servant and this Courier, I returned unto *Orvieto* with Post-Horses; where Mr. *Gregory* and I, with much Business, have obtained a Commission directed unto my Lord Legate, not in the form that was conceived in *England*, but after such manner as is sufficient for the Cause, and as I trust shall content your Highness; wherein the Lord Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, hath taken great pains to pen, as well your Dispensation as the Commission; for which, and that hereafter he may do unto your Highness the better service, Mr. *Gregory* and I have rewarded him with 4000 Crowns, of such Mony as your Highness hath caused to be made unto *Venice* for the furtherance of your Causes. But albeit that every thing is passed according to your Highness pleasure, I cannot see, but in case the same be put in execution at this time, the Pope is utterly undone, and so he saith himself. The *Imperialists* do daily spoil Castles and Towns about *Rome*; *Monsieur de Lautrek* is yet at *Bonony*, and small hope is of any great Act that he intends. The *Cæsarians* have taken within these three days, two Castles lying within six miles of this: and the Pope being in this perplexity, not assured of any one Friend but of your Highness, that lieth too far off; if he do at this time any displeasure unto the Emperor, he thinketh he is undone for ever; wherefore he puts his Honour and Health wholly into your Highness Power and Disposition. This morning I return homewards, and *Gregory de Cassali* goeth in my Company as far as unto *Florence*; and from thence he goeth unto *Monsieur de Lautrek*, to sollicit him forwards, if it may be. The Holy Ghost send your Highness a prosperous New Year, and many.

At *Orvieto*, the first day of

Your most humble Subject,

Servant, and Chaplain.

W. Knight.

Rome 10. *Jan.* 1528.

V. *A part of an Original Letter from the same Person to Cardinal* Wolsey, *by which it appears that the Dispensation was then granted and sent over.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 10.

YOur Grace commandeth, That I should send the Commission and Dispensation with diligence, in case they were sped, before the receit of your Graces Letters sent at this time. Wherefore the Prothonotar *Gambora* and I being commanded *sub pœna Excommunicationis* to deliver the same, with a certain Request to be made to the King's Highness and his Grace, at the time of delivery; I send the same at this time unto *Gambora*, requiring him in any wise to make diligence towards the King's Highness, and not to abide my coming; the Request and Cause thereof your Grace shall perceive by mine other Letters adjoined herewith. And supposing that when your Grace hath seen my Letters, and the Dispensations, and considered this time well, it may chance that the King and your Grace will be rather well content with that that is passed, without suing for any other thing that could not be obtained without long tract, and peradventure not so. Your Grace hath committed as much unto *Gregory de Cassali* at this time, as unto me, which being near unto the Pope, will without fail do his best diligence: And if it shall be thought good unto the King's Highness, and your Grace, that I do return unto *Orvieto*, I shall do as much as my poor Carcase may endure, and thereby at *Turine* I shall abide the knowledg of your Grace's pleasure. The Datary hath clean forsaken the Court, and will serve no longer but only God and his Cure. The Cardinal *Campegius* continueth in *Rome* sore vexed with the Gout; The Cardinals *Pisane*, *Trivulcis*, *Ursine*, *Gadis* and *Cesis*, remaineth for Hostages. The Cardinals, *Monte*, *Sanctorum Quatuor*, *Ridulph*, *Ravenna*, and *Perusino*, be with the Pope; the rest abides absent. Our Lord Jesus preserve your Grace.

At *Aste* the 10th day of *January*.

Your most humble Beadsman

and Servant,

W. Knight.

Orvieto *the* 13*th of* January.

VI. Gregory Cassali's *Letter about the Method in which the Pope desired the Divorce should be managed. Taken from a Copy written by Cardinal* Wolsey's *Secretary.*

Cotton libr. *Vitel.* B.10.

HEri & hodie ad multam diem sum alloquutus Sancti Domini nostri de mittendo legato, insequens ordinem a Reverendissimo Domino Eboracen. suis literis 27 Decemb. mihi præscriptum. Pontifex ostendit se

se cupidissimum satisfaciendi Regiæ Excellentiæ, cui omnia se debere fatetur, & nunc habuit mecum longum de hac re colloquium, ut inveniatur modus omnia, bene, firme & secure faciendi, quo facto & tueri possit; ideoq; consulere voluit judicium Cardinalis *Sanctorum Quatuor* & *Symonettæ*, qui excellentior & Doctior Auditor *Rotæ* est, cum quibus sub sigillo Confessionis egit, ut ex eorum consilio inveniatur modus, ad moram tollendam, & causam secure peragendam: Atq; ita Pontifex cum illis, in hoc quod sequitur, se revolvit, videturq; optimus, verus & securus modus, & me rogavit, ut nullo pacto dicam hoc obtinuisse ab ejus Sanctitate sicuti revera obtinui, nam Cæsariani eum statum pro suspecto allegarent, sed quod dicam me habuisse a Cardinali Sanctorum Quatuor, & a dicto Auditore. Dicunt quod Rex deberet committere istic causam Cardinali, ratione Commissionis quam attulit Secretarius, vel propria Authoritate Legationis, quod facere potest; & ubi causa fuerit commissa, si Rex conscientiam suam persentiat coram Deo exoneratam, & quod recte possit facere quod quærit, quia nullus Doctor in mundo est, qui de hac re melius decernere possit quam ipse Rex, itaq; si in hoc se resolverit, ut Pontifex credit, statim causam committat, aliam Uxorem ducat, litem sequatur, mittatur publice pro Legato, qui Consistorialiter mittetur, ita enim maxime expediret: nam Cardinalis Sanctorum Quatuor & *Symonetta* dicunt hoc certum esse, quod si Regina citetur illa nihil volet respondere, nisi quod protestabitur locum & judices suspectos esse, & Cæsariani petent a Pontifice per viam Signaturæ, justitiæ Inhibitionem, qua Rex aliam nullam possit Uxorem capere, & si capiat proles non sit legitima donec causa non definiatur, & petent Commissionem qua Causa audiatur in Curia; de Inhibitione vero Pontifex non potest negare, neq; & Commissionem nisi injustitia & mera vis inferatur, adversus quam omnis mundus exclamaret. Quod si Rex aliam Uxorem ceperit hoc non possunt petere, & si petant, negabit Pontifex quod jure possit, nec aliud dicere poterunt vel allegare, nisi quod Cardinalis Eboracen. & Cardinalis mittendus & locus sit suspectus, & petere quod Causa videatur hic, in quo si deducatur, statim feretur sententia quam Pontifex maturabit, non servatis terminis propter momentum negotii & alias rationes, quas sciet Pontifex adducere, & ita hic obtinebuntur sententiæ quæ per totum Orbem approbabuntur, quibus nullus Hispanus aut Germanus poterit contradicere, & mittentur in Angliam declarandæ per Cardinales prout Rex voluerit, & hoc etiam non obstante Pontifex mittet Cardinalem.

Tandem hic est modus rebus omnibus secure medendi, ad quem sequendum vos Pontifex hortatur, & rogat ut nihil dicatur quod ab eo procedat. Iste modus non videtur inutilis, quia hic Auditor asserit, non aliter esse faciendum si bene volumus; & quia Reverendissimus Cardinalis Dominus Eboracen. instat pro celeritate, interim accersiri poterit qualiscunq; Legatus Rex voluerit, & magis satisfiet vulgo in mittendo Legato, veluti ad definiendam causam, & hic etiam ut dixi omnia fient quæ super id Rex petierit.

Præterea Pontifex, id quod fecit ut me resolverem ad has literas scribendum, contentus est mittere quemcunq; Cardinalem ego petiero, sed ait oportere ut aliquis mittatur habilis, id est Doctor in Jure, vel in Theologia, qui sunt isti *Campegius*, *Cæsarinus*, *Senensis*, *Cesis*, *Araceli*, *Monte*, qui senex est & immobilis; *Cesis* in obsidem ivit Neapolim, *Cæ-*

sarinus Episcopatum, habet in Hispania, *Araceli* podagra laborat & Frater est, *Senensis* est Imperialis & non valde prudens, *Campegius* esset maxime ad propositum, sed Romæ est locum tenens Pontificis, unde non posset discedere, continuantibus discordiis inter Germanos & Hispanos, neq; auderet egredi a castro; sed hoc periculum & dubium brevi expedietur, nam intra octo dies Cæsariani cogentur sibi consulere ut eant in Regnum, si Dominus Lautrek eo progrediatur, vel ibunt Senas per iter Florentiæ, & tunc *Campegius* poterit exire, & si Rex ita jusserit statim accingetur itineri. Pontifex jussit ut scribam, quod nunquam ingenio aut studio deerit in excogitando ut adimpleat desiderium & voluntatem Regis, & quod solum ista proponit pro meliori securitate, ne ista fiant quæ postea referri debeant, quod pareret dilationem & difficultatem, & quantum ego possim conjicere Pontifex exoptat satisfacere Regiæ voluntati. Pontifex denuo replicavit quod se totum rejicit in Brachia Regiæ Majestatis, & quod certus est quod Cæsar nunquam hoc illi ignoscet, & quod ex hac occasione vocabit eum ad Concilium, vel nihil aliud quæret nisi ut eum omni statu & vita privet; & dicta Sanctitas parvam spem habet in Gallis, nisi quantum operabitur per Regiam Majestatem & Reverendissimum Dominum Eboracen. Ad quod Respondi, illum ex præteritis & præsentibus posse judicare futura. Tandem affirmo, quod si semel tollatur Cæsarianorum metus, poteritis ex arbitrio vestro disponere de sede Apostolica.

Cardinalis *Campegius* ad Pontificem scripsit, quod sunt tres dies ex quo frater Generalis communicaverat secum negotium Regiæ Majestatis, & quod dixerat ut ad ejus Sanctitatem scriberet, ut omnino faceret aliquam Inhibitionem ne causa istic tractaretur. Ad quod Pontifex non respondit, sed respondebit, se nihil de eo posse facere, quia non pendet causa.

Januar. 1528. ad Collegium.

VII. *A Duplicat. The King's Letter to the Colledg of Cardinals; from which it appears how much they favoured his Cause.*

Cotton libr. *Vitel.* B.10.

HEnricus Rex, Reverendissimis in Christo Patribus Dominis Episcopis Patribus & Diaconis S. R. E. Cardinalibus & Amicis nostris Charissimis salutem. Nihil unquam tam grande esse posse putavimus, quin de ista Sancta sede, vestrarumq; Reverendissimarum Dominat. summa erga nos benignitate, illud semper audacter nobis fuerimus polliciti, quod certe S. Sanctum istud Collegium, quotiens ullam nobis gratificandi occasionem oblatam habuit, cumulatissime præstitit: Cæterum benevolentiam istam vestram, & singulare in nos studium, nunc longe superavit, alacritas, quam in nostra omnium gravissima causa, juvanda ac promovenda, in publico Consistorio, amantissime omnes exhibuistis, quo certe beneficio sic Sacro isti Collegio Sanctissimæq; isti sedi adstrictos nos fatemur, ut vehementissime optemus gratiam, vel sanguine ipso, publice ac privatim Reverendissimis Dominat. vestris quoq; posse referre. Quocirca iterum eas impense rogamus, ut in suo erga nos affectu perseverare non graventur, efficiemusq; (Deo bene juvante) ut brevi perspiciant, apud gratum & memorem Principem, Sanctæq; Rom. Ecclesiæ observan-

observantissimum, sua se beneficia & officia collocasse. Interim vobis quas possumus ex animo, tum his literis, tum per Oratorem istic nostrum immortales gratias Reverendissimis vestris Dominis agimus, existimetisq; quicquid a nobis præstari queat, id suo ornamento & commodo promptissimum futurum.

Febr. 10. 1528.

VIII. *A duplicate of the Cardinal's Letter to the Pope, about the the Divorce; corrected with his own hand.*

Cott. libr. *Vitel.* B.10.

Beatissime Pater, post humillimam Commendationem, & Sanctissimorum pedum oscula, doleo atq; gravissime excrucior, quod ea quæ tanta solicitudine, literis & nunciis apud Beatitudinem vestram ago, nequeam, ut unice & rerum omnium maxime vellem, prius tractare, hoc est, negotium Potentissimi Domini mei Regis, negotium inquam rectissimum, honestissimum ac sanctissimum, in quo procurando non aliter me interpono, quam in ejus Regiæ Majestatis salute tuenda, in hoc Regno conservando, in publica tranquillitate fovenda, in Apostolica Autoritate, in mea deniq; vita & anima protegenda debeo. Beatissime Pater, ad vestræ Sanctitatis genua provolutus, obsecro & obtestor, ut si me Christianum virum, si bonum Cardinalem, si S. Sancto isto Senatu dignum, si Apostolicæ sedis membrum non stupidum & inutile, si recti, justitiæq; cultorem, si fidelem Creaturam suam, si demum æternæ salutis cupidum me existimet, nunc velit mei Consilii & intercessionis rationem habere, & pientissimis hujus Regis precibus, benigne, prompteq; adnuere: quas nisi rectas, sanctas ac justas esse scirem, omne prius supplicii genus ultro subirem, quam eas promoverem, pro hisq; ego vitam meam & animam spondeo. Alioquin vereor (quod tamen nequeo tacere) ne Regia Majestas humano, divinoq; jure (quod habet ex omni Christianitate suis his actionibus adjunctum) freta, postquam viderit sedis Apostolicæ gratiam, & Christi in terris Vicarii clementiam desperatam, Cæsaris intuitu, in cujus manu neutiquam est tam Sanctos conatus reprimere, ea tunc moliatur, ea suæ causæ perquirat remedia, quæ & non solum huic Regno, sed etiam aliis Christianis Principibus, occasionem subministrarent, sedis Apostolicæ Autoritatem & Jurisdictionem imminuendi, & vilipendendi, non absq; Christianæ Reip. perturbatione: Quibus malis potest vestra Sanctitas sua autoritate & prudentia mederi. Hæc loquor ut Christianus, & ut devotissimum istius Sedis membrum sincere suadeo; non affectus, non Principis amor, non servitutis vinculum me impellit, sed sola rectitudine ad id adducor. Cæterum animi solicitudo non sinit plura exprimere. Vestra Sanctitas in tam justo Regis voto adnuendo, sic ejus Majestatis animum sibi devinciet & conservabit, ut non solum ipse & ego, sed omnes ejus subditi sint ad omnem occasionem, opes, vires, & sanguinem in Sanctitatis vestræ, Apostolicæ Sedis beneficium, libentissime profusuri. Mitto ad Beatitudinem vestram hujus rei gratia, Dominum Stephanum Gardinerum, Primarium Secretissimorum Consiliorum Secretarium, mei dimidium, & quo neminem habeo cariorem; referet ille cuncta distinctius, meum pectus aperiet. Vestram igitur Sanctitatem

humillime

humillime rogo, ut eum loquentem me loqui existimares, & eam fidem quam præsenti mihi haberet, illi & Domino Edwardo Foxo Regio familiari in omnibus præstare, & me a tam anxia expectatione liberare dignetur.

IX. *Cardinal* Wolsey's *Letter to* Gregory Cassali, *directing him to make Presents at* Rome.

Cotton Libr. *Vitell. B.* 10.

TAnta deinde sunt, tamq; magna officia, quæ Reverendissimus Dominus *Sanctorum Quatuor*, tum erga Regiam Majestatem, tum erga me, nunquam non amantissime exhibuit, ut quum ea in agendis gratiis assequi conamur, id animo facilius complecti, quam exteriori ullo propensæ nostræ in eum voluntatis testimonio indicare queamus: ad nostriq; in eum summum studii & affectionis cumulum, nunc tantum accessit, quantum vix unquam possit a nobis exsolvi; licetq; de ejus Reverendissim. Dominat. ingenti Regiæ Majestati, & mihi gratificandi ardore nunquam addubitaverim, sic tamen pectus suum, in Regiæ Majestatis promovenda juvandaq; causa, sic in meis seorsim curandis expediendisq; negotiis, operam, fidem, autoritatemq; suam interposuit, ut non minora semper efficeret, quam nos optare potuerimus: quo certe nomine, ita utrumq; nostrum, suo suorumq; omnium commodo & ornamento devinxit, ut non prius conquieturi sumus quam aliquo indicio rebus ipsis nostram vicissim gratitudinem fuerimus testati; quot enim modis & quanta sollicitudine Reverendissimus *Sanctorum Quatuor* de nobis sit optime meritus, res præstita indicat, & Dominus *Stephanus* Secretarius meus suo Sermone ac relatu assidue prædicat; & quamvis minusculum illud olim oblatum recusaverit, non tamen Regiæ Majestati satisfactum esse potest, nisi memoris sui animi pignus aliquod exhibuerit. Quocirca cum eodem Reverendissimo Domino dexterime agite, ut in familiari aliquo colloquio eliciatis,quibus rebus ille maxime oblectetur, mihiq; quam primum significate, num illi, aulea, Vasa aurea, aut equi maxime probentur, efficiamq; ne putet apud Principem inhumanum aut ingratum sua se officia collocasse. Intellexi quoq; ex eodem Domino *Stephano*, quam ardenter idem Dominus *Sanctorum Quatuor* cupiat ædificium Sancti Petri absolvi, veluti monumentum illud Religionis ac pietatis perpetuo futurum,quod certe ejus animi consilium, ut Sanctum ita dignissimum censeo, ut Christianorum Principum liberalitatem quam plurimum mereatur; meo igitur nomine affirmabitis, sic meam me esse operam apud hunc Serenissimum Regem interpositurum, ut palam constet omnibus, me Ecclesiæ membrum non omnino inutile aut stupidum esse.

De aliis vero rebus, in quibus S. D. N. benignitatem & Reverendissimi Domini *Sanctorum Quatuor* opera & Patrocinio Regiæ Majestati & mihi in præsentia est opus, per Dominum Stephanum copiose vos instruo, iterum atq; iterum impense rogans, ut solita vestra diligentia & sedulitate ex nostra expectatione eas curare conficereq; velitis.

Rome

Rome Feb. 1527.

X. The Decretal Bull that was desired in the King's Cause.

DIlecto, &c. Salutem & Apostolicam Benedict. Sedis Apostolicæ Suprema Autoritas potestatis suæ copiam sic omnibus exhibet, ut pro causarum, personarum & temporum qualitate remedia singulis ad ædificationem subministrare, & causas ad Canonum Sanctiones expensas æquissima certissimaq; lance trutinans, laborantibus conscientiis & fluctuantibus consulere, summamq; ipsis tranquillitatem statuere contendat. Cum itaq; Clarissimus in Christo Filius noster Henricus Octavus Angliæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, & Dominus Hiberniæ, sua nobis conquestione monstraverat, quod cum Annos ab hinc decem & octo nobilem Mulierem Catharinam Ferdinandi quondam Hispaniarum Regis Filiam, Illustris Principis Arthuri Fratris sui defuncti quondam Uxorem, hortatu, suasu, ac consiliis eorum, quibus se totum in prima Regni sui Administratione crediderat, quadam sedis Apostolicæ Dispensatione prætensa sibi bona fide Matrimonio copulasset, ac ab eo tempore hactenus cum eadem tanquam cum Uxore cohabitasset, prole interim fœmina suscepta & superstite ex eadem, ac jam tandem post desperatam prolem Masculam, de stabilienda & confirmanda ejusdem Filiæ suæ successione cogitaret, lustratisq; Scriniis dictam super Matrimonio præfato Dispensationem faceret proferri, doctorumq; Virorum judicia examinari, cujus quidem Dispensationis tenor sequitur, & est talis, &c. *Cotton Libr. Vittl. B. 12.*

Quidam Sanctionum & Canonum Ecclesiasticorum consulti, datum dictæ cum narratis ejusdem conferentes, aliasq; nonnullas circumstantias quæ tum ante dictæ Dispensationis impetrationem, quæ etiam post eandem impetratam intervenerunt, ponderantes, tum quod causa quæ in Bulla pretensa est pacis continuandæ, viz. quæ ipsa tum coaluerat, fœderibus percussis firma constiterat, mutuis etiam populorum commerciis aucta, nullum suæ violationis timorem incutiens, qui justus & non omnino vanus dici posset, nec urgentissima proinde nec evidentissima videretur, qualem prohibitionis relaxatio exigat & requirat; tum quod preces falsæ erant dum narrabatur Prædecessori nostro, eundem Carissimum Filium nostrum tum cupere cum dicta charissima Domina Catharina contrahere Matrimonium, ad hoc ut pacis fœdera diutius continuarentur; cum eo tempore, ut asserit, impetrationem prorsus ignoraret, & per ætatis immaturitatem, duodecimum, viz. annum non excedentis, affectum hujusmodi inducere non potuerat; tum quod Protestatione postmodum interveniente & vim Renunciationis habente, Dispensatio tunc per Renunciationem extincta videretur; Deniq; quod principes inter quos fœdera conservarentur, ante mandatam executioni Bullam fatis concesserant; Bullam ipsam, tum ex surreptionis & obreptionis vitiis, quam aliis etiam de Causis minus validam & inefficacem esse renunciarunt & retulerunt, scrupulum dicti Regis animo conscientiæq; gravem injicentes, eamq; illi opinionem inducentes, ut Matrimonium prædictum non consistere, neq; hactenus jure constitisse judicaret. Porro autem cum frequentius apud se, ut asserit, animo volveret ac meditaretur, quales exitus hujusmodi nuptiæ præfatæ habuerunt, ex quibus, viz. ali-

quot partus masculi imperfecti parumq; vitales prodiere, atq; ideo se omni spe successoris prorsus destitui, quo suam familiam ad paucos redactam conservaret, occurente simul memoriæ Divina interminatione quæ Fratris sui turpitudinem revelanti, & illius Uxorem contra S. Sancta Dei præcepta accipienti inscribitur, præsertim ubi Dispensatio non interveniat, quæ ex omni sua parte valeat & consistat, nonnullis etiam affirmantibus nostram non eatenus protestatem patere ut in ea specie gratiam faciamus, etiamsi ut scribit de nostræ potestatis plenitudine non dubitet, juste duntaxat legitimeq; interpositæ, quam summam in terris agnoscit & veneratur, ad improbandas illas nuptias tantum undiq; videt consensum ut illas animo abhorreat, nec aliorum rationibus posset dissuaderi quin abominandas eas judicet, & Divinæ Majestati odiosas. Deniq; idem Carissimus Filius noster debita cum instantia nos precibus sollicitaverit, quatenus personæ suæ & Regni nobis semper devotissimi rationem habentes, maturo judicio ab angustiis liberemus, quibus se usu præsentis Matrimonii per legem conscientiæ privatum, nec ad aliud per leges publicas ante sententiam admissum, vehementer conqueritur comprehensum esse. Nos igitur considerantes quot, quanta, tum in Sedem Apostolicam, tum in fidem Christianam officia præ cæteris exhibuerit, promeritus eo nomine ut nostræ vicissim potestatis gratiam uberrimam & promptissimam referat, aliamq; illius causam atq; privati esse, ex qua nimirum pendeat salus plurimorum, nec posse dictæ causæ decisionem diutius proferri & protelari sine gravi discriminis periculo, dicti vero Principis cruciatu maxima quæ nos ex gratitudinis vicissitudine minueret debeamus, qua decet festinatione procedi facientes ut ad finem celerrime perducatur, de Consilio Fratrum nostrorum, quorum in hac causa tam gravi atq; urgenti judicium adhibuimus, ac etiam eorum quos & Sacræ Theologiæ peritissimos & juris Ecclesiastici callentissimos desuper consulendos audiendosq; putavimus, quoniam vitia & defectus prædictos ejusmodi esse comperimus, quæ pensata præfatæ Prohibitionis natura, vires ipsius Bullæ merito enervarent; quo magis, viz. attestemur & palam faciamus, quanta animi cura & solicitudine præfati Carissimi Filii nostri conscientiam hujusmodi scrupulis & difficultatibus impediri, implicari atq; vexari sustineamus, cum alioquin te dilectum Filium nostrorum Cardin. Eboracen. in illa Provincia & Apostolicæ Sedis Legatum, a præclaris animi tui virtutibus, ad justitiam vero & æquitatem propensissimo sincerissimoq; affectu nobis sic commendatum & cognitum habeamus, ut tibi merito soli omnem nostram Autoritatem, cum in hac Causa expedienda, tum etiam in reliquis committendam putaverimus, dignissimus quidem nobis existimatus, qui partes nostras tractes & vices absentis posses supplere: Te tamen Dilecti Filii ——— a nobis specialiter istuc destinandum duximus, ut conjunctim in hac causa procedere possitis, ita nihilominus propter incertum casuum eventum mandatam Authoritatem temperantes, ut altero vestrum nolente aut impedito alter omnia exequi & causam fine debito valeat terminare. Vobis ut præfertur conjunctim & ut præfertur divisim, ad cognoscendum & procedendum summarie & de plano, sine strepitu & figura judicii, ac de & super viribus dictæ Bullæ sive Dispensationis inquirendum, ipsamq; Bullam sive Dispensationem, si de vitiis prædictis aut eorum aliquo tali probatione constiterit, quæ licet aliis minus clara videatur, animo tamen Religioso, conscientiæq; vestræ, aut ejus vestrum qui in hac Causa processerit,

cesserit, divisim ut præfertur, satisfecerit, & verisimile apparuerit, vel pacem quæ in Bulla prætenditur sine hujus Matrimonii contractu consistere potuisse & continuari, vel dictum Charissimum Filium nostrum, ut allegabatur, non cupiisse contrahere Matrimonium ad hoc ut pacis fœdera conservarentur, vel deniq; Principes in Bulla nominatos, inter quos fœdera per illud Matrimonium continuatum iri allegabatur, ante mandatam executioni Bullam fatis concessisse, ipsam nullam, minus validam, ex surreptione & obreptione inefficacem, irritam & inanem fuisse, semper & esse pronuntiandam & declarandam; Matrimonium autem prædictum, quod ejusdem virtute consistere videtur, nullum simul ac minus legitimum esse, ac pro nullo minusq; legitimo haberi deberi decernendum; ipsos porro contrahentes ab omni contractu Matrimoniali hujusmodi liberos, a consortio conjugali quod hactenus observarunt separari deberi, sententiendum & autoritate nostra separandum. Deniq; utrumque ad contrahendum cum alio vel alia, novum conjugium ineundi, licentiam & facultatem tribuendum & concedendum, citra omnem recusationem, aut appellationis interpositionem, committimus & demandamus vices nostras; ac vos conjunctim, & altero vestrum nolente ut præfertur aut impedito, divisim, ad præmissa exercenda & expedienda, plenæ, finaliq; executioni demandanda, Vicarios nostros & nostrum Vicarium, aut si quo alio nomine uti poterimus, quod demandatam in prædictis Autoritatem ampliaret, cum omni potestatis plenitudine tam absolutæ quam ordinariæ, quatenus vel ad præfati Matrimonii congruam dissolutionem, vel novi contrahendi firmam Constitutionem, expedire videbitur aut pertinere; ita etiam ut Autoritate præsentis Commissionis nostræ, cum omnibus illis Canonibus, ad validiorem efficacioremq; processus vestri firmitatem poteritis dispensare, quæcunq; eidem obstare putabuntur, omnemq; defectum quacunq; ex causa contingentem nostræ Autoritatis interpositione, Dispensatione Apostolica supplere possitis & valeatis, tam prolem ex primo Matrimonio susceptam propter bonam fidem Parentum, si ita expedire visum fuerit, legitimam decernendo, pronuntiando & promulgando, quam ex secundo Matrimonio suscipiendam; legitimitatem etiam utriusq; prolis, censuris & pœnis Ecclesiasticis quibuscunque, per modum decreti aut Sanctionis perpetuæ muniendo & vallando, omnibus validioribus & efficacioribus modis & formis quæ de jure concipi & excogitari poterunt, facimus, constituimus & ordinamus per præsentes; & quicquid per vos conjunctim, ut præfertur, aut divisim procedentes, per cognitionem judiciariam & summariam, aut extrajudiciariam, processus quoscunq; faciendo, pronunciando aut promulgando, eosdemve executioni mandando, Dispensationes quascunq; aut gratias in præmissis concedendo & faciendo, & generaliter in aliquibus prædictorum potestatem nostram vel ordinariam vel absolutam exercendo, ut præfertur, actum, gestum, decretum, dispensatum, pronuntiatum, mandatum, aut executum fuerit, id omne & totum, cum primum poterimus, ratum, gratum & firmum habentes, in validissima & efficacissima forma confirmabimus, nec eorum aliqua unquam infirmabimus aut infringemus, aut eorum alicui contraveniemus; nec interim revocabimus; declarantes etiam & protestantes per præsentes, nostræ intentionis esse, ut præsens Commissio, sive Delegatio Autoritatis nostræ, perpetuo effectu gaudeat, & usq; ad finalem prædictorum conclusionem extremumq; terminum duret & consistat, non obstantibus quibuscunq;

 decretis,

decretis, sententiis, mandatis, rescriptis, literis aut Brevibus in contrarium, deinceps per nos tanquam irritatoriis, derogatoriis aut revocatoriis præsentis Concessionis nostræ, emittendis, destinandis aut promulgandis; quibus omnibus expresse per præsentes derogantes, & illa omnia pro nullis, cassis, irritis & inanibus reputantes, ac talia esse & haberi, istisq; omnino anteriora judicari, præsentia vero semper posteriora, & post illa repetita, emissa & destinata, censeri ac tanquam ultima & posteriora contrariis sic deinceps emittendis derogare debere, & cæteris contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque.

Rome *Jan.* 1528.

XI. *The Cardinal's Letter to* John Cassali *about it; Taken from a Duplicate written by his Secretary.*

Cott. libr. *Vitel.* B. 10.

Reverende Domine Protonotari, tanquam Frater Amantissime, cum aliis meis literis copiose ad vos perscripsi Regiæ Majestatis animum, & desiderium super his rebus quas vobis in præsentia commisit, suo nomine S. D. N. declarandas.

Nunc vero ob humillimam sinceramq; meam Devotionem, quæ ex jure & officio non solum ejus Sanctitati, sed miseris Ecclesiæ sublevandis rebus, dignitatiq; Apostolicæ restituendæ adstringor, his literis vos instruam super quibusdam rebus, præcipue & accurate notandis & considerandis, quas post humillimam, reverentissimamq; meam Commendationem dictæ Sanctitati, meo nomine sigillatim, speciatim declarabitis; & cum causam concernant, quam Regia Majestas nunc maxime optat & requirit, eandem Sanctitatem vehementissime rogabitis, ut cuncta legere & bene notare non gravetur.

Primo itaq; indolens infælicem adversumq; præsentium rerum successum, in quo S. D. N. Cardinaliumq; Collegium versatur, diuq; ac noctu mente volvens, quo pacto quibusve modis, totis meis viribus, omni sumptu molestiaq; neglecta, & cum proprii sanguinis vitæq; effusione, ministerium aliquod impendere, tantæq; afflictioni solamen afferre, & Ecclesiæ Sanctissimi Domini nostri collapso statui opitulari, in quam rem haud dubie quoadq; vita suppetet incumbam; mihiq; in hac cogitatione versanti, in mentem recordationemq; subiit, mirus quidem & grandis affectus. qui Divina sic disponente Providentia, ex instanti assiduaq; mea opera provenit, ut hunc optimum Dominum meum Regem inducerem, eique persuaderem quod ad arctissimam istam intimamq; cordis & animi conjunctionem deveniret erga, S. D. N. Ecclesiæq; & sedis Apostolicæ tutelam ac patrocinium suscipiendum, memoriæq; succurrunt innumeræ rationes a me adductæ, ut Regiam Majestatem, quæ Cæsari tenacissime inhærebat, adducerem, ad S. D. N. defensionem, rerumq; Italicarum tutelam amplectendam, ac inter omnes allegatas rationes, nulla fuit validior aut vehementior, vel quæ Regiæ Majestatis pectus magis permoveret, quam intima securitas, perfectaq; constantia, quam ei assidue indesinenterq; insinuavi de ejus Sanctitatis vera optimaq; & flagranti correspondentia in amore perpetuo indissolubiliq; amicitia, animo & voluntate, petitionibus semper suæ R. Majest. & desideriis concedendis, quoad

Ecclesiæ

Ecclesiæ Thesaurus & Autoritas ejus Sanctitati Christi Vicario concessa permittit, vel quoad se extendit, seu possit extendere; super idq; omnia uberrime promisi, meam etiam salutem, fidem, honorem animamque adstringens, quod omnia ex ipsius Regiæ Majestatis votis, in omne tempus præstarentur, absq; ulla prorsus occasione aut scrupulo, ab hujusmodi indulgendis petitionibus digrediendi, adeo quod Regia Majestas, ex hoc meo asseveranti relatu, hunc propensum S. D. N. in se animum perspiciens, mihiq; ejus Sanctitatis nomine, veluti Legato, & Sedis Apostolicæ membro loquenti, firmam, certamq; fidem adhibens, periculis omnibus posthabitis, laboribus sumptibusq; spretis, nullaq; sui Regni aut subditorum habita ratione, animum adfixit, prorsusq; statutum & decretum in omnibus se adjungere, atq; perpetuo & constanter cum S. D. N. in affectu concurrere, in eoq; certum habeo velle decrevisseq; perstare, ad mortem usque, nisi forsan ex eventibus, longe diversis a meo promisso & ejus expectatione, occasio subministretur suam Regiam Majestatem ab hoc animi sui decreto amovendi. Id si illi accideret (quod avertat Deus) merito mihi posset adscribere perfidiam, levitatem, violationemq; promissionis, quo casu quid mox officii aut ministerii possem Sanctissimo Domino nostro præstare, aut quæ fides in Ecclesiæ rebus, mihi haberetur, singulari ejus Sanctitatis prudentiæ judicandum relinquo: nunquam enim meo in arbitrio posthac esset, quicquam alicujus momenti hinc efficere, in ejus Sanctitatis commodum, hac nunc in re Regiæ Majestatis concepta spe, aut expectatione frustrata.

Est secundo accurate considerandum quantopere hoc negotium Regiæ Majestati intersit, & quanti sit momenti, unde namque, præter Conscientiæ Regiæ exonerationem, omnis quoq; Regiæ lineæ, & stemmatis continuatio pendet; huic adnectitur totius Regni fælicitas, vel excidium, hic securitas & salus eorum consistit, qui sub Regis sunt Imperio, & qui ullo unquam tempore nascentur in ejus Regno, qua ex re oriri potest occasio, & fomes tranquillitatis perpetuæ, aut discordiæ belliq; atrocissimi in universum Christianum orbem, quæ omnia majoris sunt momenti, & vigilantius prospicienda quam cujusq; Principis vel Principissæ gratia, favor & expectatio.

Tertio, Causa ex se est hujusmodi ut in animam meam spondere ausim, ejus concessionem, futuram non solum in conscientiæ, honorisq; Pontificis exonerationem coram Deo & hominibus, sed in Cœlis quoq; gratam, acceptamq; extituram: In hac deinde re secreta insunt nonnulla, secreto S. D. N. exponenda, & non credenda literis, quas ob causas, morbosq; nonnullos, quibus absq; remedio Regina laborat, & ob animi etiam conceptum scrupulum, Regia Majestas nec potest, nec vult ullo unquam posthac tempore, ea uti, vel ut Uxorem admittere, quodcunque advenerit. Non exigua præterea habenda est ratio eorum, quæ aliis meis literis continentur, concernentia, quæ pro ingenti thesauro S. D. N. habere queat, tam certam Regiæ Majestatis amicitiam, cum ejus Sanctitate constantissime conjunctam futuram in prosperis & adversis, in quas etiam partes amicos suos omnes pertraxit, & assidue pertrahit: ad Ecclesiæ defensionem, Sanctissimi Domini nostri conservationem, causas omnes suas & actiones dirigens; possentq; hi omnes, Regia Majestate deficiente, in contrarium verti, &, ut vera loquar, nullum Principem video in quo S. D. N. possit, quam in Regia Majestate plenius aut perfectius confidere, vel cujus medio Apostolicæ sedis status in pristinam

stinam suam dignitatem queat certius restitui, cum absq; ejus subsidio, nisi solus Deus ex immensa sua bonitate manum citissime apponat, omnino imminutus iri videatur. Quod si Sanctissimus Dominus noster nunc (quod absit) in his Regiis petitionibus durum se, aut difficilem se exhibuerit, mihi certe molestissimum est futurum vivere diutius, ob innumera mala, quæ inde subsecutura videntur, hoc præsertim firmo, tutoq; Regio subsidio tam ingrate abjecto; hocq; solum, & certum, & salubre remedium videtur tantæ corrigendæ calamitati superesse, quo neglecto omnia corruant necesse est. Hac autem in re S.D.N. sua erga Regiam Majestatem animi gratitudine comprobata, poterit de illius amicitia & conjunctione quæcunq; volet sibi polliceri, adversus eos omnes, qui ejus Autoritatem aut dignitatem voluerint oppugnare. Tandem his causis rationibusq; omnibus in unum congestis, mecum ipse reputans, quam multa gravissimi momenti in hujus conjugii Dissolutione occurrant, in tanta æquitate justoq; fundamento posita, ob quæ hæc Dissolutio nec possit absq; gravissimo detrimento, nec debeat diutius protrahi aut intermitti; videns quoq; quid allegari possit & allegabitur omnino ad Regiæ Majestatis conscientiam coram Deo purgandam, etiamsi id a S.D.N. neutiquam admittatur, quæ in hujusmodi allegationibus confisa, vereor ne in tanta rerum extremitate constituta, potius quam ingentia mala, quæ hinc apertissime imminent, succedant, dicta Regia Majestas ex duobus malis minus malum eligat, & soli suæ puræq; conscientiæ innitens, id agat, quod nunc tam reverenter a Sedis Apostolicæ Authoritate exigit, unde Sedis contemptus indies gravior excresceret, hoc præsertim tempore admodum periculoso: quæ omnia sunt a S.D.N. summa sua prudentia alte consideranda, nullo prorsus dubio aut difficultate in re tam gravi mature concedenda interjecta; nec eam retardare debet cujusquam mortalis instantia, contemplatio vel satisfactio, præsertim quum in multis aliis rebus, forsan non tam manifestis & apparentibus, Sanctitas sua liberalem, facilemq; erga alios se sæpe præstiterit; cui humillima reverentia præmissa meo nomine dicetis, quod hæc loquor tamquam fidele, utcunq; Ecclesiæ indignum membrum, omnia excogitans quæ possent in Ecclesiæ augmentum & existimationem cedere, ea etiam admovens & consulens ut evitentur, quæ cessura videantur in contrarium. Quocirca Sanctissimo Domino nostro affirmabitis, quod præmissis omnibus tam maximi momenti existentibus probe consideratis, non veluti Mediator aut Intercessor, ob privatum illum affectum quem Regiæ Majestatis causis, ut mei juris est, promovendis gero, sed tanquam is qui in re tanta & ex tam certa scientia & cognitione, velim Sanctissimo Domino nostro suadere, ut quod nunc petitur omnino concedat, idque suaderem etiam si in hoc Regnum nunquam venissem, neq; hic commune quicquam haberem; rogoque, precor, & obtestor ejus Sanctitatem, ut omni dubio, respectu, metuq; deposito, nullo pacto neget aut differat ea concedere aut adnuere, quæ Regia Majestas urgentissimas ob causas tanta nunc animi sollicitudine exposcit; sed his potius benignius liberaliterq; adnuat, & omnia concedere non gravetur in pleniorem modum qui hujus rei gratia possit excogitari, compertissimumq; sibi sua Sanctitas habeat, se id effecturum, quod coram Deo & hominibus justum omnino habebitur, actissimeque Regiam Majestatem devinciet ad suæ Sanctitatis, Ecclesiæ Apostolicæque Sedis, causasque omnes pro viribus juvandas protegendasque, nec ea in re, ulli labori, sumptui,

Regno

Regno vel subditis parcet, nec (si opus fuerit) propriam Personam exponere recusabit, in ea opinione constantissime permansura, in eandemque sententiam Gallorum Regem & alios confæderatos attrahet, tum pro suæ Sanctitatis & Cardinalium liberatione, tum pro Sedis Apostolicæ Authoritatis & dignitatis restitutione; & præterquam quum dicta Sanctitas mei humillimæ suæ Creaturæ fidem & existimationem conservabit, quo in omnem eventum & necessitatem ea possim hic facilius commodiusq; tractare quæ in Ecclesiæ commodum, beneficium & securitatem cessura videbuntur, in quæ officia omnem meam industriam, zelum, studiumq; adhibebo, hunc quoq; Serenissimum Regem in perpetuum sibi lucrifaciet. Quod si harum rerum rationem non habuerit, vereor ne sit futurum in mea potestate, ut ullo modo hanc Regiam Majestatem vel alium ullum Principem ad ea adducam, quæ Sanctissimo Domino nostro solatio aut subsidio esse possunt. Sed confido ab ipsius Sanctitate tantam malorum occasionem sublatam iri, gratissimo, benignissimo, liberrimoq; animo, omnia ut petuntur concessuram esse, nullo objecto impedimento, contradictione aut mora.

Romæ *Jan.* 20. 1528.

XII. Staphileus's *Letter to the Cardinal, that shews how much he was perswaded of the justice of the King's Cause. The Original.*

REverendissime & Illustrissime Domine D. mihi colendissime, post humillimam cõmendationem D. V. Reverend. dignabitur intelligere, qualiter quintadecima die post recessum nostrum a Londino conscendimus navem, retenti interim in portu ob tempestatem Maris & contrarios ventos: interim in itinere fui cum Reverendo Domino Roffen. & disputavimus materiam multum, copiose, & satis prolixe, in præsentia Domini Doctoris Marmeduci, qui intellexit omnia ex utraq; parte ab utroque dicta & sæpius replicata; penes quem autem steterit victoria, vel saltem, uter nostrum validius certaverit, D. V. Reverend. percipiet ex fideli relatione præfati D. Marmeduci. Unum certifico D. V. Reverend. quod pro uno mediocri Episcopatu desiderassem quod huic nostræ Disputationi interfuisset Serenissimus Rex noster & D. V. & Regina, pro intelligentia veritatis & pro modo disputandi: etenim commendo humiliter D. V. Reverend. istum bonum virum, bonum servitorem ac diligentem Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis & D. V. Reverendiss. Quibus me quoq; humillimum ac ex toto devotissimum eorum servum quam humillime possum ex toto corde meo semper commendo, præstiturus utriq; fideliss. & amantiss. obsequium in rebus & negotiis mihi commissis & committendis. Bene valeat D. V. Reverendiss. quæ dignabitur tenere me semper in bona gratia Serenissimi Regis nostri, qui est decus & ornamentum Regiæ Dignitatis. Ex Bononia 20 Jan. 1528.

Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 10.

D. V. Reverendiss.

Humillimus Servitor Episcopus
Staphileus.

Ad Campegium, 1528.

XIII. *The Cardinal's Letter to* Campegius, *taken from the Draught of it; Corrected with his own hand.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 10.

REverendissime in Christo Pater, grata semper huic Regiæ Majestati extiterunt Vestræ Reverend. Dominat. officia, sed gratissimum omnium illud fuit, quod tanta fide & sedulitate in ipsius promovenda causa ab ea fuisse præstitum ex Reverendi Domini Jerdonen. sermone cognovit: quam optimi amoris significationem toto pectore amplexatur, jussitq; ut suis nominibus ingentes vestræ Reverendissimæ D. gratias haberemus: Cui ego eo quoq; nomine maxime quoq; me debere fateor, nulla enim in re magis obnoxium me sibi potest efficere, quam si totis suis viribus, omni gratia & Authoritate adnitatur, quo negotium hoc ex Regiæ Majestatis sententia quam citissime conficiatur; hujusmodi enim est ut nullum gravius possit accidere, dilationem nullam patitur, utpote quod totius hujus Regni conservationem, Regiæ sobolis continuationem & ejus animi salutem in se contineat: causa quidem manifestior est quam disputatione egeat, & sanctior quam debeat in controversiam adduci, hanc unam gratiam & nunc primum a Sede Apostolica votis omnibus petit, & eam tum ex rei justitia, tum ex sua in S. D. N. filiali devotione, spem concepit, ut nullo pacto sibi persuadeat unquam fieri posse ut sua expectatione frustretur, quam scit vestræ R. D. opera ac pio patrocinio maxime posse juvari.

Iterum igitur atq; iterum Reverendissimam D. vestram obsecro, ut postquam recenti & claro hoc testimonio purgavit quicquid antea in Regiam Majestatem fide sinistre fuerat ad nos delatum, & nostrum animum sibi totum devinxit, non gravetur nunc strenue in hoc Regio promovendo negotio ad optatum usq; finem perseverare, quod ita cor nostrum premit, ut vel proprio sanguine id vellemus posse a S. D. N. impetrare. Cætera, vestra Reverendissima D. uberius ac distinctius cognoscet ex Reverendo Domino Episcopo Jerdonensi, & ex Domino Stephano Gardinero intimo meo servo, & Domino Edwardo Foxo Regio familiari, quibus rogo ut certissimam in omnibus fidem velit habere. Et fælicissime valeat.

Maii 7. 1528.

XIV. *The Cardinal's Letter to* G. Cassali, *desiring a Decretal Bull to be sent over. A Duplicate.*

Cotton libr. *Vitel.* B. 10.

MAgnifice Domine Gregori, &c. Ingentem Serenissima Regia Majestas & ego lætitiam concepimus, quum tum ex Domini Stephani literis, tum vero ex Domini Foxi relatu cognovimus, quanta fide, industria, ac vigilantia usi sitis in ejusdem Regiæ Majestatis conficiendo negotio, quem vestrum animum, etsi sæpe antea arduis in rebus exploratissimum certissimumq; haberemus, hoc tamen tam claro testimonio nihil a

vobis

vobis omissum perspicimus, quod votum nostrum utcunq; juvare potuisset. Cæterum quum nonnulla adhuc meo aliorumq; Doctiss. virorum judicio superesse videantur, ad Regiæ Majestatis causam securissime stabiliendam finiendamq; de quibus ad D. Stephanum in præsentia perscribo; Vos iterum atq; iterum rogo, ut de illis impetrandis apud S. D. N. una cum Domino Stephano vestram gratiam & Authoritatem, quam apud ejus Sanctitatem maximam esse & audio & gaudeo, pro viribus interponatis, maxime autem ut in Commissione illa Decretali a S. D. N. nullis Arbitris seu consultoribus admissis concedenda, & secreto ad me mittenda, omnes vires ingenii, prudentiæ diligentiæq; vestræ adhibeatis, affirmabitisq; & in salutem animamq; meam eidem S. D. N. spondebitis, quod dictam Bullam secretissime nullis mortalium oculis conspiciendam apud me asservabo, tanta fide & cautione, ut ne minimum quidem ex ea re periculum, vel periculi metum ejus Sanctitas sit sensura; non enim eo consilio aut animo eam Commissionem impetrari tam vehementer cupio, ut vel illius vigore ullius processus aut aliud præterea quicquid ageretur, vel eadem publice privatimve legere illa ulli exhiberetur, sed ut hac quasi arrha & pignore summæ paternæq; S. D. N. erga Regiam Majestatem benevolentiæ apud me deposito, quum videat nihil illi denegaturum quod petiverit, perspiciatq; tantum fidei ejus Sanctitatem in me reposuisse, sic mea apud dictam Majestatem augeatur Authoritas, ut quanquam vires omnes suas opesq; Apostolicæ Sedis conservationi & in pristinum statum reparationi sic sponte dicaverit, me tamen suasore & consultore omnia in posterum, & in sanguinis effusionem sit concessura & effectura, quæ in ejusdem Sedis & suæ Beatitudinis securitatem, tranquillitatem & commodum, quaquam ratione cedere poterunt.

XV. *The Brieve of Pope* Julius *for the King's Marriage; Suspected to be forged.*

Julius Papa Secundus. Dilecte Fili & dilecta in Christo Filia, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Romani Pontificis præcellens Authoritas concessa sibi desuper utitur potestate, prout (personarum, negotiorum & temporum qualitate pensata) id in Domino conspicit expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte vestra petitionis series continebat, quod cum alias tu Filia Catharina, & tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus Carissimi in Christo Filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis illustrissimus primogenitus, pro conservandis pacis & amicitiæ nexibus & fœderibus inter præfatum Angliæ Regem,& Carissimum in Christo Filium nostrum Ferdinandum Regem, & Carissimam in Christo Filiam nostram Elizabeth. Reginam Catholicos Hispaniarum & Siciliæ, Matrimonium per verba legitime de præsenti contraxeritis, *illudque carnali copula consummaveritis*, quia tamen Dominus Arthurus, prole ex hujusmodi Matrimonio non suscepta, decessit, & hujusmodi vinculum pacis & connexitatis inter præfatos Reges & Reginam ita firmiter verisimiliter non perduraret, nisi etiam illud alio affinitatis vinculo confoveretur & confirmaretur, ex his & certis aliis causis, desideratis Matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præsenti contrahere: Sed quia desiderium

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 12.

vestrum

vestrum in præmissis adimplere non potestis, Dispensatione Apostolica desuper non obtenta, nobis propterea humiliter supplicari fecistis, ut vobis providere in præmissis de Dispensationis gratia & benignitate Apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur qui inter singulos Christi fideles, præsertim Catholicos Reges & Principes, pacis & concordiæ amænitatem vigere intensis desideriis affectamus, his & aliis causis animum nostrum moventibus, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, vobiscum, ut aliquo impedimento affinitatis hujusmodi ex præmissis proveniente non obstante Matrimonium inter vos contrahere, & in eo postquam contractum fuerit, remanere, libere & licite valeatis, Authoritate Apostolica per præsentes Dispensamus; & quatenus forsan jam Matrimonium inter vos de facto publice vel clandestine contraxeritis, ac carnali copula consummaveritis, vos & quemlibet vestrum ab excessu hujusmodi, ac Excommunicationis sententia quam propterea incurristis, eadem Authoritate absolvimus, ac etiam vobiscum ut in hujusmodi Matrimonio sic de facto contracto remanere, seu illud de novo contrahere, inter vos libere & licite valeatis, similiter Dispensamus, prolem ex hujusmodi Matrimonio sive contracto sive contrahendo suscipiendam legitimam decernendo. Volumus autem, si hujusmodi Matrimonium de facto contraxistis, Confessor, per vos & quemlibet vestrum eligendus, pænitentiam, quam adimplere teneamini, propterea vobis injungat. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die 26 Decemb. millesimo quingentesimo tertio. Pont. nostri Anno primo.

Sigismundus.

XVI. *A part of the Cardinal's Letter to* G. Cassali, *desiring leave to shew the Decretal Bull to some of the King's Council. A Duplicate.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitell. B.* 10.

ILlud igitur video maxime necessarium superesse ut Decretalis Bulla, quam Reverendissimus Dominus Legatus secum defert, secreto legenda exhibeatur nonnullis ex Regis Consultoribus, eo quidem consilio, non ut in judicium proferatur, vel ad causam definiendam adhibeatur, sed solum ut perspicientes illi, quorum prudentia & Autoritas non parva est, nihil a me fuisse omissum, quod causam Regis possit securissimam redere, omniaq; fuisse a S. D. N. concessa, quæ in causæ firmamentum ullo pacto queant excogitari facilius, ubi Regiæ Majestatis securitati, Regni quieti, & perpetuo totius rei stabilimento undiq; consultum viderint, in sententiam nostram deveniant, summaq; cum diligentia in Autoritate Apostolica ad Dei gloriam conjuncta rectissime absolvantur. Proinde, Domine Gregori, iterum atq; iterum vos impense rogo, quod ad S. D. N. genua devoluti ejus Beatitudinem meo nomine obsecretis, ut hoc reliquum meæ fidei meæq; dexteritati de Bulla Decretali ostendenda committere velit, quam rem sic moderabor, ut nullum prorsus periculum, nullum damnum, nullum odium queat unquam sibi, vel Sedi Apostolicæ provenire; hocq; tam instanter precor, ut pro salute mea conservanda petere queam ardentius nihil.

Reveren-

XVII. John Cassali's *Letter about a Conference he had with the Pope. An Original.*

Reverendissime ac Illustrissime Domine D. mi Colendissime, &c.

Quum Tabellarius D. Vestræ Reverendissimæ cum ejus mandatis literisq; die 2. Novemb. datis Bononiam ad Equitem fratrem pervenisset, neq; ipse tunc posset præ debilitate properatis itineribus Romam venire, ne ad eam rem longioris temporis moram interponeret, misit per dispositos equos D. Vicentium Cassalium fratrem nostrum patruelem, volens ipsum statim subsequi; venit igitur D. Vincentius Cassalius. At ego Vestræ Dominationis Reverendissimæ literis lectis ac perpensis, S.D.N. adivi, & ea quæ D. V. Reverendissima scripserat, diligenter ejus Sanctitati exposui, ipsasq; etiam literas recitavi, quæ prudentissime & efficacissime omnia explicabant. Atq; hujusmodi verbis sum loquutus. *Cotton libr. Vitel. B.10.*

Non locus hic nec tempus postulat, Beatissime Pater, ut ego nunc commemorem, quanto amore, quanto animi affectu, quibusq; officiis illa Regia Majestas Apostolicam Sedem Sanctitatemq; Vestram sit ubique omni tempore prosequuta, quantaq; observantia & fide Reverendissimus Dominus Eboracen. semper coluerit; nec recensendum hic videtur, quot labores, quot incommoda subiverint, quæ officia, quas multoties impensas effecerint, quærentes Ecclesiasticum statum, Christianam Religionem, & Catholicam Fidem protegere ac conservare: Nec vestra Sanctitas ignorare debet, quibus laboribus, quantis precibus, quot tabellariis, quot oratoribus missis, quot non dicam literis, sed voluminibus conscriptis, post multa insuper Jurisperitorum consilia, tum ex Anglia allata, tum hic etiam formata, fuerit tandem a vestra Sanctitate impetratum, ut res eo, quo fuit pacto, componeretur: Qua ratione Regiæ Majestatis desiderio indulgebatur, & Beatitudinis vestræ honori ac conscientiæ, justitiæq; & æquitati consulebatur: At nunc Sanctitas Vestra animadvertit illos, præter omnium nostrum spem & opinionem, omni auxilio penitus esse destitutos: Reverendiss. Campegius non modo non ostendit, se adeo urgentibus precibus Serenissimi Regis obtemperare velle, sed ut primum ad Colloquium venit, rem totam pervertit, Regiam Majestatem a Divortio dissuasit, perinde ac si ei Legatio demandata fuerit, ut Serenissimo Regi ex parte Reginæ persuadere debeat, ut se a Divortio abstineat, adeo ut non possit Regia Majestas stimulum hunc Conscientiæ ex suo pectore evellere, semperq; in ea mentis perturbatione illi sit permanendum, ut omnibus horis cogitet successorem sui Regni ex suo sanguine defuturum. Neq; adhuc Reverendissimus Campegius ullam significationem dedit, velle se ad id exequendum descendere, quod priore illa generali Commissione continetur; verum, quod pejus etiam est, quum multis precibus Bulla Decretalis in hac causa Regia impetrata fuerit, promiseritq; Vestra Sanctitas se permissurum ut Serenissimo Regi ac Reverendiss. D. Eboracen. ostenderetur, & eorum manibus crederetur, quam ipsi aliquibus ex Secretissimis Consiliariis ostenderent, ut Serenissimus Rex de totius negotii æquitate instructior fieret, noluit Reverendissimus Campegius eam credere Serenissimo Regi, aut Reverendissimo

simo Domino Eboracen. suo in ea causa Collegæ. Cur autem velit Vestra Sanctitas Regiam Majestatem in eam spem adduxisse, ut deinde hoc pacto illam frustretur ac deludat. Tunc S. D. N. injecta in meum brachium manu, me ulterius loqui prohibuit, se ira accensum non abscondens, dixit, Non parum sibi de D. V. Reverendissima conquerendum esse, atque sub ejus fide se deceptum esse; Bullam Decretalem dedisse, ut tantum Regi ostenderetur, concremareturq; statim: ad hoc me (inquit) multis ille magnisque precibus protraxit, ostendens, si id non daretur, manifestam suæ saluti ruinam impendere; nunc autem eam Bullam, quæ debuit esse Secretissima, vult divulgare, neq; unquam se promisisse concessurum ut Consiliariis ostendatur: literas (inquit) ipsas Reverendissimi Eboracen. proferre possum, quibus id tantum, quod dixi, petit, & ipsum Equitem Cassalium testem volo, quod Dominus Stephanus Gardinerus & ipse nil aliud a me postulaverunt, nec si postulassent, quicquam amplius obtinuissent; atq; utinam aliter rem petissent, eam namq; facile denegassem, nec ad hanc pœnitentiam venissem, ex qua vel unius digiti jactura (modo fieri possit) quod factum fuit revocarem, video enim quantum mali ex eo mihi subeundum sit. Quum S. D. N. hæc & similia contra suum morem dixisset, ego in eam sententiam subsequutus, sciendum esse, quod D. V. Reverendissima petit, non esse ab eo, quod ejus Sanctitas constitutum fuisse dicit alienum, nec D. V. Reverendissima hanc rem divulgari velle, aut secundum eam Bullam sententiam ferri; Cæterum Regiæ Majestati & sibi tradi, ut possent aliquibus fidelioribus carioribusq; Consiliariis ostendere, ut ipsi de re tota fiant instructiores, quod perinde arcanum erit, ac si in nullius notitiam devenisset. An non (inquam) Sanctitas Vestra plerosq; habet, quibus quum aliquid arcanum crediderit, putet id non minus celatum esse, quam si uno tantum pectore contineretur, quod multo magis Serenissimo Angliæ Regi evenire debet, cui singuli in suo Regno sunt subjecti, neq; etiamsi velint, possunt Regi non esse fidelissimi: Ve namq; illis si vel parvo momento ab illius voluntate recederent, quid hoc præterea obesse potest? an non sic petitum, sic constitutum fuit? quæ ratio Sanctitatem Vestram propositum mutare cogit? Ibi Pontifex iracundus, & concitatior etiam quam paulo ante; Haud (inquit) ita fuit constitutum, nec me latet, quid de ea Bulla facere cogitent & cujusmodi ex eo mihi damnum redundaturum sit; firmum igitur illud habeatis, me decrevisse, neq; sententiam muto, nolle quicquam amplius hac in re permittere. At ego, nolit (quæso) Vestra Sanctitas sic ex certa animi sententia loqui, ac potius in his literis Reverendissimi Domini Eboracen. consideret damna, ruinas, hæreses, quæ Vestræ Sanctitatis culpa in illo Regno orientur: Regia enim Majestas male a Vestra Beatitudine tractata, injuria, & ignominia affecta, studium & voluntatem, quam semper optimam in Sedem Apostolicam habuit, in contrariam partem convertere posset, hoc est Dominationi Vestræ toto pectore considerandum. Esto quod de hujus negotii æquitate dissentaneum non sit, concedamus etiam hanc rem malam, & mali exempli futuram (quod quidem secus esse judicaverunt omnes) an non Vestra Sanctitas novit pleraq; quæ non bona sunt præferri nonnunquam a nobis solere, ne pejora patiamur; atq; hoc tum aliis in rebus, tum imprimis hæresium evitandarum causa providendum est, quas videmus, quum semel altiores radices egerint, non posse amplius extirpari: atq; ibi ad illius pedes genibus flexis, eam precibus omnibus sum obtestatus, ut antiquitiam

tiam, potentissimi Regis conservare, observantiam Dominationis Vestræ Reverendissimæ erga ejus Sanctitatem, nostramq; servitutem respicere vellet; relicta namq; Regiæ Majestatis amicitia, religionis imminutio subsequeretur, & Regni illius a tam antiqua cum Sede Apostolica conjunctione dissolutio, ac Dominationis Vestræ Reverendissimæ gratia & Autoritas apud Sereniss. Regem non suo merito deficeret, ejusq; fortasse salus periclitaretur; Nos autem qui semper Beatitudini Vestræ inservivimus, pro qua tot bonis officiis functi sumus, & tantum operæ perfecimus, ad integram amicitiam inter Regiam Majestatem & Vestram Sanctitatem conservandam, in medio nostrarum actionum, Regni illius damna & calamitatem, nostramq; certissimam ruinam conspiceremus.' Ad hæc S. D. N. & brachiorum & totius corporis agitatione, animum commotum ostendens, Volo (inquit) ego ruinam, quæ mihi modo immineat considerare, & idipsum quod feci valde me angit; Si hæreses, vel alia mala oritura sunt, quænam in eo mea culpa erit, satis meæ conscientiæ fuerit me vacasse culpa, cui essem obnoxius, si hoc etiam quod nunc ex me petitur concederem: Nec Reverendissimus Dominus Eboracensis, nec vos ullam causam de me conquerendi habetis, quicquid nunc pollicitus sum præstiti, neq; aliud unquam, etsi mihi faciendi esset facultas, Regia Majestas & Reverendissimus Dominus Eboracen. a me petierunt, quod non promptissime concesserim, ut quisq; facile intelligat, quanti eos semper fecerim; ad aliqua etiam Vestri causa faciliorem me præbui. Cæterum ubi vertitur meæ conscientiæ integritas omnia posthabenda censeo, agant per se ipsi quod volunt, Legatum remittant eo prætextu, quod in causam ulterius procedi nolint, & deinceps ut ipsi volent rem conficiant, modo ne me autore injuste quicquam agatur. Tunc ego, Nonne Vestra Sanctitas vult, ut ex vigore Commissionis procedatur? quod quum velle affirmasset, dixi, igitur Reverendissimus Campegius Sanctitatis Vestræ voluntati adversatur, Divortium enim Regi dissuasit; At Pontifex, ego (inquit) illi imposui, ut Divortium Regi dissuaderet, persuaderet Reginæ; quod autem ad Commissionem pertinet, si requiratur, exequetur. Sumus ergo (inquam) concordes, Beatissime Pater, quod quum ita sit, quid nocere poterit Decretalem Bullam aliquibus secretissimis ac juramento addactis Consiliariis ostendisse: Tum quassans caput, Scio (inquit) quid de ea facere constituant, verum nondum Campegii literas ex Anglia legi, quapropter die crastino ad me redibitis. Hoc pacto S. D. N. primo die me dimisit. Ad fuit his sermonibus Dominus Vincentius Cassalius, quem ob equitem fratrem huc missum dixi, qui equitem ipsum excusavit, quod quamvis ille animadverteret negotium hoc tanti momenti esse, ut etiam cum vitæ discrimine Romam per dispositos equos sibi properandum esse videret, nihilominus supersedisse videns quod si id fecisset necesse sibi futurum domi, & in lectulo permanere potius, quam de re tanta coram ejus Sanctitate agere. Atque interim Dominus Vincentius multas rationes ad persuadendum, equitis Cassalii nomine adhibuit, quas eodem pacto ejus Sanctitas in sequentem diem rejecit.

Postridie ejus diei signatura habita est, cui ego tanquam referendarius interfui, in vesperumq; est protracta, nec judicavi opportunum Pontificem signaturæ munere defessum aggredi, quum præsertim ejus Sanctitas diceret se nondum Campegii literas perlegisse. Res igitur iterum in diem proximum rejecta fuit, quo postea horam commodam nactus Pontificem

 adivi,

adivi, quumq; omnium Capitum, quæ D. V. Reverendissimæ literis continebantur, quasi summam effecissem, ne quicquam per oblivionem præterirem, ab ea primum parte cœpi, in qua dicitur suam Sanctitatem concessisse Commissionem generalem in amplissima forma, & promisisse ferendam sententiam, se ratificaturum. Pontifex hoc verum esse affirmavit, dicens se contentum esse, ut ad sententiam procedatur; Qua vero parte est, ejus Sanctitatem Bullam Decretalem concessisse, ut secretiores Regiæ Majestatis Consiliarios instrueret, id a veritate longe remotum dixit, posseq; ad id se literas D. V. Reverendissimæ ostendere: Atque ea repetivit, quæ priore die super hoc dixerat, viz. Dominum Stephanum Gardinerum & Equitem Cassalium se testes habere, hanc Bullam non ea conditione petitam fuisse ut ostenderetur cuiquam, præterquam Serenissimo Regi & D. V. Reverendissimæ, & Campegium nunc ad se scribere tantundem effecisse, quo facto ex conventione Bullam comburi debere, promissurum quoq; se dixit, ut si quæ allegantur, probentur, ad sententiam ferendam procedatur, se id ratum habiturum. Quumq; ego quæsissem an vellet, quæ fierent per eam Bullam comprobare, minime id oportere dixit; negavit quoq; eam Consiliariis ostendendam esse, qui tametsi rem bonam non judicarent, approbarent tamen super ejus Sanctitatis Conscientiam; ac sæpius interim repetivit, non esse amplius in ea re commorandum. Ad aliam igitur partem deveni, in qua D. V. Reverendissima dicit, Reverendissimum Campegium Divortium inter Regem Serenissimum & Reginam conatum dissuadere: Tum Pontifex Campegium scribere dixit, eo se etiam functurum officio, ut Reginæ Divortium persuaderet, quam ab eo alienam invenerit; modeste tamen eam, ait, locutam fuisse, & Consiliarios petiisse, qui ex Hispania denegati fuerint, ex Flandria autem concessi. Dixit etiam S. D. N. se literas ad Regem, Reverendissimo Campegio ex suo Chirographo dedisse, ut Regia Majestas fidem his haberet, quæ Reverendissimus Campegius suæ Sanctitatis nomine diceret. Ad illam deinde partem deveni, ubi est: Causam Regis perinde differt, ac si nolit ad judicium, sententiamq; in partem suæ Majestatis ferendam descendere, donec S. D. N. certiorem prius effecerit, de his ad hanc causam concernentibus, quæ ibi vidit & audivit. Ad hæc respondit, Campegium quandocunq; requisitus fuerit, processurum, neq; de supersedendo Commissionem habere; se tantum injunxisse, ut quum procedi cœptum esset, se certiorem faceret, ne tamen interim moræ aliquid interponeretur. At ubi est nullo pacto adduci vult, ut mihi suo Collegæ Commissionem hanc Decretalem credat: Dixit verum id esse, ideo factum ne pluribus palam fieret, eaque conditione qua petitum fuit, ostensam nequicquam amplius expectandum, ea repetens, quæ prius etiam circa hoc dixerat. At ego, videat Sanctitas vestra quod ex his verbis, quæ hic scripta sunt loquor, quæ dicunt Sanctitatem Vestram Commissionem Decretalem concessisse, ea conditione ut aliquibus Regiis Consiliariis ostenderetur. Tum Pontifex iterum excandescens; Ostendam (inquit) literas ipsius Reverendissimi Eboracen. nec loquor mendacia, & non minus meis verbis, literisq; prioribus Reverendissimi Eboracen. fides est habenda, quam his quas nunc affertis. Tum ejus Sanctitatem mitigari quæsivi, si minus urgenter mandata exequerer, quoniam id a me fieri oportet. Quod ad Regni ruinas, damna, calamitates, scandala, & diminutionem Religionis, multa in eandem sententiam dixit, in quam primo die locutus fuit, quum diceret, Egregium

vero

vero decus Serenissimo huic Regi fuerit, si ipse, qui Fidei Defensor & sit & appelletur, qui libros etiam pro ejus defensione ediderit, eandem nunc impugnare cogatur; Ad hæc quam recte sint venturi, viderint ipsi. Eo autem loco, in quo dicebatur aliquid de Regio negotio, inter Generalem Fatrum de observantia, & ejus Sanctitatem convenisse, & eo autore fœdus inter ejus Sanctitatem & Cæsarianos componendum, Dixit, id ostendere, quod de Regio negotio nihil promiserit, quod quicunq; pollicitus sit, & quin poterit habita ratione suæ conscientiæ, re ipsa præstare velit: In eo autem quod de Pace tractanda affertur, dixit, se nullum modum in tali negotio invenire, neq; se adhuc scire, quod iste Generalis ullas pacis conditiones sit allaturus; atq; ea insuper addidit, quæ meis literis die 15 Novemb. datis D. V. Reverendissimæ significavi.

Aliis deinde diebus S. D. N. sæpissime sum alloquutus, qui decrevit cum Reverendissimis de Monte & Sanctorum Quatuor Cardinalibus de his rebus omnibus loqui, præterquam de Bulla Decretali, de qua cum nemine vult ullam fieri mentionem, jussitq; ex omni Scriptura ejus memoriam eximi. De reliquis itaq; rebus omnibus loquutus sum cum his duobus Cardinalibus qui dixerunt Pontificem contentum fore, ut ad sententiam procedatur, tametsi id plerisq; alienum videatur, deque eo nonnulli ex Cardinalibus cum obtrectatione loquuntur, & Cæsaris Orator ne procedatur Protestatur, vuluntq; fieri in Curia Causæ advocationem, Commissionemq; cum Inhibitione ad partes; dicuntq; hi duo Reverendissimi, quod quæ postulant illi, justa sunt, nec minimo cuiq; denegari possent, nolle tamen Regiæ Majestatis causa S. D. N. quicquam ex eo quod factum sit, immutare.

Quum alio etiam die Pontificem otiosum nactus essem, multa cum ejus Sanctitate, de rebus præteritis disserui, deque eo, quod ego ad ejus utilitatem cum Venetis egissem, quoniam scirem Serenissimi Regis, & D. V. Reverendissimæ voluntatem esse, ut quotiescunq; occasio daretur, pro suæ Sanctitatis commodo omnia fierent: Exposui deinde quantopere elaborassem pro negotio Cerviæ & Ravennæ, utq; multa Gallici Oratores egissent a D. V. Reverendissima potissimum instigati; Addidi etiam efficacissima verba, quibus usus est Dominus Stephanus Gardinerus: Ad omnia S. D. N. respondit, se ea de re Regiæ Majestati, ac D. V. Reverendissimæ gratias habere, & mihi quoque gratias egit; dixitque, non tamen omnes simul tantum efficere potuistis, ut mihi meæ civitates redderentur. Scitis autem conditiones fœderis in quo ego quoque eram, fuisse, ut quum quis nostrum injuria afficeretur, ab eo cæteri confœderati injuriam propulsarent, quod multo magis pro me faciendum erat, quum qui in ipso fœdere essent mihi injuriarentur; Et inde Cæsariani volunt mihi persuadere Venetos non fuisse id facturos, si putassent Regi Angliæ aut Christianissimo displiciturum: Neque interim desistunt, multa, magnaq; mihi polliceri, unde ego, quod alias etiam dixi, id quod affertur, quum aliter facere nequeam, accipere cogar. Illudq; etiam vos scire volo promissum mihi fuisse, si legatus hic in Angliam mitteretur, futurum ut mihi civitates a Venetis restituerentur. Tum ego, non omnia, Beatissime Pater, adhuc sunt perfecta, Rex enim potentissimus omnino operam dabit, ut illæ civitates Beatitudini

dini Vestræ restituantur: An non, quæ ejus Majestas scribit Vestra Sanctitas animadvertit? Cui videndum imprimis est, ne de ipsa Serenissimo Regi sit conquerendum; & ex hac occasione iterum ad Regiam Caussam redii. At ejus Sanctitas dixit, se omnia quæ potuisset pro Regia Majestate & D. V. Reverendissima fecisse, facturamq; etiam libenter.

Nonne igitur (inquam) posset ratio aliqua inveniri qua concederetur eam Bullam aliquibus ex Secretioribus Consiliariis ostendi posse? Tum Pontifex, non (inquit) Non potest hoc fieri, nec a me impetrari; quod si ullo modo fieri potuisset, minime tam multas magnasq; preces a Serenissimo Rege, & Reverendissimo Domino Eboracen. expectassem; quumq; quibusdam validis Argumentis instarem, prohibuit me ulterius de hujusmodi re loqui. Nolui ego unquam dicere, equitem fratrem brevi esse venturum, ne Pontifex rem in illius adventum protraheret, ea tantum de causa, ut moram interponeret.

Omnibus deinde aliis diebus super eodem negotio institi, nunquam tamen Pontifex sententiam suam ulla ex parte immutare voluit; tantum illud decrevit, Nuntium mittere velle, qui suam sententiam verbis explicaret: quumq; nulla mihi amplius spes relinqueretur quicquam amplius impetrandi, tum demum dixi, Equitem fratrem Romæ futurum sequenti die, qui quum adeo gravis momenti rem, cerneret, noluerit suæ valetudini consulere, & quod is minime putasset, suæ servitutis in ejus Sanctitatem merita hoc modo male tractanda fuisse. Gratum sibi dixit Pontifex Equitis adventum fore, quodq; cum ipso & constituerentur omnia, negans tamen se ullo pacto id quod nunc petitur concessurum. Venit itaq; Eques frater, qui non secus ac si nunquam quisquam de hac re cum Pontifice egisset, singula de integro tractavit, omnibus his modis & rationibus tentatis quæ excogitari poterunt. Quæ omnia minutim Dominus Vincentius Cassalius noster patruelis, quem ad ipsum mittimus, verbis coram explicabit, egoque ne D. V. Reverendissimæ jam nimis molestus sim, de hac ulterius non scribam.

Quod ad Wintoniensem Expeditionem spectat, multum hi Reverendissimi Domini Cardinales offendebantur, nunc ab ipsis pecuniarum remissiones postulari, quum deprædata eorum bona sint, ipsiq; propter id ad Paupertatem redacti. Quibus ego ostendi, majus emolumentum ad ipsos venturum, si D. V. Reverendissima unam Ecclesiam acciperet, alteram deponeret, quam si alter tantum Wintoniensis Ecclesiæ expeditionem faceret; neque D. V. Reverendissimam nimis hanc permutationem optare dixi, quum Wintoniensis non multo Ecclesiæ Dunelmensi sit ditior. Ad hæc dixerunt, quod libentius D. V. Reverendissimæ quam cuiquam alteri erunt gratificaturi, quoniam ipsa de sede Apostolica sit semper bene merita, non tamen se vereri, quin D. V. Reverendissima Wintoniensem Ecclesiam illius Regni primariam sit acceptura. Ego quum Pontificem, & deinde Cardinales eos qui magis rebus nostris student ambissem, effeci ut Pontifex, de ea re in Consistorio referret, quod ejus Sanctitas effecit, multis etiam additis laudibus D. V. Reverendissimæ, quibus aliqui Cardinales, & maxime Neapolitani, responderunt ea quæ superius dixi. Illud tandem decreverunt, quod quum D. V. Reverendissima solvere debeat, pro expeditione Wintoniensis Ecclesiæ & pro retentione Ecclesiæ Eboracensis & Abbatiæ Sancti Albani, habita ratione totius summæ, ejus pars dimidia V. D. Reverendissimæ condona-

condonaretur, & ut ad 13 vel 14 millia aureorum remittant, & non multo plus eo, quod pro Wintonien. tum Ecclesia deberet solvere. Id Reverendissimis Cardinalibus ideo displicebat, quoniam nollent res hujusmodi in exemplum trahi, quum præsertim Magnus Franciæ Cancellarius, ipse quoque in magna quadam Expeditione, idipsum in præsentia flagitat, quod illi concedere nolunt.

Cætera ex Domini Vincentio D. V. Reverendissima copiosius coram intelligat; Quæ bene valeat. Dat. Romæ die 17 Decemb. 1528.

Humillimus servus

Jo. Cassalius

Prothonotar.

XVIII. The Pope's Letter to the Cardinal, giving Credence to *Campana*. An Original.

Dilecto Filio nostro Thomæ Sanctæ Ceciliæ Presbytero Cardinali Eboracen. In Regno Angliæ, nostro & Sedis de Latere Legato.

Dilecte Fili noster, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Existimavimus non tam commode per literas responderi posse his, de quibus postremo Oratores Carrissimi in Christo Filii nostri istius Regis nobiscum egerunt; Itaq; proprium hominem Franciscum Campanam familiarem nostrum istuc mittimus, ex quo sua Serenitas ac Circumspectio tua plenius intelligent quæ nobis occurrunt, tam de rebus ad pacem & publicæ ad universam Christianitatem spectantibus, quam super privatis Serenitatis suæ, de quibus nobis per literas & Oratores vestros significastis, quas quidem summopere cordi habemus. Circumspectionem tuam hortamur, ut sibi ac Serenitati suæ persuadeat nos paternam benevolentiam atq; animum gessisse & gerere erga Serenitatem suam, ab eodemq; amore proficisci omnia quæcunq; illi significamus, ut pluribus Circumspectionem tuam, quam merito multum amamus, exponet Dilect. Fil. Card. Campegius, Legatus una tecum noster, ac dictus Franciscus, quibus plenissimam fidem habebitis. Datum Romæ 15. Decembris M.D.XXVIII. *Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 10.*

J.

Clemens manu propria.

Decemb. 1. 1528.

XIX. *A part of* Peter Vannes *his Instructions, directing him to threaten the Pope. An Original.*

AND *Peter*, as of himself, shall a-part say unto his Holiness; Sir, I being an *Italian*, cannot but with a more fervent zeal and mind than any other, study and desire the Weal, Honour, and Safety

Safety of your Holiness and the See Apostolick; which compelleth me to shew unto your Holiness, frankly, what I see in this matter. Surely, Sir, in case your Holiness continuing this particular respect of fear of the Emperor, do thus delay, protract, and put off the accomplishment of the King's so instant desire in this Matter, and not impart to his Majesty therein bounteously of the Treasure and Goods of the Church, and the See Apostolick, *quantum potestis ex Thesauro Ecclesiæ & ex plenitudine Potestatis ac Autoritate a Deo vel ab Ecclesia collata.* I see assuredly, that it will be a means so to alienate the fast and entire mind which his Highness beareth to your said Holiness, as not not only thereby his Grace, Nobles, and Realm, but also many other Princes his Friends and Confederates, with their Nobles and Realms, shall withdraw their Devotion and Obedience from your Holiness, and the See Apostolick, studying how they may acquite this your Ingratitude, in the highest cause that can be devised, shewed, and so long continued with the semblable. And therefore, Sir, at the reverence of Almighty God, cast not from you the heart of this noble virtuous Prince, who finally cannot fail, the Peace had, which Christendom may not long forbear, to have in his puissance, such a stay as may be able, in the highest and largest manner, to recompence his Friends, and to acquite the contrary.

Henry R.

XX. The Cardinal's Letter to the Ambassadors about his promotion to the Popedom. An Original.

Magnifico Equiti Domino Gregorio Cassalio ac Domino Petro Vanni, Serenissimi Domini Angliæ & Franciæ Regis in Rom. Curia oratoribus.

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 10.

MAgnifice Domine Gregori & Domine Petre salutem. Sicuti incommodissimus totius Reipublicæ Christianæ, ac potissimum Regis Majestatis negotiis S. D. N. obitus accidit, ita etiam vos non latere puto quantum periculi & discriminis hujus Serenissimi Regis saluti & honori, ac Regni sui quieti ab hac futuri Pontificis Electione immineat, & quantopere vobis adnitendum, ac vestro studio, diligentia, industria & prudentia occurrendum & obstandum sit, ne aliquis eligatur Pontifex alienus ab hac Regia Majestate; & quid pro me promovendo facere ac tractare debeatis, cumulate per communes meas literas vos admonui: nec oportet per has quicquid aliud replicare, quas solum ad vos scribere volui, ut significem vobis me totum hoc gravissimum & omnium maximum negotium, de quo acturi estis, vestræ prudentiæ, fidei, & dexteritati, quam longo temporis usu exploratissimam habeo, committere & credere, speroq; vos spei & opinioni meæ de vobis conceptæ omnino responsuros, & bene valete. Londini die 6 Feb. 1528.

Vester amantissimus Frater
T. Cardin. Eborac.

XXI. An

XXI. An Information given to the Pope about the Divorce. An Original.

Adnotatio Summaria eorum quæ aliis libellis fusius explicata S. D. N. tum licere, tum expedire, persuadent, ut in Causa Regiæ Majestatis Sententiam divortii ferat.

PRimum licet atque etiam expedit dirimere hoc Matrimonium, quod juri tum divino tum humano repugnat. *Cotton* libr. *Vitel.* B.11.

Divinum enim jus duci prohibet Uxorem fratris, quin hic fratris Uxorem ductam fuisse sit notorium.

Humanum vero jus, duo hujus Matrimonii impedimenta continet, alterum Affinitatis, quod divino jure inductum severissime sancivit; alterum publicæ Honestatis, & justitiæ, quod promulgavit Deus, si ex definitione Matrimonii, divini, humaniq; juris commutatio interveniret, quibusnam auspiciis hoc Matrimonium constare dicemus, quod utroque jure adversante ac repugnante, contractum est, coit, & utcumque consistit?

Sed cessavit, inquiunt, in hac specie juris utriusq; prohibitio per gratiam & Dispensationem summi Pontificis.

Respondetur quidem istis multis modis. Primo non esse videri, quod nullum est, nullum autem haberi quod sine Autoritate legitima fiat; deniq; Pontificis Autoritatem non eatenus pertinere, ut in gradibus divina lege prohibitis dispensare possit: non opinionibus Scripturientium, qui Pontificis Authoritatem imminutam velint, sed ipsius Pontificis sententia constat, quem suæ Jurisdictionis modum, & optime novisse & ampliare velle potius quam restringere credendum est; quæ quum ita sint, etiam si humani juris prohibitio per Dispensationem sublata videatur, manet nihilominus immotum, quod divinum est, si ipsis contra seipsos credimus Pontificibus.

Deinde, ut posse Pontifices dispensare fateamur, & in ea parte tribuamus plus Authoritatis quam ipsi sibiipsis audeant arrogare, tamen non possunt, non quocunq; modo, non temere, & sine omni consideratione, posse eos dispensare; atq; fatendum est ne suo testimonio Dissipatores verius quam Dispensatores appellentur. Itaque ut causam urgentissimam & [illegible]entissimam, tum etiam manifestissimam debet habere Dispensatio, precibus deniq; veris, non ementitis atq; confictis inniti.

In Dispensatione autem, quo constat hoc Matrimonium, verbis quidem pacis causa proponitur, sed non ideo quia sic refertur, re ipsa subsistit; Pontificis facta non ad verborum superficiem, sed rei ipsius solidam veritatem expendi convenit.

[illegible] est, pacem multis modis, tum [illegible] fuisse unoq; Matrimonio conciliatam, pactorum deniq; ac foederum vi constantem, istud necessario Matrimonium non desiderasse, & jam Dispensationem sine causa intervenisse dicimus, & consequenter nullam esse, manereq; adhuc divinam prohibitionem atq; adeo [illegible].

Porro etiam, si aliqua sit, & causam haberet, tum mendaciis conflata

 est,

est, subreptitia & obreptitia merito appellanda, jure tum divino, tum humano reprobata.

Nam quum quod alioqui Canonibus cautum sit, ipsius etiam Dispensationis proœmium contineat, "Romani Pontificis Autoritatem concessa "sibi desuper uti potestate, prout personarum, causarum, & temporum "qualitate pensata, id in Domino salubriter conspicit expedire; Quomodo potuit S. D. N. hujus Serenissimi Regis qualitates pensare quas ignoravit? Neque enim de ætate quicquam, quæ in contrahendo hoc Matrimonio præcipua qualitas erat, narrabatur, & tamen illum annum eo tempore duodecimum non excessisse notorium est; & tacita ad hunc modum ætate, mendacium pro causa suggestum est manifestissimum; Cupiisse, *viz.* tunc Serenissimum Regem contrahere Matrimonium, ad hoc ut pacis fœdera continuarentur: facti veritas est, tum quid ageretur ignorasse, & etiamsi tum scivisset, tamen non fuisse verum quod cuperet ad hoc ut pacis fœdera continuarentur, ætas ostendit, quæ per communis juris dispositionem discretionem non admittit; cupere quidem affectus est, cæterum cupere contrahere Matrimonium, ad hoc ut pacis fœdera continuarentur, judicii est & discretionis. Porro autem, quum de continuandis inter duos Principes fœderibus ageretur, alter ante mandatam exequutioni Bullam fatis concessit, & re integra, causa, si quæ fuit, cessavit.

Sed producitur aliud Breve tenoris tam efficacis ut istas Objectiones non admittat.

Sed manet nihilominus eorum sententia, qui Pontificem non posse dispensare affirmant, secundum quos nec Breve nec Bulla consistit; deinde Breve falsum esse, & pro falso judicari deberi, multis rationibus convincitur; denique falsum cum sit, & tamen prioris Bullæ errores corrigat, illam opinionem merito confirmet, ne prior Dispensatio efficax videatur, vel eorum judicio, qui hoc Matrimonium defendere studuerunt, viz. qui veris allegationibus diffisi, ad falsas & confictas Dispensationes, vitia objecta removentes confugere coacti sunt.

Ista, si singula minus sufficiant, saltem collata, obtineant & persuadeant licere. Illa vero opinio multis persuasa, Pontificem, viz. non potuisse dispensare, ut sola infirmet Dispensationem, non petitur, sed habet nihilominus aliquid considerationis; quanquam enim refellatur a quibusdam & reprobetur, manet tamen scripta, atque adeo testimonio ipsius Pontificis comprobata. Perpendatur deinde causa & suggestionis veritas, si mendacium intervenisse apparet, & quod est notorium, illam Dispensationem adversariorum factis in novi Brevis fabricatione tacito reprobari, quis non videt ex his causis licere ut sententia Divortii proferatur?

Postremo expedit ut id pronuntietur, quod in omnium sententias consentiat, Reprobatio autem Dispensationis cum omnibus convenit opinionibus, sive quia Authoritas abfuit, sive quia non recte interposita dicatur; Approbatio vero cum istis dissentit omnibus.

Expedit ut firma sit & inconcussa Regni Successio, quæ contra has opiniones confirmari non potest.

Expedit ut conscientia Serenissimi Regis his scrupulis impedita, & turbata, expedita & tranquilla reddatur.

Breviter,

Breviter, expedit votis Sereniſſimi Regis ſatisfieri, qui pro genuinis & innatis ſuis virtutibus, non niſi optima cupit, & modo etiam optimo votorum ſuorum compotem effici laborat; ſi non virtutem ſpectaret, cætera nihil haberent difficultatis, ſed omnium virtutum cognationem quandam eſſe animadvertens, ſuum juſtitiæ decorum, quod temperantia eſt, quærit, ut juſtum, juſto modo, obtineat & aſſequatur. Itaq; expedit ne auxilium denegetur, vel differatur ei qui id juſte implorat.

To my loving Friends Maſter Stephen Gardiner *Doctor of both Laws; Sir* Francis Brian, *and Sir* Gregory Caſſalis, *Knights; and Mr.* Peter Vannes *Secretary to the King's Highneſs for the Latin Tongue; His Graces Orators, Reſidents in the Court of* Rome.

XXII. *The ſecond part of a long Diſpatch of the Cardinals concerning the Divorce. An Original.*

Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 11.

ANother part of your Charge conſiſteth in expedition of the King's great and weighty Cauſe of Matrimony, whereupon depend ſo many high Conſequences, as for no earthly Cauſe to ſuffer or tolerate, tract or delay, in what caſe ſoever the Pope's Holineſs be of amendment or danger of life; nor as is aforeſaid, oweth to be by his Holineſs preteromitted, whether the ſame be in the ſtate of Recovery, or in any doubt or deſpair thereof: for one aſſured and principal fundamental and ground is to be regarded, whereupon the King's Highneſs doth plant and build his Acts and Cogitations in this behalf, which is from the reaſonable favour and juſtice, being the things from the which the Pope's Holineſs, *in proſperis nec adverſis*, may lawfully and honeſtly digreſs; and when the plainneſs of his Cauſe is well conſidered, with the manifeſt Preſumptions, Arguments, and Suſpitions, both of the inſufficiency of the Bull, and falſity of the Brief, ſuch as may lead any Man of reaſon or intendment, well to perceive and know, that no ſufficiency or aſſured truth can be therein; How may the Pope's Holineſs, *ex æquo & juſto*, refuſe or deny to any Chriſtian Man, much leſs to a Prince of ſo high merits, and in a Cauſe whereupon depend ſo many conſequences, to his Holineſs well known, for a vain reſpect of any Perſon, or by excuſe of any Sickneſs, juſtifie, colour, or defend any manner refuſal, tract, or delay, uſed in declaration of the truth in ſo great a Matter, which neither for the infinite conveniences that thereby might enſue, admitteth or ſuffereth to be delaied, nor by other than himſelf, his Act or Authority, may lawfully be declared. And well may his Holineſs know, That to none it appertaineth more to look unto the juſtneſs of the King's deſire in this behalf, than to his Highneſs his ſelf, whoſe Intereſt, whoſe Cauſe, with the fame of his Realm and Succeſſion reſteth herein; for if his Grace were minded, or would intend to do a thing Inique or injuſt, there were no need to recur unto the Pope's Holineſs for doing thereof. But, becauſe his Highneſs and his Council, who beſt know the whole of this Matter, and to whoſe part it

it belongeth most profoundly to weigh and ponder every thing concerning the same, be well assured of the truth of the Matter, needing none other thing but for observance of his Duty towards God and his Church, to have the same Truth also approbate and declared by him to whom the doing thereof appertaineth; his Grace therefore seeing an untruth alleadged, and that so craftily as by undue and perverse ways, the same, without good reason adhibited, may for a season bring things into confusion, doth communicate unto the Pope's Holiness presumptions and evidences enough, and sufficient to inform the Conscience of his Holiness of the very truth: which then, if his Holiness will not see, but either for affection, fear, or other private cause, will hearken to every dilatory and vain allegation of such as led upon undue grounds would colour the Truth; What doth his Holiness less therein, than under a right vain colour expresly deny and refuse the said Justice, which to be done either in health or sickness, in a matter of so great moment, is in no wise tolerable? But for the same reasons that be before mentioned, is the thing, whether the Pope's Holiness be in hope or despair of life, without further tract to be absolved and determined; for if Almighty God grant his Holiness life, this Act is, and always shall be, able to bear it self, and is meet to be an Example, a President, and a Law, in all like Cases emerging, the Circumstances and Specialities of the same in every part concurring as they do in this; nor can the Emperor make exceptions at the same, when he best knowing, percase, the untruth shall see the grounds and occasions, that of necessity and meer Justice have enforced and constrained the Pope's Holiness thereunto; which he could not refuse to do, unless he would openly and manifestly commit express injury and notorious injustice. For be it that the Pope's Holiness hearkning to the said frivolous and vain Allegations, would refuse to declare the Law herein to the King's purpose, then must his Holiness, either standing in doubt, leave and suffer the Cause to remain in suspence to the extream danger of the King's Realm and Succession for ever, or else declare the Bull or Breve, or both to be good, which I suppose neither his Holiness nor any true Christian Man can do, standing the manifest occasions, presumptions, and apparent evidences to the contrary. Then if the matter be not to be left in suspence, no judgment can be truly given to the approbation of the Bull or Breve; how can the Pope's Holiness of Conscience, Honour or Vertue, living or dying, thus procrastinate or put over the immediate finishing thereof, according to the King's desire? or how may his Holiness find his Conscience towards God exonerate, if either living he should be the cause of so many evils as hereof may arise; or dying, wilfully leave this so great a Matter, by his own default, in this confusion, incertainty and perplexity? It is not to be supposed, that ever Prince most devout to the See Apostolick, could so long tolerate so high an Injury, as being so merited towards the said See, is both unacquitted for his kindness with any special Grace, and also denied upon his petition of that, which is evident to be plain Justice. This thing is otherwise to be looked upon, than for the Pope's Sickness, where most need were to put an end unto it, to be delaied, seeing that living and amending, it is of it self expedient and justifiable, and dying, it shall be an act both necessary, meritorious and honourable. For this cause ye now knowing the King's

mind,

mind in this behalf, shall, if ye have not already before this time spoken with the Pope's Holiness at length in these Matters, as the King's Grace trusteth ye have done, sollicite as well by the means of *Messiere Jacobo Salviati*, as by the Bishop of *Verone*, and otherwise as ye can think best, to have such commodious access unto his Holiness, as ye may declare the Premises unto him; which by your wisdoms, in as effectual and vive manner as ye can open it unto his Holiness. It is undoubtedly to be thought the same shall rather be to his comfort and encrease of Health, than to any his trouble or unquietness; and that his Holiness hearing these Reasons not evitable, will, whether he be in way and hope of amendment, or otherwise, both proceed to the said indication, and also to the Declaration of the Law, and passing of a sufficient and ample Decretal, as hath been devised in the King's said Cause, with other such things, as by former Letters and Instructions, by the Decrees mentioned in the same, that failing have been committed unto you, to be solicited and procured there; in the labouring whereof, albeit since your departures from hence, the things have, by reasons of the Pope's sore sickness, otherwise chanced than was here supposed, by means whereof ye not instructed what to do in any such case, were peradventure not over-hasty or importune to labour these Matters, till the Pope's Holiness might be better amended, nor could percase find the means to have convenient access unto his presence for the same, ye must nevertheless adhibit such diligence, as howsoever the sickness of his Holiness shall cease, amend, or continue, these things be not for the same, or any other cause, tracted or left in longer suspense; but finding possible means to come unto the Pope's presence, to declare all such things unto the same, mentioned both in the former Letters and Instructions given unto you, and also in these presents, as may make to the purpose; and failing of often access in your own Persons to his Holiness, ye cause the Bishop of *Verone*, and other such assured Friends as ye can attain, being about him at such times as they may have with his Holiness, to inculcate unto him the said Points and Considerations, and all other that ye can excogitate and devise to the furtherance and advancement of these Matters, not forbearing or sparing also, if ye shall see difficulty at the Pope's hand, or in audience to be given to you or your Friends there, being about his Person, to break and open after a good fashion and manner the same unto such of the Cardinals, as ye may perceive assuredly and constantly to favour the King's Highness, and the *French* King in Election of a future Pope, in case (as God forbid) the Pope's Holiness should decease; and to shew unto the same Cardinals, all such things as you shall think meet, both for their more ample instructions in the truth and specialities of the Matters, as well concerning the Indication of Truce, as the King's said Cause, and the presumptuous Reasons, and plainer Evidences, leading to the insufficiency of the Bull, and apparent falsity of the said Breve; to the intent, that as many of the said Cardinals as ye can win, made sure in those Matters, they may, both in time of sickness, and also of amendment, move and induce the Pope's Holiness thereunto, laying before him as well the Merits and Honour that may ensue by the perfection of the Premises, as the danger imminent by the contrary: and semblably it shall be expedient that ye win and make sure to the same purpose, as many of the Officers of the

the *Rota* and other as ye can, who as ye write be not accuſtomed, nor will give counſel to any Perſon but the Pope's Holineſs; for albeit, ye cannot have them to be of the King's Council, yet nevertheleſs they may do as much good, or more, in training and counſelling the Pope's Holineſs, upon the great Reaſons that you can ſhew unto them, to hearken unto your Overtures in this behalf. To which purpoſe you ſhall adjure, make, and win, as many Friends of the Cardinals, of them, and other, as ye poſſibly may, as for the thing which the King's Highneſs and I more eſteem than twenty Papalities; and amongſt other, ye ſhall inſiſt, by all means and good perſuaſions ye can, for the continuance there of the ſaid Biſhop of *Verone*, ſo as he may countervail the Arch-Biſhop of *Capuan*; who, as it ſeemeth, is continually about the Pope's Perſon, and were neceſſary to be met with in the labours and perſuaſions, which by likelihood he maketh to the hindrance of the King's Purpoſe: For the better continuing of the which Biſhop of *Verone*, not only the King's Highneſs and I write unto him at this time, as by the Copy of the ſame ſeveral Letters being herewith ye ſhall perceive, but alſo the *French* King will do the ſemblable. And furthermore, to the intent that the Pope's Holineſs may well perceive, that not only the ſaid *French* King mindeth the King's ſaid Cauſe, and taketh it to heart as much as it were his own, and will effectually join and concur with the King's Highneſs therein, but that alſo he is and will be conformable to the ſaid Indication; He will ſend thither, with all ſpeed, the Biſhop of *Bayon* to further, ſollicite, and ſet forth the ſame; who, before his departure from hence, which was a good ſeaſon paſſed, was and is ſufficiently and amply inſtructed in all things requiſite to this purpoſe; and not only in theſe Matters, but alſo in ſuch other as were written unto you by *Vincent de Caſſalis*, and *Hercules*, upon advertiſement given hither that the Pope's Holineſs was deceaſed; ſo as ye may be ſure to have of him effectual concurrence and advice in the furtherance and ſollicitation of your Charges, whether the Pope's Holineſs amend, remain long ſick, or (as God forbid) ſhould fortune to die; truſting, that being ſo well furniſhed by all ways that can be deviſed, ye will not fail to uſe ſuch diligence as may be to the conſecuting and attaining of the King's Purpoſe: wherein, tho ye be ſo amply and largely inſtructed, that more cannot be, yet nevertheleſs having lately received from the Biſhop of *Worceſter* a Memorial of divers great things to be well noted and conſidered, for trial of the falſity of the ſaid Brieve, I ſend you herewith a Copy of the ſame Memorial, to the intent ye ſubſtantially viſiting and peruſing the ſame, may follow and put in execution ſuch part thereof, for better trial of the falſity, as is to be done there, like as the reſt meet to be done here, ſhall not fail to be executed with diligence accordingly.

Thus be ye with theſe, and other former Writings, ſufficiently inſtructed what is to be done by you there, whether the Pope's Holineſs continue long in his ſickneſs, or whether the ſame fortune to deceaſe, or ſoon, God willing, to amend. There reſteth no more, but that ye always take for a perfect ground, That tho to every new chance not before known, ſufficient Proviſion and Inſtruction could not be given to you at your departure, ye always note, remember, and regard, That this the King's Cauſe admitteth nor ſuffereth any manner negative,

tract, or delay; wherefore knowing that so well as ye do, and also how much the Indiction of the Truce shall be commodious and necessary, both to the King's Highness in particular, and to all Christendom in general, by means whereof his Grace shall avoid Contribution, and other Charges of the War, ye must now, if ever you will have thanks, laud, or praise for your Service, employ your selves *opportune & importune*, to put an end to the Points to the King's satisfaction and desire; and in every difficulty to study, by your Wisdoms, the best and next Remedy, and not always to tract your doings, till upon your Advertisement hither, ye shall have new knowledg from hence: For thereby the matter it self, and also your demur there, be of over-long a continuance, and infinite inconveniences by the same may ensue. I therefore require you, according to the special trust and confidence that the King's Highness and I have in you, now for ever to acquit your selves herein with all effect possible, accordingly so as the King's Highness be not longer kept in this perplexity and suspence, to his Graces intolerable inquietness, and the great heaviness of all those that observe and love the same.

Furthermore, tho it so be that the King's Trust, and also mine is, Ye will by your Wisdom find such good means and ways as ye shall not fail, God willing, to open and declare unto the Pope's Holiness, the whole of the King's Mind, and all and singular the Premisses, with the residue above-mentioned in your former Instructions and Letters sent unto you: Yet nevertheless considering what ye wrote of the doubt of continuance of the Pope's sickness, and to make sure for all Events and Chances, in case his Holiness (as God forbid) should long remain in such state, as he might either take upon him the naming of the Peace, journying and repairing to the sacre Diet, nor also hear the whole of the things by you to be opened and propounded touching the King's said Cause; It hath been thought to the King's Highness convenient, rather than these great and weighty Matters should hang in longer suspense, to excogitate some other good means and way how these Matters, so necessary, may by some ways be conduced and brought to an end: And it is this; That the Pope's Holiness not being able to travel to the place devised, where the Princes may be near him for Treaty, and managing of the Peace, he do depute me and my Lord Cardinal *Campegius*, *conjunctim & divisim*, as his Legats for that purpose, to do and execute all such things in his Holiness's Name, as the same should do in that behalf if he were there present; whereunto, for the well of Christendom, we shall be contented to condescend. So always, that as hath been written heretofore unto you, before I pass or set forth to any Convention or Place, to the intent before specified, the Kings Highness be fully satisfied and pleased in his said matter of Matrimony, without which, neither with nor without the Pope's presence, I will ever begin or take that Voyage: for performance whereof, this Article following is of new devised, to be by you propounded unto his Holiness, if the Decretals cannot be obtained, or some other thing, that ye shall well know and perceive, by advice of expert Counsel there, to be better to the Kings purpose than this thing now devised, and that may without tract be passed or granted; that is to say, That his Holiness do enlarge, extend, and amplify his Commission given to me and my Lord Legate

Campegius, whereby we jointly and severally may be sufficiently furnished and authorized, to do as much in this cause of Matrimony, with all the emergents and dependencies upon the same, as his Holiness may do of his ordinary and absolute Power, with sufficient and ample Clauses, *ad Decernend. & Interpretand. jura, leges, & Rescripta quæcunq; hoc Matrimonium concernentia, una cum omnibus & singulis dubiis in eadem causa emergentibus.* And further, to make out Compulsories to any Princes, or Persons of what preheminence, dignity, state, or condition soever they be, *Etiam si in Imperiali, Regali, vel alia quacunque dignitate perfulgeant, sub quibuscunq; pœnis*, and in what Countries and places soever they be, to exhibit and produce any manner Witness, Records, Originals, Rescripts, or other thing, in what place, or time we, or the one of us shall require them, or any of them in this behalf, with all and singular the Circumstances requisite and necessary to such a Commission, after such ample and assured manner, as the same once had, we shall not need for any Objections, doubt, or other thing that might infringe or lack, to send of new to the Pope's Holiness for other provision, whereby the King's said Cause might hang in any longer tract or delay. In which case of coming to this Commission, ye Mr. *Stevins* must have special regard to see the same sufficiently and substantially penned, by advice of the most expert Men that ye can find to that purpose: For the better doing whereof, I send unto you herewith a Copy of the said Commission to me and my Lord *Campegius*, with certain Additions thereunto noted in the Margin, such as have been here devised; and also a Copy of certain Clauses in a Bull, to the intent ye may see how amply the same be couched, to avoid appellations and other delays in Causes of far less moment and importance than the King's is. Nevertheless ye must, if it shall come to the obtaining of this new Commission, see to the penning and more fully perfecting thereof, so as the same may be in due perfection, without needing to send eftsoons for remedying of any thing therein, as is aforesaid; looking also substantially whether the Chirograph of Policitation, being already in your hands, be so couched, as the Date, and every thing considered, it may sufficiently oblige and astringe the Popes Holiness to confirm all that we, or one of us, shall do, by virtue of this New or the Old Commission: And if it be not of such efficacy so to do, then must ye in this case see, that either by sufficient and ample words to be put in this new Commission, if it may be so had, or by a new Chirograph the Pope's Holiness may be so astringed; which Chirograph, with the Commissions before specified, if ye obtain the same, the King's pleasure is, That ye Sir *Francis Brian* shall bring hither, in all possible diligence, after the having and obtaining thereof, solliciting nevertheless, whether the Pope be to be facilly spoken with, or not, the immediate Indication of the Truce, as is aforesaid, without which in vain it were for me, either with or without the Pope, to travel for labouring and conducing of the Peace. And so by this way should the Pope's Holiness, with his merit and sufficient justification, proceed for the Truce, as a fundament of Universal Peace, satisfy the King's desires, and avoid any doubt of the Emperor; forasmuch as his Holiness might alledg, That being so extreamly sick, that he was not able to know of the Cause himself, he could no less do of justice, than to commit it unto other, seeing that the same is of such

impo[rtan]ce

importance as suffereth no tract or delay. And finally, the King's Highness, God willing, by this means, should have an end of this Matter. One thing ye shall well note, which is this; Albeit this new Device was now for doubt of the Pope's long continuance in sickness, first excogitate; yet is it not meant, nor ye be limited to this Device, in case ye can obtain any other, nor ye be also commanded, to prefer this before all the other Devices: but now that ye shall see and understand what this Device is, and knowing what thing is like or possible to be obtained there, without long putting over of your pursuits, expend, consider, and regard well with your self, what thing of this, or any other that may best serve to the brief and good expedition of the King's Cause. So always that it be a thing sure, sufficient, and available to his Grace's Purpose, that may without any further tract be there had; and then by your Wisdom taking unto you the best Learned Counsel that ye can have there, leave you to the expedition of that which so may be most meet, as the times require and suffer, to the brief furnishing of the King's said Cause to this purpose, without tract or delay, and that ye may see is the thing, which as the matter stands, can speedily be obtained and sped, as is aforesaid. For whether the Decretal be better than this, or this better than that, or which soever be best, far it shall be from Wisdom to stick, and still to rest upon a thing that cannot be obtained; but since ye know the King's meaning, which is to have a way sufficient and good for the speedy finishing of this Cause to his Grace's purpose, note ye now, and consider with your self, by advice of Learned Counsel, as is aforesaid, how ye may bring that to pass, and shall ye deserve as high thanks as can be possible. So always that it be so well provided and looked upon, that in it be no such limitations or defaults, as shall compel us any more to write or send for reformation thereof: And coming to this Commission, tho percase ye can by no means or sticking have it in every point as the Copy, which I send you with the Annotations do purport; yet shall ye not therefore refuse it, but take it, or any other thing as can be had, after such form as may substantially serve, and as ye can by your wisdom and good sollicitations obtain, for the speedy finishing of the King's Cause to his purpose, as is aforesaid, which is the scope whereunto we must tend at this time; and therefore ye be not limited or coacted within any such bounds as ye should thereby be compelled or driven, for lack of obtaining any thing or point mentioned in these or other your Instructions, or former Writings, to send hither again for further knowledg of the King's pleasure; but ye be put at liberty so to qualify, so to add, detray, immix, change, chuse or mend as ye shall think good; so always that ye take the thing that best can be had, being such as may as effectually as ye can bring about, serve to the King's purpose, and to put indelayed end to it, according to his Grace's desire, without further tract, or sending thither, which is as much as here can be said or devised. And therefore at the reverence of Almighty God, bring us out of this perplexity, that this Vertuous Prince may have this thing sped to the purpose desired, which shall be the most joyous thing that this day in Earth may chance and succeed to my heart; and therefore I eftsoons beseech you to regard it accordingly: Howbeit if the Pope's Holiness refusing all your desires, shall make difficulty and delay therein, it is an evident sign and token,

that his Holiness is neither favourable to the King's reasonable Petitions, nor indifferent, but should thereby show himself both partial, and expresly averse unto his Grace; wherefore in that case finding in his Holiness such unreasonableness, as it can in no wise be thought ye shall do, The King's pleasure is, that ye proceed to the Protestations mentioned in the first Instructions given to you Mr. *Stevins*, for you and the residue of your Collegues; and that ye not only be plain and round with the Pope's Holiness therein, if ye come to his speech, but also ye show and extend unto the Cardinals, and other that be your Friends, which may do any good with him, the great peril and danger imminent unto the Church and See Apostolick; thereby exhorting them, That they like vertuous Fathers have regard thereunto, and not to suffer the Pope's Holiness, if he would thus wilfully, without reason or discretion to precipitate himself and the said See, which by this refusal is like to suffer ten times more detriment, than it could do for any miscontentment that the Emperor could take with the contrary: for ye shall say, sure they may be, and so I for my discharge declare, both to the Pope's Holiness and to them, If this Noble and Vertuous Prince, in this so great and so reasonable a Cause, be thus extreamly denied of the grace and lawful favour of the Church, the Pope's Holiness shall not fail for the same to lose Him and his Realm, the *French* King and his Realm, with many other their Confederates; besides those that having particular Quarrels to the Pope, and so aforesaid will not fail, with diverse other, as they daily seek occasions, and provoke the King's Highness thereunto, which will do the semblable, being a thing of another sort to be regarded, than the respect to the Emperor; for two Cities, which nevertheless shall be had well enough, and the Emperor neither so evil contented, nor so much to be doubted herein, as is there supposed, This, with other words mentioned in your Instructions concerning like matter, ye shall declare unto his Holiness, and to the said Cardinals, and other being your Friends, if it come to that point; whereby it is not to be doubted, but they perceiving the dangers aforesaid, shall be glad to exhort and induce his Holiness, for the well of himself and the Church, to condescend to the King's desire; which is as much as can be here thought or devised, to be by you done in all Events and Chances: And therefore I pray you, eft-soons, and most instantly require you, as afore, to handle this Matter with all effect possible. Coming to this new Commission, when you shall have once attained such thing as shall be sufficient for the King's purpose, as is aforesaid; and that ye have it in your hands and custody, and not afore, lest thereby ye might hinder the expedition thereof, ye shall by all ways and means possible, labour and insist, That the King's Highness, as need shall be, may use and enjoy the benefit of the Decretal, being already in my Lord Cardinal *Campegius*'s hands, whereunto his Highness and I desire you to put all your effectual labour for the attaining of the Pope's consent thereunto accordingly.

Ye shall furthermore understand, That it is thought here, in case, as God forbid, the Pope should die before ye should have impetrate any thing that may serve to the absolution of the King's Matter, That the Colledg of Cardinals have Authority, Power, and Jurisdiction, Sede

vacante,

vacante, to inhibit, avoke, & *ex consequenti*, to pass and decide the King's Matter, seeing that the same is of so high moment and importance, concerning the surety of a Prince and his Realm, as more amply ye shall perceive in the Chapters, *ubi Periculum de Electione*, *ne Romani*, *de Jurejurando*, & *capite primo de Scismaticis*; Wherefore the King's pleasure is, That ye Mr. *Stevins* shall diligently weigh and ponder the effect of the said Chapters, not only with your self, but also with such the King's Learned Counsel as ye and your Collegues have conducted there; and what Jurisdiction, *sede vacante*, the Colledg of Cardinals have, either by the Common Law, usage or prescription, which may far better be known there than here: And if ye find that the Cardinals have in this the King's Cause, and such other like Authority and Jurisdictions to inhibite, avoke and decern, then, *in casu mortis Pontificis*, *quod Deus avertat*, ye shall specially foresee and regard that for none Intercession or pursute made by the Emperor and his Adherents, they shall either inhibit or avoke: And also if before such Death, ye shall not have obtained such thing to the Kings desire and purpose, as these present Letters before do purport, his Grace's pleasure is, That ye shall pursue the effectual expedition of the same, at the hands of the said Colledg, *Sede vacante*, *ne res quæ nullam dilationem exposcit*, *tantopere usque ad Electionem novi Pontificis quoquam modo differatur*; using for this purpose all such Reasons, Allegations, and Persuasions mentioned in those Letters, and your former Instructions, as ye shall see and perceive to serve to that effect; and so to endeavour and acquit your self, that such things may be attained there, as may absolve this the King's Matter, without any further tract or delay; whereby ye shall as afore highly deserve the King's and my special thanks, which shall be so acquitted, as ye shall have cause to think your pains and diligences therein in the best wise imployed, trusting in God that howsoever the World shall come, ye shall by one means or other bring the King's Matter, which so highly toucheth his Honour and quiet of Mind, unto the desired end and perfection.

Finally; Ye shall understand that the *French* King, among other things, doth commit at this time to the Bishop of *Bayon*, and Mr. *John Joachim* to treat and conclude the Confederation heretofore spoken of, between his Holiness and the King's Highness, the *French* King, the *Venetians*, and other Potentates of *Italy*, for a continual Army to be entertained to invade *Spain* in case it stand by the Emperor, that the Peace shall not take effect: Wherefore the King's pleasure is, That ye having conference with them at good length in that Matter, do also for your parts, sollicite, procure, and set forth the same; entring also on the King's behalf unto the Treaty, and conclusion thereof, after such manner as your former Instructions and Writings do purport. So as like as the *French* King is determined, that his Agents shall join and concur with you in the King's Pursuits and Causes; So ye must also concur with them in advancement of their Affairs, the successes whereof, and of all other your doings there, it shall be expedient ye more often notify hitherto than ye do, for many times in one whole month no knowledg is had from you, which is not meet in those so weighty Matters, specially considering that sometime by such as pass to *Lyons*, ye

might find the means to send your Letters, which should be greatly to the King's and my consolation, in hearing thereby from time to time, how the things succeed there; I pray you therefore to use more diligence therein, as the Kings and my special trust is in you. And heartily fare you well. From my Palace besides *Westminster*, the sixth day of *April*.

The *French* King hath sent hither an Ambassiate, *Monsieur de Langes*, Brother to the said Bishop of *Bayon*, with certain clauses in his Instructions, concerning the said Treaty of Confederation, the Copy whereof ye shall receive herewith, for your better carrying on that Matter. Praying God to speed you well, and to give you grace to make a good and short end in your Matters. And eft-soons fare ye well,

Your Loving Friend,

T. Cardin. Eborac.

XXIII. *Another Dispatch to the Ambassadours to the same purpose. A Duplicate.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitell. B.* 11.

Right well beloved Friends, I commend me unto you in my hearty manner, letting you wit, that by the hands of *Thadeus* bearer hereof, the King's Highness hath received your several Letters to the same, directed with the Pope's Pollicitation mentioned in the same, and semblablie I have received your Conjunct and several Letters of the date of the 18 and 29 days of *March*; the 8, 19, 20, and 22 of *April*, to me directed, wherein ye at right good length have made mention of such Discourses, Conferences, Audiences and Communications as ye have had concerning your Charge, since the time of your former Advertisements made in that behalf, with all such Answers and Replications as have been made unto you by the Pope's Holiness, and other on his behalf concerning the same. In the Circumstances whereof ye have so diligently, discreetly, and substantially, acquitted your selves, as not only your firm and fervent desire, to do unto the King's Highness special and singular service in this his great and weighty Cause, but also your Wisdom, Learning, and perfect dexterities, heretofore well known, hath every one for his part thereby been largely of new shewed, comprobate and declared to the King's good contentment, my rejoice and gladness, and to your great laud and praise. For the which his Grace giveth unto you right hearty thanks, and I also for my part do the semblable; assuring you, in few words, though the time and state of things hath not suffered that your desires might at this time be brought unto effect, yet the King's Grace well knoweth, perceiveth, and taketh, that more could not have been done, excogitated, or devised, than ye have largely endeavoured your self unto for conducing the King's purpose, which his Grace accepteth, as touching your merits and acquittal

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in no leſs good and thankful part, than if ye finding the diſpoſition of things in more direct ſtate, had conſecute all your purſuits and deſires: Nor ye ſhall doubt or think, that either the King's Highneſs or I have conceived, or thought any manner negligence in you for ſuch things as were mentioned, in the laſt Letters ſent unto you by *Alexander*, Meſſenger, but that albeit his Highneſs had cauſe, as the ſame wrote, to marvel of your long demor, and lack of expedition of one or other of the things committed to your charge; yet did his Highneſs right well perſuade unto himſelf the default not to be in you, but in ſome other cauſe, whereof his Grace not knowing the ſame, might juſtly and meritoriouſly be brought unto admiration, and marvel: And therefore be ye all of good comfort, and think your perfect endeavours uſed, and ſervices done, to be employed there, as it can right well, in every part regarded and conſidered.

In effect coming to the Specialities of the things now to be anſwered, The King's Highneſs having groundly noted and conſidered the whole continue and circumſtances of all your ſaid Letters and Advertiſements, findeth and perceiveth evidently, that whatſoever Purſuits, and Inſtances, and Requeſts have been, or ſhall be for this preſent time, made there by you on his Grace's behalf to the Pope's Holineſs, for the furtherance of the ſaid great and weighty Cauſe; and how much ſoever the neceſſity of Chriſtendom for the good of Peace, the importance of the Matter, the juſtneſs of the thing it ſelf, reaſon, duty, reſpect to good Merits, detecting of Falſities uſed, evident Arguments and Preſumptions to the ſame, or other thing whatſoever it be, making for the King's purpoſe, do weigh; the Times be now ſuch, as all that ſhall be done in any of the Premiſſes there, is apparent by ſuch privy Intelligence and promiſe as is between the Pope and the Emperor, to hang and depend upon the Emperor's Will, Pleaſure, and Arbitre, as whom the Pope's Holineſs neither dare nor will in any part diſpleaſe, offend, or miſcontent, nor do by himſelf any thing notable therein, which he ſhall think or ſuppoſe to be of moment, the ſaid Emperor firſt inconſulted, or not conſenting thereunto. And for that cauſe, ſince the Emperor not only is the Adverſary of Univerſal Peace, Letter, and Impeacher thereof, but alſo, as hath appeared by ſundry Letters heretofore, and now of new ſent out of *Spain*, doth ſhew himſelf adverſe, and enterponing himſelf as a Party againſt the King's ſaid great Matter; It were in manner all one to proſecute the ſame at the Emperor's hands, as at the Popes, which ſo totally dependeth upon the Emperor; and as much Fruit might be hoped of the one as of the other, ſo as far diſcrepant it were from any wiſdom in a thing ſo neceſſary, and which as ye know muſt needs be brought unto an end without any further delay, to conſume and ſpend the time, where ſuch expreſs contrariety and in manner diſpair appeareth to do good therein, and where ſhould be none other but continual craft, colour, abuſes, refuſes and delays, but rather to proceed unto the ſame in place, and after ſuch form as may be a appearance of ſome good and brief effect to enſue. Wherefore to ſhew you in Counſel, and to be reſerved unto your ſelves, The King's Highneſs finding this ingratitude in the Pope's Holineſs, is minded for the time to diſſemble the Matter, and taking as much as may be had and attained there to the benefit of his Cauſe, to proceed in the Deciſion of the ſame here, by virtue

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of the Commission already granted unto me and my Lord Legate *Campegius*.

And for because that ye Mr. *Stevins* be largely ripened and acquainted in this Matter, and that both the King's Highness and I have right large experience of your entire zeal and mind to the studying and setting forth of such things concerning the Law, as may be to the furtherance hereof; considering also that for any great thing like to be done there herein, such Personages as be of good Authority, Wisdom, and Experience, tho they be not learned in the Law, may with such Counsel as ye have retained there, right well serve to the accomplishment of such other things as shall occur, or be committed unto them on the King's behalf, tho so many Ambassadors do not there remain and continue: His Grace therefore willing and minding to revoke you all by little and little, except you Sir *Gregory* being his Ambassadour there continually residing, willeth, That after such things perfected and done, as hereafter shall be mentioned, ye Mr. *Stevins*, and you Sir *Francis Brian*, shall take your leave of the Pope's Holiness, and with diligence return home. For if ne had been the absence of you Mr. *Stevins*, seeing that there is small appearance of any Fruit to be obtained there, the King's Highness would have entred into Process here before this *Whitsuntide*: But because his Grace would have you here present, as well for the forming of the said Process, and for such things as be trusted that ye shall obtain and bring with you, as also for the better knowledge to be had in sundry Matters, wherein you may be the better ripened and informed by means of your being in that Court: And otherwise his Highness will somewhat the longer defer the commencement of the said Process, and respite the same, only for your coming; which his Grace therefore desireth you so much the more to accelerate, as ye know how necessary it is, that all diligence and expedition be used in that Matter. And so ye all to handle and endeavour your selves there, for the time of your demor, as ye may do the most benefit and advantage that may be to the speedy furtherance of the said Cause.

And forasmuch as at the dispatch of your said last Letters, ye had not opened unto the Pope's Holiness, the last and uttermost Device here conceived, and to you written in my Letters sent by the said *Alexander*, but that ye intended, as soon as ye might have time and access, to set forth the same; wherein it is to be trusted, since that thing could by no colour or respect to the Emperor be reasonably denied, ye have before this time done some good, and brought unto perfection; I therefore remitting you to such Instructions as ye received at that time, advertise you that the King's mind and pleasure is, ye do your best to attain the Ampliation of the said Commission, after such form as is to you, in the said last Letters and Instructions, prescribed; which if ye cannot in every thing bring to pass, at the least to obtain as much to the King's purpose, and the benefit of the Cause as ye can; wherein all good policy and dexterity is to be used, and the Pope's Holiness by all perswasions to be induced thereunto; shewing unto the same how ye have received Letters from the King's Highness and me, responsives to such as ye wrote of the Dates before rehearsed; whereby ye be advertised that the King's Highness, perceiving the Pope's strange demeanour in this his great and weighty Cause, with the little respect that his Holiness hath, either

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to the importance thereof, or to do unto his Holineſs at this his great neceſſity, gratuity and pleaſure; not only cannot be a little ſorry and heavy to ſee himſelf fruſtrate of the future hope and expectation that his Grace had, to have found the Pope's Holineſs a moſt loving, faſt, near and kind Father, and aſſured Friend, ready and glad to have done for his Grace, that which of his Power Ordinary or Abſolute, he might have done in this thing, which ſo near toucheth the King's Conſcience, Health, Succeſſion, Realm, and Subjects; But alſo marvelleth highly, That his Holineſs, both in Matters of Peace, Truce, in this the King's Cauſe, and in all other, hath more reſpect to pleaſe and content him of whom he hath received moſt diſpleaſures, and who ſtudieth nothing more than the detriment of the See, than his Holineſs hath either to do that which a good common Father, for the well of the Church, Himſelf, and all Chriſtendom, is bounden, and oweth to do, or alſo that which every thing well pondered, it were both of Congruence, Right, Truth, Equity, Wiſdom, and conveniency for to do. Thinking verily that his Highneſs deſerved to be far otherwiſe entreated, and that not at his moſt need in things neareſt touching his Grace, and where the ſame had his chief and principal confidence, thus to have his juſt and reaſonable Petitions rejected and totally to be converted, to the arbitre of his Enemy, which is not the way to win, acquire and conſerve Friends to the Pope's Holineſs and See Apoſtolick, nor that which a good and indifferent Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, and common Father unto all Princes, oweth and is bound to obſerve. Nevertheleſs ye ſhall ſay the King's Highneſs, who always hath ſhewed, and largely comprobate himſelf a moſt devout Son unto the See Apoſtolick, muſt and will take patience; and ſhall pray to God to put in the Pope's mind, a more direct and vertuous intent, ſo to proceed in his acts and doing, as he may be found a very Father, upright, indifferent, loving and kind; and not thus for partial reſpect, fear, or other inordinate Affection, or cauſe, to degenerate from his beſt Children, ſhowing himſelf unto them, as a Step-Father, nor the King's Highneſs ye ſhall ſay can perſuade unto himſelf, that the Pope's Holineſs is of that nature and diſpoſition, that he will ſo totally fail his Grace in this Matter of ſo high importance, but that by one good mean or other, his Holineſs will perfectly comprobate the intire love that always the ſame hath ſhewed to bear towards his Highneſs, wherein ye ſhall deſire him now to declare by his Acts the uttermoſt of his intent and diſpoſition; ſo as ye Mr. *Stevins* and Mr. *Brian*, who be revoked hence, do not return with void hands, or bring with you things of ſuch meagerneſs, or little ſubſtance, as ſhall be to no purpoſe: And thus by theſe, or like words, ſeconding to the ſame effect, which as the time ſhall require, and as he ſhall have cauſe, ye by your Wiſdoms can qualifie and deviſe, It is not to be doubted, but that the Pope's Holineſs perceiving how the Kings Highneſs taketh this Matter, and that two of you ſhall now return, will in expedition of the ſaid Ampliation of the Commiſſion, and other things requiſite, ſtrain himſelf to do unto the King's Highneſs as much gratuity and pleaſure as may be; for the better attaining whereof, ye ſhall alſo ſhew, how heavy and ſorry I with my Lord Legate *Campegius* be, to ſee this manner of proceeding, and the large promiſes which he and I ſo often have made unto the King's Highneſs, of the Pope's faſt and aſſured mind, to do all that his

his Holineſs, *etiam ex plenitudine poteſtatis*, might do, thus to be diſappointed: moſt humbly beſeeching his Holineſs on my behalf, by his high Wiſdom to conſider, what a Prince this is; the infinite and excellent gratitudes which the ſame hath exhibited to the Pope's Perſon in particular, and to the See Apoſtolick in the general; the magnitude and importance of this Cauſe, with the Conſequences that may follow, by the good or ill entreating of the King's Highneſs in the ſame; wherein, ye ſhall ſay, I have ſo largely written, ſo plainly for my diſcharge declared the truth unto his Holineſs, and ſo humbly, reverently, and devoutly, made interceſſion, that more can I not add or accumulate thereunto, but only pray unto God that the ſame may be perceived, underſtood, and taken, as the exigence of the Caſe, and the merits of this Noble Prince doth require; truſting always, and with fervent deſire, from day to day, abiding to hear from his ſaid Holineſs ſome ſuch thing as I ſhall now be able conſtantly to juſtifie and defend, the great things which I and my ſaid Lord Legate have ſaid and atteſted on his Holineſs behalf.

This, with all other ſuch matter as may ſerve to the purpoſe, ye ſhall extend as well as ye can, and by that means get and attain as much to your purpoſe for the corroboration and ſurety of all things to be done here as is poſſible, leaving to ſpeak any more, or alſo to take or admit any reſcripts for exhibition of the Brief, advocation of the Cauſe, or other of the former degrees, ſeeing that all which ſhall or can be done or attained there, ſhall hang meerly upon the Emperor's Will, Conſent, and Arbitre: and therefore nothing is now or hereafter to be procured, that may tend to any Act to be done, in deciſion of the Cauſe or otherwiſe there, or which may bring the adverſe Party to any advantage to be taken by the favour or partiality, that the ſame may have in that Court; but to convert and employ all your ſuit, to that thing which may be to the moſt convalidation and ſurety of the Proceſs, and things to be done here, as well by attaining, as ample, large, and ſufficient words, clauſes and ſentences as ye can get, for ampliation of the new Commiſſion.

As for the defeating of any thing that may be procured to the impeachment of the Proceſs thereof, and the corroboration of the things to be paſſed, and done, by virtue of the ſame. And amongſt other things, whereas ye with theſe laſt Letters, ſent the Pope's Pollicitation, for the non-inhibition or avoking of the Cauſe, the ratifying and confirming of the Sentence by us his Legates herein to be given, and other things mentioned in the ſame, ye ſhall underſtand, that the ſaid Pollicitation is ſo couched and qualified, as the Pope's Holineſs whenſoever he will may reſile; like-as by certain Lines and Annotations, which in the Margin of a Copy of the ſaid Pollicitation I ſend you herewith, ye ſhall perceive more at large: And therefore after your other ſuits, for the ampliation of the new Commiſſion, if any ſuch may be attained, brought unto as good a purpoſe as ye can, ye ſhall by ſome good way find the mean to attain a new Pollicitation, with ſuch, or as many of the words and additions newly deviſed as ye can get; which ye may do under this form and colour, that is to ſay, to ſhew unto the Pope's Holineſs, by way of ſorrow and doleance, how your Courier, to whom ye committed the conveyance of the ſaid Pollicitation, ſo chanced, in

wet and water in the carriage thereof, as the Pacquet wherein it was, with such Letters as were with the same, and amongst other the Rescripts of Pollicitation, were totally wet, defaced, and not legible; so as the Pacquet and Rescript was and is detained by him to whom ye direct your Letters, and not delivered amongst the other unto the King's hands; and unless his Holiness, of his goodness unto you, will grant you a double of the said Pollicitation, ye see not but there shall be some notable blame imputed unto you for not better ordering thereof, to the conservation of it from such chance. And thus coming to a new Pollicitation, and saying, ye will devise it as near as ye can remember, according to the former, ye by your Wisdoms, and namely ye Mr. *Stevins*, may find the means to get as many of the new and other pregnant, fat, and available words as is possible, the same signed and sealed as the other is, to be written in Parchment; the politick handling whereof, the King's Highness and I commit unto your good discretions; for therein, as ye Mr. *Stevins* know, resteth a great strength and corroboration of all that shall be done there, in decision of the King's said Cause; and as ye write, may be in manner as beneficial to the King's purpose, as the Commission Decretal.

And, to the intent ye may the better know how to proceed in this Business, I advertise you that the King's Highness hath now received fresh Letters out of *Spain*, answering to those sent by *Curson* jointly with a Servant of the Queens, for exhibition of the Original Brief here, of whose expedition you Mr. *Stevins* were privy before your departure. The Letters were of sundry dates, the last whereof is the 21 of *April*, at which time the Emperor was at *Cæsar Augusta*, upon his departure towards *Barselona*. In effect, the Emperor minding by his departure thither, and other his Acts, to make a great demonstration of his coming into *Italy*, who is to nothing, as the King's Ambassadours write, more unmeet and unfurnished to that voyage, not having any Gallies there but three, which lay on dry Land unrigged, as they have done a long time passed, none Assembly of the States of that Land, none order, provision of Victual, towardness in conscription of Men of War, or appearance of such thing, but that his going to *Barselona*, is chiefly under pretext to attain certain old Treasure there remaining, and to give the better reputation to his Affairs in *Italy*. As to the matter of Peace and Truce, he seemeth not so alien from it, but that he would, under colour thereof, be glad to separate and dis-join other from the sincerity of confidence that is between them, working somewhat with the *French* King, which he himself confesseth to be but abuses. On the other side, he maketh overture of Peace or Truce to be had with the King's Highness apart; and in the mean time entertaineth the Pope's Holiness, as one whom won from the residue of the Confederates, he thinketh himself most assured of: Howbeit in all this his Business, ye may constantly affirm, that his Compasses cannot prevail in any thing that may be excogitate to the separation of the King's Highness and the *French* King, who so entirely proceed together, that the Emperor coming or not coming into *Italy*, the said *French* King intendeth to prosecute him in the place where his Person shall be. To whom the King's Highness now sendeth the Duke of *Suffolk*, with the Treasurer of his honourable Houshold;

who, if the Pope will not really and actually intend to the maintaining of the Peace, coming to the convention of his Holiness, moved as the case shall require, shall be furnished of a substantial number of Men of War out of his Realm to the assistance of the said *French* King, if the Emperor happen to descend in *Italy*. So as his things there, be not like to be in such surety as might bring the Pope's Holiness to this extremity of fear and respect. And all the Premisses touching this knowledg had out of *Spain*, and the *French* King's Interest with the King's Concurrence, as afore; It shall be well done ye declare to the Pope's Holiness, whereby peradventure the same shall be removed from some part of his said overmuch respect to that part.

As to sending of the Brief, the Emperor refusing to send it into *England*, sheweth some towardness of sending it to *Rome*, minding and intending to have the King's Matter decided there and not here; howbeit all be but vain Collusions: For as ye shall perceive by such things as be extracted out of the Letters of the King's Orators Resident in *Spain*, a Copy whereof I send you herewith, the more the said Breve cometh into light and knowledg, the more falsities be deprehended therein; and amongst other, one there is specially to be noted, making, if it be true, a clearer and manifest proof of the same Falsity; which because if it were perceived by the adverse Party, or any of their Friends, Counsellors, or Adherents, it might soon by a semblable falsity be reformed, is above all other things to be kept secret, both from the Pope, and all other there, except to your selves: for in computation of the Year of our Lord is a diverse order observed in the Court of *Rome* in Bulls and Breves; That is to say, in the Bull beginning at the Incarnation of our Lord, in the Brief at the Nativity; So as the thing well searched, it is thought it shall be found, that the date presupposed to be of the Breve, which is 26 *Decemb. Anno Dom.* 1503. *Pontificatus Julii anno primo*, well conferred with the manner and usages of that Court: He that counterfeited the Brieve, not knowing such diversity between the date of the Bull and Breves, and thinking to make both Dates of one day, dated the Breve at a day before Pope *Julii* was Pope; which ye shall more plainly perceive by the said Copy, and specially if under some good colour ye ripen your selves there, whether the year in the date of Breves change upon *Christmass* day, or upon *New-years* day, wherein the King's pleasure is, that ye ensearch and certifie here what ye shall know and perceive. And if ye shall by such inquiry find matter making to the purpose, as it is not doubted but ye shall do, then for the more sure justification and proof thereof before the Judges; It shall be expedient ye in writing make mention of such a doubt, finding the means that it may be answered and declared in the same Writing, by certain expert Persons of the Secretaries, and other Officers of that Court, with subscription of their Answer and Names; whereby it may appear here before us as Judges, as a thing true and approved: Howbeit, great dexterity is to be used for the secrecy thereof; for if such Exceptions might come to the knowledg of the Adverse Party, they might, as the said Orators Write, soon reform that default by detrahing one Letter, or Title, or forging a new Brief, alledging error in the Transumpts, which might be the total disappointment of

deprehension of the falsity in that chief and principal point. I pray you therefore to regard that Matter substantially, and to order it by your good Wisdoms accordingly.

XXIV. *The two Legates Letter to the Pope, advising a Decretal Bull. A Duplicate.*

PRioribus nostris ad Sanctitatem Vestram literis quid hic ageremus, quove in statu causa hæc esset exposuimus; postea quum, & res ipsa, & desiderium Regis admodum urgeret, ut ad Causæ ipsius merita agnoscenda accingeremur, quando in suspenso, non modo horum Regum vota, sed nec hujus Regni firmandi ratio, diutius haberi potest, omni suasionis genere horum animis prius adhibito, ut alterius voluntati alter cederet, eique morem gererent, cum nihil profecerimus, ad Judicii institutionem accedentes, de modo causam ipsam pertractandi, multa longioribus colloquiis inter nos commentati sumus; qua in re, dum quæ necessaria sunt adornantur, exhibitum est per Reginam exemplum Brevis Julii 2. eodem tempore quo & Bulla super hac materia, dati & scripti, sed attentiore cura & longe consideratiore mente confecti, quod, quia in substantialibus etiam ab ipsa Bulla diversum est, non modo Regium, sed nostrum quoq; animum, mire suspensum habuit, usq; adeo ut de ejus veritate plurimum suspicari libeat; nam præter insperatam in tanta opportunitate ejus apparitionem, incredibile videtur, ut eodem tempore idem author, eisdem partibus, in eadem Causa, diversa admodum ratione caverit, & permansuro Diplomati ejusq; Decreto, ad perpetuam rei memoriam, proferendo, & plumbeo caractere excudendo dormitaverit, brevioribus vero literis, molli cera communiendis exactissimi studii & sobriæ cogitationis speciem impresserit: ne tamen Majestas hæc rem hanc damnatam priusquam exploratam habeat, quippe quæ magis in veritate quam in voto suo, Causæ hujus eventum suscceptura videtur, ad ipsius Brevis exhibitionem instat, quod, quia honestum & rationi consonum videtur, a nobis etiam probatur, propterea omni studio curamus, ut Breve ipsum, quod in Hispaniis esse dicitur, & a quo exemplum hoc effigiatum aiunt proferatur; atque ut hoc expeditiore cura, & majore compendio assequamur, præter primam & summam illam de Causa cognoscendi potestatem, quam a Sanctitate Vestra habemus, aliam quoque ad hunc specialiter articulum habendam putamus, per quam possimus etiam per censuras, omnes etiam Regia & Imperiali Authoritate fulgentes, monere & adigere ut dictum Breve nobis exhibeant, sine quo causa hæc nedum absolvi, sed nec commode tractari queat. Atque hoc primum est, quod Majestas hæc, in tanta animi fluctuatione qua nunc æstuat, a nobis curandum putat, quo impetrato, Judicii via insistentes ad Causæ cognitionem procedemus; quod si non proferatur, vel inutile & vitiatum, & fide sua facile rejiciendum, prolatum fuerit, nihil prohibebit, hoc sublato obice, quin ex officio nostro reliqua prosequamur: sin vero exhibeatur, & veritate sua, vel adeo scite conficta fallacia, ita se tueatur ut acriori examine id inquiri debeat, patefacto jam patronorum cavillis & calumniis foro, quibus undis & judicii fluctibus non solum articulum hunc Brevis, sed universam Causam implicaturi simus, nullus

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 non

non viderit; neque enim deerunt quæ suspectam ipsius Brevis fidem faciant, vel ex hoc maxime, quod cum maxime Regis & Regni hujus intersit, nihil prorsus de eo antehac auditum fuerit, nec ejus memoria aut ratio ulla extet in Scriniis Regiis, in quibus etiam minima quæque, ad Regnum spectantia asservari solent: nam verisimile non est in Hispaniis majorem Anglicæ rei curam fuisse quam in ipsa Anglia, neq; quempiam solerti & acri adeo ingenio fuisse, qui hujuscemodi dissidium vigesimo quinto ab hinc anno suboriturum, & hac sola ratione sublatum iri posse divinaverit, nulla ut diximus apud hunc Regem, & in hoc Regno talis rei memoria extante. Porro si ex Brevi ad Bullam, & ex Bulla ad Breve transitus fiat, atque illius jejunitatem & ariditatem insectemur, hujus prægnantia verba, & ad omnes fere exceptiones tollendas, superstitiosam quodammodo vigilantiam conferamus, & quæ utrinq; deduci poterunt in Rescriptis Apostolicis æquo animo audiamus, periclitaturi certe sumus, ne, quod minime cupimus, Sedis Apostolicæ Authoritatem patientia nostra in discrimen rapiamus, atque dum Regno, & Regi hinc suppetias ferre volumus, rem dignitatemq; nostram multo minorem faciamus, cui tum posita etiam anima, favere & adesse semper cupimus & debemus. Propterea, Beatissime Pater, non solum pro Regis & Causæ hujus commodo, sed pro dignitate quoq; Ecclesiastica & Sanctitatis Vestræ Autoritate hic tuenda & conservanda, nullo pacto committendum ducimus, ut nobis spectantibus & audientibus, de Potestate Romani Pontificis, de literarum Apostolicarum sub plumbo & sub annulo scriptarum fide, & repugnantia, deque juris divini abrogatione disceptetur, maxime in Regum causa oppugnanda & defendenda, qui, ut sublimiore sunt fastigio collocati, ita iniquiori animo patiuntur Causæ suæ casum, cum qua & dignitatem & existimationem suam diminutam iri intelligunt, quæ si ignobilium etiam animos quosq; exulcerare, ipsa rerum experientia docti cernimus, qualiter quæso putamus Regios & generosos affectura. Itaq; quoniam hanc carybdim & hos scopulos evitasse semper tutum erit, propterea hujusmodi incommoda quodammodo prætervecti, ubi ad litis molestias & incertas fori fluctuationes causam deducendam perspicimus, suadere, rogare & summis precibus pariq; reverentia contendere non desinemus, ut si exhibito Brevi pura veritas ita latitaverit, quod rectumne an falsum, vitiatum ceu adulterinum fuerit judicare ac decernere minime valeamus, Sanctitas Vestra Causam hanc ad se avocet, non solum ut tanto discrimine, & perplexitate nos eximat, sed ut paterno affectu Causæ & Regi huic optimo subveniat & opem ferat, atque ex Potestatis suæ plenitudine & summa prudentia finem huic rei optatum imponat, quæ non sine magno hujus Regni & Ecclesiasticæ dignitatis periculo diutius trahi potest: Speramus autem Serenissimu hunc Regem in hujusmodi avocandæ Causæ consilio facile quieturum, salebrosa hæc litium itinera & labirinthos evitaturum, modo in fide Sanctitatis Vestræ chyrographo manus suæ testata, cognoverit, se diutius suspenso in hac re animo detinendum non fore, atq; ab hujusmodi Matrimonio se tandem liberandum, in quo nec humano nec divino jure permanere se posse putat, ex causis Sanctitati Vestræ forsan notis, & per hos suos nuntios longioribus verbis explicandis. Quod si Sanctitas Vestra commodius existimaverit, Avocatione hujusmodi posthabita, per Decretalis unius concessionem huic causæ occurri & succurri posse, in hanc quoque rationem Regis animum paratum dabimus; & propterea concepto

quodam

quodam Decretalis modulo, cum per hos ipsos Majestatis suæ nuntios mittimus, ex quibus abunde intelliget, quodque non absque exemplo istiusmodi auxilia proponantur, & quam non temere nec absque ratione Majestas hæc desiderio huic suo inhæreat: interea vero, dum hac vel illa ratione huic rei occurritur & Breve ipsum perquiretur, posset utiq; Sanctitas Vestra iterum Reginæ animum tentare, & ad Religionem emollire, curando (ut quod maxime apud eam gratia & Autoritate esse debeant) & literis, & precibus, & nuntiis, omniq; alia ratione, hac ipsa via, sibi, suisq; rebus omnibus, atq; aliis optime consulat. Cujusmodi multa, pro salute Regni & publica cum dignitate, tum tranquillitate animo agitamus, ut tandem optimo Regi præsidio simus, qui incredibili patientia & humanitate, nostram & Sanctitatis Vestræ opem expectat, sed tanta obsessus cura, sollicitudine & anxietate, ut nullus facile explicare possit, vix enim in hoc ipso, oculis & auribus nostris credimus; cujus usque adeo nos miseret, ut nihil ingrato magis animo audiamus quam ejus de hac re verba, querelas & cruciatum: jure, an injuria liceat nobis hoc, Beatissime Pater, cum Sanctitate Vestra tacere, ne præjudicium nobis aut aliis faciamus, sed quem non excitet tot annorum Conscientiæ Carnificina, quam ut transversum & modo in has & modo in illas partes agant Theologorum disputationes,& Patrum decreta, nullus non videt; qua in re enucleanda ita ambiguo laboratur sensu, ut jam non doctioris sed melioris hominis lumine & pietate egeamus, & propterea factum est ut cum ab utraq; parte stant assertores maximi, in illam magis Majestas sua inclinat, quæ ab offensionibus & periculis magis remota videtur. Quem præterea non moveat dulcis illa insitaque sobolis successio, in qua morientes & animam exhalaturi conquiescere, natura ipsa, videmur omnes? quem insuper non accendat, Regni atque imperii propagatio, & per solos liberos continuata quædam fruitio? quem deniq; populorum fidei ac ejus curæ commissorum tranquillitas & securitas, quæ in designatis jam regibus & principibus nutritur & vivit, non sollicitet? ita ut tanti adeoq; communis boni fundamenta nulla a se jacta, non doleat & suspiret, cum in extremis ejus diebus, extrema quoque tempora eis adventare sentiat, atq; secum omnia quodammodo in ruinam trahi? Majores habet, Beatissime Pater, Causa hæc anfractus & difficultates, quam superficie tenus inspectantibus offerantur, in qua vel hæ potissimæ sunt quod nec moram patitur, & in alteram partem non inclinat quidem, sed omnino cogit, ni velimus ab ea præcipites & maxima cum privatæ tum publicæ rei jactura cadere; nam qui vel Reginæ odio, vel speratæ, nec dum forsan notæ, futuræ conjugis illecebra & titillatione Regem agi putant, ii excordes plane & toto, quod aiunt, cœlo errare videntur: ut enim credere dignum est, nullis illius quamlibet duris moribus aut injocunda consuetudine, vel ulterioris sobolis spe desperata, Regium animum tanto periculo ad odium impelli posse; ita nec in hominis bene sani mente cadere debet, Regem hunc imbecillo adeo esse animo, ut sensuum suadela eam abrumpere cupiat consuetudinem, in qua adolescentiæ suæ florentes annos exegerit persancte adeo, ut in hac quoq; fluctuatione, non sine reverentia & honore versetur. Inest, credite omnes, voluntati ejus non modo divinæ legis timor, sed humani quoq; juris ratio eximia, hæcq; non privata sed publica, ad quam cum ejus animum trahant, utriusq; juris peritissimi, & Regni hujus sui proceres, & primates omnes, nihil tamen suo, aut suorum tantum

arbitrio

arbitrio conſtitutum habere cupit, ſed Apoſtolicæ Sedis judicio; qua in re quanta ſit pietate, maxime oſtendit, quum non ex magorum carminibus, & circulatorum impoſturis, aliiſve malis artibus, ſed Sanctiſſima Pontificis manu, tanto huic vulneri ſuo opem petat, de quo vel plura forte quam licuiſſet Sanctitati Veſtræ ſubjecimus, quoniam hæc ipſa ulcera manibus noſtris contrectavimus,& quantum vitales ſpiritus exhalent cognovimus: proinde Sanctitas Veſtra, pii patris & peritiſſimi medici more, dum virtus adhuc ſtat, dum ſalus non deſperatur, dum æger ipſe ſeſe ſuſtinet & legitima petit auxilia, Regem de ſe & Apoſtolica ſede optime meritum in piætatis ſuæ ſinu foveat, illudq; ei indulgeat quod nec diſputationum immortalia diſſidia, nec litium immenſum chaos unquam dabit, nec ſine maximo diſcrimine unquam tractabitur; atque illud etiam ſecum reputet, quam injurium, & cum privatis tum publicis rebus incommodum ſit, extremos juris apices conſectari, quanquam non expediat ex ſcripto jure ſemper judicari; cui, quia Pontifices & Principes miro omnium conſenſu, a Deo ipſo præfecti, cenſentur Spiritus & animæ vice, merito in ambiguis, & ubi multa periclitatur hominum ſalus, arbitrio ſuo ejus duritiem moderari poſſunt & debent, in quo Sanctitas Veſtra & Regem & Regnum hoc plane ſervaverit. Quod ſi alia ratione vel aliunde paranda ſibi fuerint auxilia, veremur ne de Regno & Rege hoc actum ſit, quicquid enim alia manu huic vulneri impoſitum fuerit, nihil minus faciet quam ſanitatem, ſeditionibus enim & tumultibus omnia exponentur, atq; imprimis Eccleſiaſtica Dignitas & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Authoritas hinc deturbabitur; quod non erit difficile, aut ingratum quibuſdam, qui Rege cum Sanctitate Veſtra nunc conjunctiſſimo, impietatis ſuæ venenum perbelle diſſimulant; Cujuſmodi jacturam ſi dura hæc tempora noſtra fecerunt, quod deinde ſperandum ſit, non videmus. Conſervandus itaq; Rex eſt, ejuſq; eximia in Apoſtolicam Sedem voluntas & fides, ne eo a nobis abalienato, non modo Angliæ Regem, ſed Fidei quoq; Defenſorem amittamus, cujus virtutes & Religionem tanto plauſu orbi commendavimus. Brevitati ſtudentes multa præterimus, & præſertim quid Regni proceres, Nobiles æque atque ignobiles dicant, qui fremunt & acerbiſſime indignantur, ſe tamdiu ſuſpenſos haberi, atq; ab aliorum nutu & voluntate exſpectare, quid de fortunis eorum omnibus & capitibus ſtatuant, aut decernant: atq; hac potiſſimum via inſiſtunt, qui nullam aut certe diminutam hic Romani Pontificis Authoritatem vellent, quorum pleriq; in his diſceptationibus, quibus alter alteri, ut uſu venire ſolet, re in ambiguo poſita, adverſatur, ea dicunt quæ non abſq; horrore referri queant; nam inter cætera illud maxime in ore obvium habent, & prædicant, ſe nunquam ſatis demirari, aut ridere poſſe quorundam ignaviam, qui patienter audiunt, Pontificibus in Jure Divino figendo & refigendo licere, Pontifici Pontificis ceram aut plumbum conflare non permitti; nos, ut hos ſcopulos & has ſyrtes evitemus, nihil non agimus, & ne præceps, huc vel illuc, Rex hic ruat, curamus, quem in officio vix contineri poſſe confidimus, dum a Sanctitate Veſtra his literis reſcribatur: quibus ſi ut ſperamus & cupimus aliquid reſcriptum fuerit, per quod & Regem & horum omnium animos quietiores reddere valeamus, accedet nobis quoq; vis aliqua cætera fælicius perficiendi; ſin minus, omnia in deterius itura non ambigimus. Quæ ut celerius Majeſtas ſua cognoſcat, præſentes hos nuntios ſuos per diſpoſitos equos ad Sanctitatem Veſtram

mittit,

mittit, ex quorum ſermone plura quoque intelliget quam literæ ipſæ commode capere potuerunt. Ignoſcet vero Sanctitas Veſtra literarum noſtrarum prolixitati, quæ tametſi modum excedunt, rei tamen hujus difficultatem & periculum majori ex parte minime attingunt.

May 21. 1529. Richmont.

XXV. *Another Diſpatch to* Rome. *An Original.*

Right well beloved Friends, I commend me unto you in my moſt hearty manner, by the hands of *Alexander*, Meſſenger; I have in good diligence received your Letters of the 4*th* of this Month; and ſemblably the King's Highneſs hath received your other Letters, ſent by the ſame Meſſenger unto his Grace: By tenour whereof it well appeareth that the King's Highneſs is now fruſtrate of the good hope and expectation that his Grace and ſemblably I were in of the Pope's determination, to have done for his Highneſs in this great and weighty Cauſe of Matrimony, as his Holineſs by his Chamberlain promiſed; not only that which might be done of power ordinary, but alſo of abſolute; and that ye be utterly in deſpair to conſecute or attain any thing to the purpoſe there, to the benefit of the ſaid Cauſe, with the ſtrange demeanour that hath been uſed in calling you to make anſwer, why the ſupplications preſented by the Emperor's Ambaſſador for advocation of the Cauſe ſhould not proceed; and how diſcreetly and ſubſtantially ye have anſwered and ordered your ſelves therein: Affirming finally, that as to that Matter, ye think it ſhall not ſerve to any purpoſe, but only to ſtop your ſuit in the obtaining of a new Commiſſion, and deſiring to be aſcertained of the King's pleaſure touching the Proteſtation mentioned in your Inſtructions, and how the ſame is meant and underſtood, with many other things compriſed in your ſaid Letters, right well and ſubſtantially couched and handled; for the which the Kings Highneſs giveth you hearty thanks, and I alſo thank you in moſt hearty manner for my part.

Aſcertaining you, that by *Thadeus*, Courier, upon receipt of your former Letters ſent by him, who I truſt be arrived with you long before this time; I wrote unto you the King's mind and pleaſure, as well to forbear any further purſuits of the Degrees committed unto your Charge, except only the expedition of a new Commiſſion and Pollicitation mentioned in the ſame. As alſo that you Mr. *Stevins*, and Sir *Francis Brian*, ſhould return home, like as my ſaid Letters purported. And foraſmuch as now it appeareth, that there is no hope for you to attain the ſaid Commiſſion and Pollicitation, the King's Highneſs ſuppoſing that ye the ſaid Mr. *Stevins* and Sir *Francis* be on your way homeward; and perceiving that it ſhould be neceſſary for his Grace to have there a ſubſtantial Counſellor of his, well learned in the Laws, as well to defend all ſuch things as ſhall be procured or ſet forth by the *Cæſareans*, to the hindrance of the King's Cauſe, as to let and impeach any Advocations, Inhibitions, or other thing that may be dammageable thereunto, hath diſpatched thither this Bearer and Mr. *Bennet*, who hath commandment

to ſhew unto you, and every of you, whereſoever he ſhall meet with or find you, his whole Inſtructions, by tenour whereof ye ſhall be ad-vertiſed of the King's further mind and pleaſure in that behalf; where-fore this ſhall be only to ſignifie unto you, how his Highneſs will that ye now forbear any further purſuit, either for Commiſſion, Pollicitation or Reſcript to be ſent to the Emperor for exhibition of the Brief, either here or at *Rome*, but that following in every part the tenor of the ſaid Inſtructions, ye Mr. *Stevins* and Sir *Francis Brian* uſe all the diligence poſſible in your Voyage homeward, and the reſidue of you to intend to ſuch things as be mentioned in the ſaid Inſtructions; aſcertaining you, that whereas ye were in doubt what is meant by the Proteſtation ſpoken of in my former Letters and your Inſtructions, it was none other thing than in the ſame Inſtructions was plainly ſpecified and declared; That is to ſay, Failing of all your Requeſts and Purſuits touching the King's great Matter, to have ſhewed unto his Holineſs the danger that might enſue, by loſing the entire favour of this Prince, by mean of his ſo ſtrange and unkind dealing with his Grace; howbeit, conſidering in what ſtate the things now be, and how much the Pope's Holineſs ſeem-eth to be inclined to the Emperors part. And yet as appeareth both by your Letters, and by ſuch other knowledg as the King hath, his Holineſs would gladly conſerve the King's Love and Favour, and is loth to do any thing to the prejudice of his Cauſe: It is no time to come to any ri-gorous or extream words with his Holineſs, but in gentle and modeſt manner to ſhew himſelf in ſuch words as be mentioned in my ſaid laſt Let-ters ſent by *Thadeus*; and ſo without irritation of him, but with conſer-vation of his favour to entertain his Holineſs in the beſt manner that may be, without medling in any other Proteſtation, but only to look what may be done touching ſuch Proteſtations apart, as is mentioned in the ſaid Inſtructions given to Mr. *Benet*, which with theſe Letters ſhall be a ſufficient information of you all what to do in the Cauſes to you com-mitted, not doubting but in all other particular ſuits of Bulls, and other things committed unto you, ye Mr. *Stevins* and Sir *Francis Brian*, have or will do your beſt to bring the ſame with you; the expedition whereof, if they be not ſped already, the King's Highneſs committeth to the Wiſdoms of ſuch of you as ſhall fortune to be in the Court of *Rome* at the receipt hereof; wherein, and in all other things, his High-neſs truſteth, and I do the ſemblable, that ye will order your ſelves with all effectual diligence, as the ſpecial confidence that is put in you doth appertain.

And foraſmuch as the greateſt thing that is to be looked unto, is the importune Suit of the *Cæſareans*, not only to ſtop any further things to be granted to the King's Highneſs, but alſo to revoke the Commiſſion given to the Lord Legate *Campegius* and to me, which ſhould be a clear diſappointment and fruſtration of the King's Cauſe; ye ſhall therefore look ſubſtantially by all politick means to withſtand, that no ſuch thing be granted; aſſuring the Pope and all the Cardinals, and ſuch other as have reſpect to the well of the See Apoſtolick, that if he ſhould do ſuch an high injury to the King and his Realm, and an Act ſo contumelious to us his Legates, and ſo contrarious to his Faith and Promiſe, he ſhould thereby not fail ſo highly to irritate the King and all the Nobles of this Realm, that undoubtedly they ſhould decline from the obedience of the

the See Apostolick, and consequently all other Realms should do the semblable, forasmuch as they should find in the *Head* of the same, neither justness, uprightness, nor truth; and this shall be necessary, as the case shall require, well to be inculked and put in his head, to the intent his Holiness by the same may be preserved from granting, passing, or condescending to any such thing.

After these Letters perfected hither, and read unto the King's Highness, albeit that mention is made in sundry places heretofore, that as well ye Mr. *Stevins*, and Sir *Francis Brian*, if ye be not returned from the Court of *Rome*, as also the rest of the King's Ambassadors, which at the arrival of Mr. Doctor *Bennet* shall fortune to be there, shall forbear to make any further means or pursuit for the New Commission and Pollicitation, but clearly to use silence therein; yet nevertheless regarding, and more profoundly considering the effect of your Letters last sent, it doth plainly appear, that tho after the overture made to the Pope's Holiness of the said New Commission, the Business chanced to be made by the Emperor's Ambassador, upon preferring a Supplication for advocation of the Cause; which thing by your writing, Mr. *Stevins*, to *Capisuke* was well avoided; yet was there none express refusal made by the Pope's Holiness to condescend unto the said New Commission, but order given that you should consult and confer with the Cardinal *Anconitane* and *Symonette* upon the same; which Conference, by mean of the said Business, was deferred and disappointed, without any final conclusion or resolution taken thereupon. Wherefore inasmuch as yet there appeareth none utter despair of obtaining the said New Commission and Pollicitation, with some more fat, pregnant, and effectual Clauses than the other hath; The King's pleasure is, That notwithstanding any words before mentioned, both ye the said Mr. *Stevins*, and Sir *Francis Brian*, if ye be not departed from the Court of *Rome*, do for the time of your demur there, which the King's pleasure is, shall not be long, but only for taking of your leave; and also the rest of the King's said Orators, after your departure, shall, as ye shall see the case require, endeavour your selves as much as may be, to obtain the said New Commission and Pollicitation, foreseeing always that you handle the matter after such manner, as thereby the Pope be not the rather induced to hearken and incline to any persuites of the Imperials for advocation of the Cause, which were a total frustration of all the King's intent, but so to use your selves, as ye shall see to be to the benefit, and not to the hindrance thereof: Which done, the King's Grace doth refer the good handling of this thing to your wisdoms and discretions, neither to leave the persuit for the said Commission and Pollicitation, if it may without dammage be followed; nor to follow it, if thereby you shall see apparent danger of any such Advocation, or advantage to ensue to the purpose of the *Imperialists*, like as his Highness doubteth not, knowing now the King's mind and pleasure, you will with wisdom and dexterity, order your selves herein accordingly.

And furthermore, you shall in any wise dissuade the Pope for sending either by his Nuntio, to be sent unto *Spain*, or otherwise, for the Original Brief: And if the Nuntio be already passed, having charge to speak for sending the same to the Court of *Rome*, then to find the means that a Commandment be by the Pope's Holiness sent after him, not to make any mention

 thereof:

thereof: Which done to you, the King's ſaid Ambaſſador ſhall have a good colour to induce the Pope's Holineſs, ſaying, as of your ſelf, That you have well conſidered your own purſuits for producing the Brief at *Rome*; and becauſe the Emperor might per-caſe think that the Pope were about to areſt unto him the falſity of the ſaid Brief, therefore you can be contented that that matter be put off, and no mention to be made thereof by his Nuntio, or otherwiſe; whereunto it is not to be doubted but the Pope's Holineſs will have ſpecial regard,and facilly condeſcend to your deſires in that behalf.

Finally; It appeareth alſo by certain your Letters ſent, as well to the King's Highneſs as to me, that the Pope's Holineſs is much deſirous to ſtudy and find a mean and way to ſatisfy the King's Highneſs in this behalf: Amongſt which one clauſe in his Letters to me is this; *Tametſi enim juriſperitorum conſilium quæſiverimus, ſed nihil reperimus, quod bonis oratoribus ſimul & juſtitiæ ac honori noſtro ſatisfaceret; ſed tamen agimus omnia, & tentamus omnes modos Regiæ ſuæ Serenitati, ac circumſpectioni tuæ ſatisfaciendi.* (And it is added in the Margin, with *Wolſey's* hand;

Mi Petre, referas tuis literis pervelim quid tibi & mihi Pontifex dixerit de modis excogitandis, & quomodo ſubridens dicebat, In nomine Patris, &c.)

Wherefore ſince his Holineſs ſo plainly declared, that he ſeeketh the ways and means to ſatisfie the King's Highneſs, it ſhall be in any wiſe expedient, that you the ſaid Orators perceiving any towardneſs of Advocation, lay this to the Pope's Holineſs, ſaying, That that is not the way to ſatisfy his Grace; and yet beſides that, by your Wiſdoms to find the means to underſtand and know of his Holineſs what be the ways and means, which his Holineſs hath ſtudied or can ſtudy to ſatisfie the King according to his writing in this behalf, whereof they ſhall ſay his Grace is glad, and is very deſirous to know and underſtand the ſame; and as you ſhall perceive any towardneſs or untowardneſs in the Pope in that behalf, ſo to ſet forth your purſuits to the beſt purpoſe accordingly. And thus heartily fare you well. From *Richmond*, the 21 day of *May*.

Your loving Friend,

T. Cardinalis Eborac.

May 31. Romæ 1529.

XXVI. A Letter of the Popes to the Cardinal. An Original.

Dilecto Filio nostro Thomæ *tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Presbytero Cardinali Eboracensi, nostro & sedis Apostolicæ Legato de latere.*

Clemens *manu propria.*

Dilecte Fili noster, salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum Angliæ Rex ac Circumspectio vestra, vetera vestra erga nos & Sedem Apostolicam merita novis officiis augeretis, optabamus occasionem, in qua & vos nostrum amorem cognoscere possetis; sed molestissime tulimus eam primum esse oblatam, in qua circumsepti angustis terminis Justitiæ, non possemus progredi quantum vellemus, studio vobis gratificandi, multis ac rationabilibus Causis desiderium vestrum impedientibus, quod quidem Regiis Oratoribus istuc redeuntibus demonstrare conati sumus. Sed super his & publicis negotiis copiosius vobiscum loquetur Dilectus Filius noster Cardinalis Campegius. Datum Romæ die ultima Maii, 1529. *Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 11.*

J.

April 6. 1529.

XXVII. *The King's Letter to his Ambassadours, to hinder an Avocation of the Suit. An Original.*

By the King.

Henry Rex,

Trusty and right well-beloved we greet you well. Since your departure from hence, we have received sundry your Letters to us directed, whereof the last beareth date at *Rome*, the 4*th* day of the last month; and have also seen such other as from time to time ye have sent to the most Reverend Father in God, our most entirely well-beloved Counsellor the Lord Legate, Cardinal, Archbishop of *York*, Primate of *England*, and our Chancellour: By continue whereof, we have been advertised of the Successes, as well of your Journey thitherwards, as of such things as ye to that time had done in our Causes to you committed; for the which your diligent advertisement, and good acquittal, we give unto you condign thanks: ascertaining you, We do not a little marvel, that in your said last Letters you shew so much desperation of any great favour to be had at the Pope's hand in our said Causes; considering that neither ye then had spoken with his Holiness in the same, nor by *Cotton Libr: Vitel. B. 11.*

 such

ſuch Conferences as ye had had with Mr. *Jacobo Salviati*, or other on his behalf, we can perceive but all good favour and towardneſs; tho per-caſe the ſuperiority of the Imperials, and the common fame, led you to think the contrary: Howbeit as you know no credence is to be given unto ſuch common report, nor we truſt the ſame ſhall prove more true, than hath done the Opinion that was of the Lord Legate *Campegius* now here Reſident, whom we find and certainly know to be of a far other ſort in his love and inclination towards us, than was ſpoken, not having ſuch affection towards the Emperor, as in him was ſuſpected. And to be plain with you, if ever he had been of other mind, we have ſaid ſomewhat to him after ſuch manner as might ſoon change that intention. So that little Faith is to be given to the outward Sayings and Opinions of ſuch People as meaſure every thing at their pleaſure; which we doubt not but ye right wiſely do conſider, and that ye have before this time, by your diligent ſollicitation made to ſpeak with the Pope's Holineſs for declaration of your Charge, proved the contrary. Whereof we ſhall be glad and joyous to hear; willing and deſiring you therefore, according to the great and ſpecial confidence that we have in you, to pretermit no time in the diligent handling and execution of your ſaid Charge, but by one good way or other to find the mean, if you have not already done it, to declare the ſame unto the Pope, wherein the good advice and addreſs of the Biſhop of *Verone* ſhall, We truſt, do you great furtherance; and by whoſe means, if ye for the Pope's extreme debility or ſickneſs might in no wiſe be often admitted unto his preſence, ye may ſignify unto him at great length, our whole Mind, Deſire, and Intent, after ſuch form as your Inſtructions and Letters given and ſent unto you in that behalf do purport: For ſure ye may be, it ſhall highly confer unto the benefit of our Cauſes, that ye have there preſent one ſo faſt and aſſured Friend unto us, as we truſt the Biſhop of *Verone* is, who ſhall be able right largely to countervail, and meet with the malicious practices of the Archbiſhop of *Capua*, who is thought to be one of the chief Authors and Contrivers of the Falſities, Crafts, and Abuſes, ſet forth to the hindrance of our ſaid Cauſes; which no Man ſhall more politickly and facilly deprehend, than the ſaid Biſhop of *Verone* may do: And therefore he is by you, with all good means and ways poſſible, to be entertained; as we doubt not but you will have ſpecial eye and regard to the making, winning, and conſervation of as many Friends to our purpoſe as ye can poſſibly obtain; ſo handling your ſelf, as now may appear your dexterity and perfect endeavour to conduce, with your diligent labour and policy, our Matters to the ſpeedy, indelayed, and deſired end and effect, which ye may be ſure we ſhall not put in oblivion, but will have the ſame in remembrance accordingly. Marvelling nevertheleſs, that though ye Mr. *Stevins* could not bring hitherto our great Cauſes to perfection, ye had not in the mean ſeaſon advertiſed us what is done touching ſuch Bulls as were to be ſped for our other particular Matters, whereof no mention is made in your ſaid Letters; willing and deſiring you therefore, by your next Letters, to advertiſe us in what ſtate and train the ſame be; knowing right well that ye being not only by the former Letters and Writings, but alſo by ſuch as be ſent unto you, at this time ſufficiently and amply inſtructed of our Mind and Pleaſure, will now

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so acquit your self, as shall correspond to the perfect expectation, and firm opinion that we have of you, which we shall not fail to have in our tender consideration to your well, as is aforesaid. Ye shall also, in your Conferences with the said Bishop of *Verone*, understand and know of him, by what ways and means ye may best further his advancement to the Cardinality; exhorting him, for the manifold good effects that thereof may ensue, to conform himself to the acceptation thereof, if it may be obtained; for doubtless his Vertue, Wisdom, Experience, Fidelity, and other great and commendable merits well considered, we think no Man more meet at this time to be preferred thereunto than him: And therefore our express Mind and Pleasure is, that ye do it by all the ways and means to you possible. And finally we will that ye show unto him how effectually we have written unto you in that behalf, to the intent, being advanced thereunto, he may give us the better thanks, and in every way bear to us the more perfect affection. And by your next Letters, We will that ye advertise us what Advocates ye have on our part, with their Names and Qualities; finding the means also, if it be possible, to retain some notable and excellent Divine, a Frier, or other that may, can, or will firmly stick to our Causes, in leaning to that, *Quod Pontifex ex Jure Divino non potest dispensare, &c.* And of all the Successes to advertise us, as our special trust is in you. Given under our Signet, at our Mannor of *Greenwich*, the *6th* of this *April*.

XXVIII. The King's Letter to his Ambassadours, about his appearance before the Legates. An Original.

June 23. 1529.

To our trusty and right well-beloved Counsellors, Mr. William Bennet, *Doctor of both Laws; Sir* Gregory de Cassalis, *Knight; and Mr.* Peter Vannes *our Secretary for the Latin Tongue, our Ambassadours, resident in the Court of* Rome, *and to every of them.*

By the KING.

Henry R.

TRusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well. By former Letters and Writings sent to you Sir *Gregory* and Mr. *Peter*, with other of your Collegues then being at *Rome*, and by such conference as was had with you Mr. *Benet* before your departure, you were advertised in what state then stood our Cause and Matter of Matrimony, and how it was intended that the Process of the same should with diligence be commenced before the Pope's Legates here, being authorized for that purpose. Since that time, ensuing the deliberation taken in that behalf, the said Legates, all due Ceremonies first observed, have directed *Cotton* libr. *Vitel.* B. 11.

Citations

Citations both to us and to the Queen, for our and for her appearing before them the 18*th* of this month; which appearance was duly on either Party kept, performed, and all requisite Solemnities accomplished: At which time the Queen trusting more in the power of the Imperialists, than in any justness of her Cause, and thinking of likelyhood, by frustratory allegations and delays, to tract and put over the Matter to her advantage, did protest at the said day, putting in Libels, Recusatories of the Judges; and also made a provocation, alledging the Cause to be avoked by the Pope's Holiness, *& litis pendentiam coram eodem*; desiring to be admitted for probation thereof, and to have a term competent for the same: Whereupon day was given by the Judges till the 21 of the same month, for declaration of their minds and intentions thereunto; The Queen in Person, and we by our Proctor enjoined to appear the same day, to hear what the said Judges should determine in and upon the same. At which time both we and the Queen appeared in Person; and notwithstanding that the said Judges amply and sufficiently declared, as well the sincerity of their minds directly, justly to proceed without favour, dread, affection, or partiality; as also that no such Recusation, Appellation, or term for proving of *Litis pendentiam*, could or might be by them admitted: yet she nevertheless persisting in her former wilfulness, and in her Appeal, which also by the said Judges was likewise recused: And they minding to proceed further in the Cause, the Queen would no longer make her abode to hear what the said Judges would fully discern, but incontinently departed out of the Court; wherefore she was thrice preconnisate, and called est-soons to return and appear; which she refusing to do, was denounced by the Judges *Contumax*, and a Citation decerned for her appearance on *Friday* next, to make answer to such Articles and Positions as should be objected unto her: So as now it is not to be doubted, but that she will use all the ways and means to her possible, to impetrate and attain such things, as well by her own pursute, as by her Friends, as may be to the impeachment of the rightful Process of this Cause, either by Advocation, Inhibition, or otherwise: Wherefore seeing now in what state this our Matter standeth and dependeth, necessary and requisite for the great Consequences hanging upon the same, not only for the exoneration of our Conscience, but also for the surety of our Succession, and the well of this our Realm and People, to be with all celerity perfected and observed. It was thought convenient to advertise you of the Premisses, to the intent ye being well and sufficiently instructed in all things concerning the same, shall by your wisdoms and diligences have special regard that nothing pass or be granted there by the Pope's Holiness, which may either give delay or disappointment to the direct and speedy process to be used in this Cause, neither by Advocation of the Cause, Inhibition, or otherwise; but that if any such thing shall, by the *Cæsareans*, or by her Agents, or other, be attempted, or desired, the like Men of Wisdom, good Zeal, Learning, and Experience, diligently procure the stopping thereof, as well upon such Reasons and Considerations as before have been signified unto you, as by inferring the high and extream dishonour, and intolerable prejudice that the Pope's Holiness thereof should do to his said Legates; and also the contrariety both of his Bull and Commission, and also of his Promise and Pollicitation passed upon the

same;

same; beside the notable and excellent displeasure thereby to be done by his Holiness to us, and our Realm, clear contrary to our merits and deserts; extending also the other dangers mentioned in the said former Writings, apparent to ensue thereby to his Holiness, and the See Apostolick, with the manifold, and in manner, infinite inconveniences like to follow of the same to all Christendom, and all other such reasons, introductions and perswasions ye can make and devise for that purpose: putting him also in remembrance of the great Commodity coming unto his Holiness herein, by reason that this Cause being here decided, the Pope not only is delivered from the pains that he should in this time of Disease and Sickness, to the extream peril of his Life sustain with the same, seeing that it is of such moment and importance, as suffereth no tract or delay; but also his Holiness shall by such decision here eschew and avoid all displeasure that he should not fail to have, if it were or should be passed elsewhere: which matter is no little wisdom well to foresee and consider, and not only to forbear to do or pass any thing derogatory or prejudicial to his said Commission, but also by all means possible to corroborate and fortify the same, and all such Acts judicial as shall pass by his said Legates by virtue thereof. Like-as we doubt not but that the Pope's Holiness, of his Uprightness, Vertue, and perfect Wisdom will do; and rather like a most loving Father and Friend, tender and favour our good, just and reasonable Causes and Desires, putting thereunto all the furtherance he may do, than to do or consent to be done any thing hurtful, prejudicial, dammageable, or displeasant unto us, or this our said Cause. And finally; If need shall be, we will ye also infer, as the case shall require, how inconvenient it were this our Matter should be decided in the Court of *Rome*; which now dependeth totally in the Emperor's Arbitre, having such puissance near thereunto, that, as hath been written by the Pope's own Letters, their State and Life there is all in the Emperor's hands, whose Armies may famish or relieve them at their pleasure. And semblably ye shall not forget the prerogative of our Crown and Jurisdiction Royal, by the ancient Laws of our Realm, which admitteth nothing to be done by the Pope to the prejudice thereof, and also what danger they should incur that would presume to bring or present any such thing unto the same, as in our last Letters sent by *Alexander* was touched at good length. Wherein since ye be already so well and amply instructed, knowing also how much the Matter imports and toucheth us, and what profit and agreeable service ye may do unto us herein, with the high thanks that ye may deserve, for the same; We shall not be more prolix, but refer the substantial, perfect, and assured handling hereof to your circumspections, fidelities, and diligences, not doubting but that ye will now above all other things, look vigilantly hereunto, and so acquit your selves in the same, as it may well appear that your Acts shall be correspondent to our firm trust and expectation, and no less tender this thing than ye know it to be imprinted in the bottom of our Heart, nor then as ye know both the importance and high moment, and also the very necessity of the Matter doth require. In which doing, beside the laud and praise that ye shall consecute thereby of all good Men, we shall so have your acquittals in our remembrance, as ye shall have cause

to

to think your travels, pains, and studies herein, in the best wise collocate and emploied. Given under our Signet, at our Palace of *Bridewel*, the 23*d* day of *June*.

Rome 9 *July* 1529.

XXIX. *Doctor* Bennet's *Letter to the Cardinal, shewing how little they might expect from the Pope. An Original.*

Cotton libr. *Vitel.* B.11.

PLease it your Grace to understand, that the 6*th* day of this month the Pope's Holiness send for us : Albeit we had made great sute for audience before to his Holiness, soon after that we had understanding that his Holiness was recovered of this his last Sickness, into the which he fell the second day, after I had my first audience of his Holiness, which was the 21 day of the last month: And after our long communication and reasoning in the King's Highness Cause, which, at length, we have written to your Grace in our common Letter, for a confirmation of many inconveniences and dangers which we perswaded to his Holiness, to follow both to himself and to the See Apostolick, in case his Holiness should avoke the cause; I thought much convenient at that same time to deliver the King's familiar, and likewise your Grace's Letter, and so to shew your Grace's Credence to his Holiness. After the foresaid Letters delivered, and by his Holiness read, his Holiness shewed me, that he perceived by your Grace's Letters, that I had certain Credence to shew unto him of great moment and importance, concerning him and the See Apostolick. I shewed to his Holiness your Grace's Faith and observance, his Holiness doth best know; most humbly besought his Holiness to believe these undoubtedly to follow, That if his Holiness should, at the labours of the *Cæsareans*, avoke the Cause, he should not alonely offend the King's Highness, which hitherto hath been a stay, a help, and a defence of the See Apostolick; but also by reason of this injury, without remedy, shall alienate his Majesty and Realms, with others, from the devotion and obedience of the See Apostolick. This I shewed his Holiness, that your Grace doth evidently perceive to follow, in case his Holiness should incline to the *Cæsareans* desire on this behalf: Yea further, I said, that your Grace most clearly perceiveth also by that Act, the Church of *England* utterly to be destroyed, and likewise your Person; and that these your Grace, with weeping tears, most lamentably committed unto me to shew to his Holiness. Furthermore I shewed to his Holiness, that your Grace, howsoever you should proceed in this Cause, did intend to proceed so sincerely, indifferently, and justly, that you would rather suffer to be jointed, Joint by Joint, than either for affection or fear, do any act either against your Conscience or Justice. Furthermore I said, that seeing his Holiness may be so well assured, that your Grace will do nothing but according to Justice in this Cause, he may the more boldly deny Avocations to the *Cæsareans*, seeing that the Queen and the Emperor can desire but Justice, which they may have at your Grace's hand, and my Lord *Campegius*, as well there

as

as here; and by this means his Holiness should deliver himself from great pains and unquietness of mind, which he should sustain in case the Cause should be known here, where he should have the King's Highness on one part, and the Emperor on the other side, daily calling upon his Holiness. To this his Holiness most heavily, and with tears, answered and said, That now he saw the destruction of Christendom, and lamented that his fortune was such to live to this day, and not to be able to remedy it, (saying these words) For God is my Judg, I would do as gladly for the King, as I would for my self; and to that I knowledg my self most bounden, but in this case I cannot satisfy his desire, but that I should do manifestly against Justice to the charge of my Conscience, to my rebuke, and to the dishonour of the See Apostolick; affirming, that his Counsel shews him, that seeing the *Cæsareans* have a Mandate or Proxie of the Queen, to ask the Avocations in her Name, he cannot of Justice deny it, and the whole Signature be in that same opinion; so that though he would most gladly do that thing that might be to the King's pleasure, yet he cannot do it, seeing that Signature would be against him whensoever the Supplication should be up there: And so being late, we took our leave of his Holiness, and departed, seeing that we could obtain nothing of the Pope for stopping the Avocation, we consulted and devised for the deferring of it, till such time as your Grace might make an end in the Cause there. And so concluded upon a new Device, which at length we have written in our common Letter, wherein I promise your Grace, Mr. *Gregory* has used great diligence, and taken great labours at this time, we can do no more for our lives: And if your Grace saw the importune labour of the Ambassadors of the Emperor's and *Ferdinandoes*, you would marvel, I promise your Grace they never cease; wherefore in staying hitherto, as we have done, it is marvel, as God knoweth, whom I pray to preserve your Grace in health and prosperity *ad multos annos*. I beseech your Grace most humbly to commend me to the King's Highness; and likewise I beseech your Grace to pardon my ill writing. At *Rome*, the 9*th* day of *July*.

Your daily Beadman

and Servant,

W. Benet.

XXX. *A Letter of the Pope's to the Cardinal concerning the Avocation. An Original.*

19 *Julii*, 1529.

Dilecte Fili noster, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Difficile est nobis explicare literis, qua nostra molestia seu potius dolore fuerimus coacti, ad Avocationem Causæ istic commissæ concedendam; nam etsi res ita fuit justa ut tanto tempore differri non debuerit, tamen *Cotton* Libr. *Vitell.* B. 11.

nos

nos qui isti Serenissimo Regi pro ejus singularibus erga nos & Apostolicam sedem meritis placere in omnibus cupimus, sicut consuevimus, agre nunc adducti sumus, ut quamquam justitia cogente, quicquid contra ejus voluntatem concederemus. Nec vero minus, Fili, doluimus tua causa; cui rem hanc tantæ curæ esse perspeximus quantum tua erga dictum Regem fides & amor postulat; sed tamen quod datur justitiæ minus esse molestum debet, cum præsertim id fuerit tam dilatum a nobis, omniaq; antea pertentata ne ad hoc descenderemus. Itaq; optamus in hoc adhiberi a te illam tuam singularem prudentiam & æquitatem, persuadereq; te tibi id quod est, nos qui semper vobis placere quantum nobis licuit studuimus, id quod vestro maximo merito fecimus, & semper facturi sumus, nunc non nisi invitos & justitia coactos quod fecimus fecisse: Teque omni studio & amore hortamur, ut dictum regem in solita erga nos benevolentia retinere velis, eiq; persuadere, nihil ex hoc apud nos de benevolentia erga se veteri imminutum unquam fore, quod recipiemus a Circumspectione tua longe gratissimum. Quemadmodum plenius dilectus Filius noster Cardinalis *Campegius* hæc circumspectioni tuæ explicabit. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die 19 Julii 1529. Pont. nostri anno sexto.

Blosius.

Act 26. Anno Regni 21. Henr. 8.

XXXI *An Act for the releasing unto the King his Highness of such Sums of Mony as was to be required of him, by any his Subjects, for any Manner of Loan, by his Letters Missives, or other ways or manner whatsoever.*

I*Tem quædam alia billa formam cujusdam actus in se continens, exhibita est præfato Domino Regi in Parliamento prædicto, cujus quidem billæ tenor sequitur in hæc verba.* The King's humble, faithful, and loving Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, considering and calling to their remembrances, the inestimable Costs, Charges, and Expences, which the King's Highness necessarily hath been compelled to support and sustain, since his assumption to his Crown, Estate, and Dignity Royal; as well first for the extinction of a right dangerous and damnable Schism sprung and risen in the Church; which by the providence of the Almighty God, and the high prudence, and provision, and assistance of the King's Highness, was, to the great honour, laud, and glory of his Majesty, repressed; the Enemies then being of the Church reformed, returned, and restored to the unity of the same, and peace over all componed and concluded, as also for the modifying of the insatiable and inordinate ambition of those which do aspire unto the Monarchy of Christendom, did put universal trouble, divisions in the same, intending, if they might, not only to have subdued this Realm, but also all the rest unto their Power and Subjection.

Subjection: For the resistance whereof, the King's Highness was compelled, after the Universal Peace, by the great study, labour, and travel of his Grace conduced, and the same by some of the Contrahents newly violate and infringed; in shewing the form of the Treaties thereupon made again, and take Armour. And over and besides the notable and excessive treasure and substance which his Highness in his first Wars had emploied for the defence of the Church, the Faith Catholick, and this his Realm, and of the People and Subjects of the same, was eft-soons brought of necessity to new, excellent, and marvellous Charges, both for the supportation of sundry Armies by Sea and by Land; and also for divers and manifold Contributions outward; to serve, keep, and contain his own Subjects at home in rest and repose; which hath been so politickly handled and conduced, that when the most part of all religious Christians have been infested with cruel Wars, Discords, Divisions, and Dissensions, the great Heads and Princes of the World brought unto Captivity; Cities, Towns, and Places, by force and sedition, taken, spoiled, burnt, and sacked; Men, Women, and Children found in the same slain and destroyed; Virgins, Wives, Widows, and Religious Women, ravished and defloured; Holy Churches and Temples polluted, and turned unto prophane use; the Reliques of the Holy Saints irreverently treated; Hunger, Dearth, and Famine, by mean thereof in the said outward Regions, insuing and gentily over all, was depopulation, destruction and confusion; the King's said Subjects in all this time, were by the high providence and politick means of his Grace nevertheless preserved, defended, and maintained, from all these inconveniences and dangers; and such provisions taken, by one way or other, so as reasonable commodity was always given unto them to exercise their Traffiques of Merchandise, and other their Crafts, Mysteries, and Occupations for their living; which could not possibly have been brought about, unless then the King's Highness, with continual studies, travels, and pains, and with his infinite Charges and Expences, had converted the peril and danger of the Enterprises and Exploits, set forth for the reduction of the Enemies unto Peace, from his own Subjects unto Strangers: Whereof finally such Fruit and Effect is ensued, as by the King's policy, puissance, and means, general and universal Peace is established amongst all Christian Princes; and this Realm now, thanked be God, constitute in free, better, and more assured and profitable Amity with all outward Parties, than hath been at any time whereof is memory or remembrance. Considering furthermore, That his Highness, in and about the Premisses, hath been fain to employ, not only such sums of Mony as hath risen and grown by any manner of contribution made unto his Grace by his said loving Subjects, but also over and above the same, sundry other notable and excellent Sums of his own Treasure, and yearly Revenues, which else his Grace might have kept and reserved to his own use; amongst which manifold great Sums so employed, his Highness also, as is notoriously known, and as doth evidently appear by the accompts of the same, hath to that use and none other, converted all such Mony, as by any his Subjects and People, Spiritual and Temporal, hath been advanced unto his Grace by way of Prest and Loan, either particularly, or by any Taxation made of the same, being a thing so well collocate and bestowed, seeing the said high

and great Fruits and Effects thereof ensued, to the honour, surety, wealth, perfect commodity, and perpetual tranquillity of this said Realm, as nothing could better nor more to the comfort of his said Subjects be desired, studied, or imagined; Of one mind, consent and assent, and by Authority of this present Parliament, do for themselves, and all the whole Body of the Realm whom they do represent, freely, liberally, and absolutely, give and grant unto the King's Highness, by Authority of this present Parliament, all and every Sum and Sums of Mony, which to them, and every of them, is, ought, or might be due, by reason of any Mony, or any other thing, to his Grace at any time heretofore advanced, or payed, by way of Prest or Loan, either upon any Letter or Letters under the King's Privy Seal, general or particular, Letter, Missive, Promise, Bond, or Obligation of payment, or by any Taxation, or other Assessing, by virtue of any Commission or Commissions, or by any other mean or means whatsoever it be heretofore passed for that purpose, and utterly, frankly, liberally, and most willingly and benevolently, for them, their Heirs, Executors, and Successors, do remit, release, and quit claim, unto his Highness, his Heirs and Successors for ever, all and every the same Sums of Mony, and every parcel thereof, and all and singular Suits, Petitions, and Demands, which they, or any of them, their Heirs, Successors, or Executors, or the Heirs, Executors, or Successors of any of them, have, had, or may have for the same, or any parcel thereof; most humbly and lovingly, beseeching his Highness, for the more clear discharge for the same, that it may be ordained and enacted by the King, our said Sovereign Lord, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that all Promises, Bonds, Writings, Obligatory Letters, under the King's Privy Seal, Signet, Sign Manual, or Great Seal passed, and other Bonds or Promises, whatsoever they be, had, or made, to any Person or Persons, Spiritual or Temporal, Shire, City, Burrough, Waxentale, Tranship, Hamlet, Village, Monastry, Church, Cathedral, or Collegiat, or to any Guild, Fraternity, or Body Corporate, Fellowship, or Company, or other whatsoever, having capacity to take any Bond, especially and generally, jointly or severally, touching or concerning the same Prest or Loan, or every of them, or the repaimeut of any Sum or Sums of Mony for the same, be from henceforth void and of none effect. *Cui quidem billæ probe & ad plenum intellectæ per dictum Dominum Regem ex assensu & Authoritate Parliamenti prædicti taliter est responsum. Le Roy remercie Les Seigneurs & ses communes de leur bonne cueurs en faisant cest graunt, & icelle se Majeste accepte & tout le contenu, & cest escriture a graunt & aprove aviecques tous les articles en ceste escripture specifies.*

XXXII.

XXXII. *A Letter from* Gardiner *and* Fox, *about their Proceedings at* Cambridg. *An Original.*

Feb. 1530. *from* Cambridg *by* Stephen Gardiner.

To the King's Highness.

PLeaseth it your Highness to be advertised, That arriving here at *Cambridg* upon *Saturday* last past at noon, that same night, and *Sunday* in the Morning, we devised with the Vice-chancellour, and such other as favoureth your Grace's Cause, how and in what sort to compass and attain your Grace's Purpose and Intent; wherein we assure your Grace, we found much towardness, good will, and diligence, in the Vice-Chancellour and Dr. *Edmunds*, being as studious to serve your Grace as we could wish or desire: Nevertheless there was not so much care, labour, study, and diligence employed on our Party, by them, our self, and other, for attaining your Grace's Purpose, but there was as much done by others for the lett and empeachment of the same; and as we assembled they assembled, as we made Friends they made Friends, to lett that nothing should pass as in the Universities Name; wherein the first day they were Superiors, for they had put in the ears of them, by whose Voices such things do pass; *multas fabulas*, too tedious to write unto your Grace. Upon *Sunday* at afternoon were assembled, after the manner of the University, all the Doctors, Batchellors of Divinity, and Masters of Art, being in number almost two hundred: In that Congregation we delivered your Grace's Letters, which were read openly by the Vice-Chancellor. And for answer to be made unto them, first the Vice-Chancellor calling apart the Doctors, asked their Advice and Opinion; whereunto they answered severally, as their Affections led them, *& res erat in multa confusione. Tandem* they were content Answer should be made to the Questions by indifferent Men: But then they came to Exceptions against the Abbot of St. *Benets*, who seemed to come for that purpose; and likewise against Dr. *Reppes*, and Dr. *Crome*; and also generally against all such as had allowed Dr. *Cranmer*'s Book, inasmuch as they had already declared their Opinion. We said thereunto, That by that reason they might except against all; for it was lightly, that in a Question so notable as this is, every Man Learned hath said to his Friend as he thinketh in it for the time; but we ought not to judg of any Man, that he setteth more to defend that which he hath once said, than Truth afterward known. Finally; The Vice-Chancellor, because the day was much spent in those altercations, commanding every Man to resort to his Seat apart, as the manner is in those Assemblies, willed every Man's mind to be known secretly, whether they would be content with such an Order as he had conceived for answer to be made by the University to your Grace's Letters; whereunto that night they would in no wise agree. And forasmuch as it was then dark night, the Vice-Chancellor continued the Congregation till the next day at one of the Clock; at which time the Vice-Chancellor proponed a Grace after the form herein inclosed; and it

Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 13.

it was first denied: When it was asked again, it was even on both Parties, to be denied or granted; and at the last, by labour of Friends to cause some to depart the House which were against it, it was obtained in such form as the Schedule herein enclosed purporteth; wherein be two Points which we would have left out; but considering by putting in of them, we allured many, and that indeed they shall not hurt the Determination for your Grace's part, we were finally content therewith. The one Point is that where it was first, that *quicquid major pars* of them that be named *decreverit*, should be taken for the Determination of the University. Now it referred *ad duas partes*, wherein we suppose shall be no difficulty. The other Point is, That your Grace's Question shall be openly disputed, which we think to be very honourable; and it is agreed amongst us, That in that Disputation, shall answer, the Abbot of St. *Benets*, Dr. *Reppes*, and I Mr. *Fox*, to all such as will object any thing or reason against the conclusion to be sustained for your Grace's part. And because Mr. Doctor *Clyss* hath said, That he hath somewhat to say concerning the Canon-Law; I your Secretary shall be adjoined unto them for answer to be made therein. In the Schedule which we send unto your Grace herewith, containing the names of those who shall determine your Grace's Question, all marked with the Letter A. be already of your Grace's Opinion; by which we trust, and with other good means, to induce and obtain a great part of the rest. Thus we beseech Almighty God to preserve your most Noble and Royal Estate. From *Cambridg* the day of *February*.

Your Highness's most humble

Subjects and Servants,

Stephen Gardiner,

Edward Foxe.

The

The Grace purposed and obtained, *Feb.* 1530.

Placet vobis ut

A. Vicecancellarius.

Doctores.

A. Salcot. *The Abbot of St.* Benets.

Watson.

A. Repps.

Tomson.

Venetus, *de isto bene speratur.*

A. Edmunds.

Downes.

A. Crome.

A. Wygan.

A. Boston.

Magistri in Theologia.

Middelton.

A. Heynes.

Mylsent. *de isto bene speratur.*

A. Shaxton.

A. Latimer.

A. Simon.

Longford. *De isto bene speratur.*

Thyxtel.

Nicols.

Hutton.

A. Skip.

A. Goodrich.

A. Heth.

Hadway, *de isto bene speratur.*

Dey.

Bayne.

A. A. Duo Procuratores.

HAbeant plenam facultatem & Authoritatem, nomine totius Universitatis, respondendi Literis Regiæ Majestatis in hac Congregatione lectis, ac nomine totius Universitatis definiendi & determinandi quæstionem in dictis literis propositam: Ita quod quicquid duæ partes eorum præsentium inter se decreverint, respondendi dictis literis, & definierint ac determinaverint super quæstione proposita, in iisdem habeatur, & reputetur pro Responsione, Definitione & determinatione totius Universitatis, & quod liceat Vicecancellario, Procuratoribus & Scrutatoribus, literis super dictarum duarum partium definitione & determinatione concipienda sigillum commune Universitatis apponere; sic quod disputetur Quæstio publice & antea legatur coram Universitate absq; ulteriori gratia desuper petenda aut obtinenda.

Your Highness may perceive by the Notes, that we be already sure of as many as be requisite, wanting only three; and we have good hope of four; of which four if we get two, and obtain of another to be absent, it is sufficient for our purpose.

July 1. 1530.

XXXIII. *A Letter from* Crook *out of* Venice, *concerning the Opinions of Divines about the Divorce. An Original.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 13.

PLease it your Highneſs to be advertiſed, That as this day I obtained the Common Seal of the Univerſity of *Padua*, in ſubſtantial and good form; for all the Doctors were aſſembled upon *Sunday*, and the Caſe was amongſt them ſolemnly and earneſtly diſputed all *Monday*, *Tueſday*, *Wedneſday*, and *Thurſday*, and this preſent *Friday* in the morning again; and thereupon they concluded with your Highneſs, and deſired a Notary to ſet his Sign and Hand unto an Inſtrument, by *Leonicus* and *Simonetus* deviſed, in corroboration of your Cauſe, and thereby to teſtify that this Inſtrument was their Deed, Device, Act, and Concluſion; and for the more credence to be given to the ſaid Inſtrument, they cauſed the Chancellor of the *Poteſtate* here to ſet his Hand and Seal for the approbation of the Authority of the Notary: A Copy of all the which things I ſend unto your Highneſs by this Bearer, in moſt humble wiſe beſeeching the ſame to be advertiſed, that the General of the Black-Friers hath given a Commandment, That no Black-Frier diſpute the Pope's Power: Notwithſtanding Prior *Thomas Omnibonus* procureth daily new Subſcriptions, and will do till the Brief of contrary Commandment ſhall come unto his hands.

My fidelity bindeth me to advertiſe your Highneſs, that all *Lutherans* be utterly againſt your Highneſs in this Cauſe, and have letted as much with their wretched Power, Malice, without Reaſon or Authority, as they could and might, as well here, as in *Padua* and *Ferrara*, where be no ſmall Companies of them. I doubt not but all Chriſtian Univerſities, if they be well handled, will earneſtly conclude with your Highneſs. And to obtain their aſſent, as well through *Italy*, *France*, *Almagne*, *Auſtrich*, *Hungary*, and *Scotland*, I think it marvellous expedient, for the preferment of this your moſt honourable and high Cauſe; As from the Seigniory and Dominion of *Venice* towards *Rome*, and beyond *Rome*, I think there can be no more done than is done already, albeit, gracious Lord, if that I had in time been ſufficiently furniſhed with Mony. Albeit I have beſide this Seal procured unto your Highneſs an hundred and ten Subſcriptions, yet it had been nothing in compariſon of that that I might eaſily and would have done; and at this hour I aſſure your Highneſs, that I have neither Proviſion nor Mony, and have borrowed an hundred Crowns, the which alſo are ſpent about the getting of this Seal; of the which my need, and divers impediments in your Highneſs's Cauſe here, I have advertiſed your Highneſs by many and ſundry Letters, and with the ſame ſent divers Books and Writings, part to *Hierom Molins* a *Venetian*, and factor to *Mapphens Bernardus*, by the hands of your Subject *Edmund Herwell*, part directed to Mr. *Tuke*, whereof I am nothing aſcertained whether they be exhibited unto your Highneſs or not, to no little diſcomfort unto me; notwithſtanding I have reſerved a Copy of all things, Letters, and other, and herein encloſed a Bill, ſpecifying by whom and to whom I directed my ſaid Letters,

Letters, in most humble wise, beseeching your most Royal Clemency, to ponder my true, sure, and good endeavours, and not to suffer me to be destitute of Mony, to my undoing, and utter loss of your most high Causes here; for of my self I have nothing whereby to help my self. And thus the most Blessed Trinity keep and preserve your Highness in his most Royal Estate. At *Venice*, the first day of *July* at night, *Anno*——30. *R. Crook.*

XXXIV. The Judgment of the Universities concerning the King's Marriage; taken from the Printed Edition of them. *London*, 1532.

Censura Facultatis Sacræ Theologiæ almæ Universitatis Parisiensis.

Decanus & Facultas Sacræ Theologiæ almæ Universitatis Parisiensis, omnibus, ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, salutem in eo, qui est vera Salus. Cum nuper suborta magnæ difficultatis controversia super invaliditate Matrimonii, inter Serenissimum Henricum Octavum Angliæ Regem, Fidei Defensorem, & Dominum Hiberniæ, ac Illustrissimam Dominam Catharinam Angliæ Reginam, claræ memoriæ Ferdinandi Regis Catholici Filiam contracti, & carnali copula consummati, illa etiam nobis Quæstio in justitia & veritate discutienda & examinanda proposita fuerat, videlicet, Anducere relictam fratris mortui sine liberis sic esset jure divino & naturali prohibitum, ut interveniente summi Pontificis Dispensatione, non posset fieri licitum, ut quis Christianus relictam fratris ducat, & habeat in Uxorem; Nos Decanus & Facultas antedicta, cogitantes, quam esset pium & sanctum, nec-non debito charitatis, & nostræ Professioni consentaneum, ut his, qui in lege Domini secura, tranquillaq; conscientia vitam hanc ducere, & transigere cupiant, viam justitiæ ostenderemus, noluimus tam justis & piis votis deesse. Hinc more solito, apud ædem S. Mathurini per juramentum convenientes, & solemni Missa cum Invocatione Spiritus Sancti ob hoc celebrata, nec-non præstito juramento de deliberando super præfata quæstione, secundum Deum & Conscientiam; Post varias & multiplices Sessiones, tam apud ædem S. Mathurini, quam apud Collegium Sorbonæ, ab octava Junii usq; ad secundum Julii habitas, & continuatas, perscrutatis prius excussisq; quam diligentissime, ac ea qua decuit, reverentia & Religione, Sacræ Scripturæ Libris eorumq; probatissimis interpretibus, nec-non Sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ generalibus ac Synodalibus Concilii Decretis & Constitutionibus longo usu receptis & approbatis: Nos prædicti Decanus & Facultas de prædicta Quæstione differentes, & ad eam respondentes, sequentes unanime judicium & consensum Majoris partis totius Facultatis, Asseruimus & Determinavimus, prout & in his Scriptis per præsentes Asserimus & Determinamus, quod prædictæ nuptiæ cum Relictis fratrum decedentium sine liberis, sic naturali jure pariter & divino sunt prohibitæ, ut super talibus Matrimoniis contractis, sive contrahendis, Summus Pontifex dispensare non possit. In cujus nostræ Assertionis & Determinationis fidem & testimonium, sigillum nostræ Facultatis cum signo nostri Notarii, seu Bedelli præsentibus apponi curavimus. Datum in

generali nostra Congregatione per juramentum celebrata apud S. Mathurinum. Anno Dom. Millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo, Mensis vero Julii die secundo.

Censura Facultatis Decretorum almæ Universitatis Parisiensis.

IN Nomine Domini Amen. Cum proposita fuisset coram nobis Decano & Collegio Consultissimæ Facultatis Decretorum Parisiensis Universitatis Quæstio; An Papa possit Dispensare, quod Frater possit in Uxorem ducere, sive accipere relictam Fratris sui, Matrimonio consummato per Fratrem præmortuum? Nos Decanus & Collegium præfatæ Facultatis, post multas Disputationes & Argumenta hinc inde super hac materia facta ac habita, cum magna & longa librorum, tam divini, quam Pontificii & Civilis, jurium revolutione consulimus, & dicimus, Papam non posse in facto proposito dispensare. In cujus rei testimonium, has præsentes Sigillo nostræ Facultatis, & signo nostri scribæ primi Bedelli muniri fecimus. Datum in Congregatione nostra apud Sanctum Joannem Lateranensem, Parisiis die vicesima tertia mensis Maii, Anno Dom. millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo.

Censura almæ Universitatis Aurelianensis.

CUm ab hinc aliquod tempus nobis Collegio Doctorum Regentium almæ Universitatis Aurelianensis propositæ fuerint, quæ sequntur Quæstiones, videlicet; Si jure divino liceat fratri Relictam fratris (quam Fratriam vocant) accipere Uxorem? Item & si hoc sit eo jure vetitum, utrum divinæ Legis prohibitio Pontificali Dispensatione remitti possit? Nos prædictum Collegium, post multas ad prædictorum dubiorum Disputationem (de more nostro) factas Sessiones & Congregationes, postque Juris tum Divini tum Canonici locos (quod facere potuimus) examinatos, & omnibus mature atque exacte pensatis & consideratis: Definivimus, prædictas nuptias citra divinæ legis injuriam attentari non posse, etiamsi summi Pontificis accedat indulgentia, vel permissus. In cujus rei testimonium præsens publicum Instrumentum a Scriba præfatæ almæ Universitatis subsignari fecimus, ejusdemq; Sigillo communiri. Actum in Sacello Beatæ Mariæ Boninuncii Aurelianensis. Anno Dom. Millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo nono, die quinto Mensis Aprilis.

Censura Facultatum Juris Pontificii & legum Almæ Universitatis Andegavensis.

CUm certo ab hinc tempore nobis Rectori & Doctoribus Regentibus in Pontificia & legum disciplina almæ Universitatis Andegavensis sequentes Quæstiones propositæ fuerint, scilicet, Utrum Jure Divino pariter & naturali illicitum sit homini Christiano Relictam fratris sui, etiam absq; liberis, sed Matrimonio jam consummato defuncti, ducere Uxorem? Et an Summo Pontifici liceat super hujusmodi nuptiis dispensare? Nos præfati Rector & Doctores, post plures ad Disputationem hujusmodi quæstionum, & veritatem comperiendam factas, ex more, Congregationes & Sessiones, postq; varios Juris tam Divini, quam

humani

humani locos, qui ad eam rem pertinere videbantur, discussos, multas quoq; rationes in utramq; partem adductas & examinatas, omnibus fideliter consideratis, & matura deliberatione præhabita, Definimus neque Divino neque Naturali Jure permitti homini Christiano, etiam cum Sedis Apostolicæ Authoritate seu Dispensatione super hoc adhibita, Relictam fratris, qui etiam sine liberis post consummatum Matrimonium decesserit, Uxorem accipere vel habere. In quorum omnium supradictorum fidem, præsens publicum Instrumentum a Scriba seu Notario præfatæ Almæ Universitatis subsignari jussimus, ejusdemq; Universitatis Magno Sigillo muniri. Actum in æde sacra Divi Petri Andegavensi, in Collegio nostro. Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo, die septimo Maii.

Censura almæ Universitatis Bituricensis.

NOs cum Decano Theologiæ, Facultas in Universitate Bituricensi (ut Doctoris Gentium Pauli exemplo plerisq; locis auspicemur scriptum nostrum a precatione) omnibus dilectis Dei in quibus vocati estis, Lectores Charissimi, quiq; ad quos scribimus, Gratia vobis & pax a Deo Patre & Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Dum complerentur dies inter Octavas Pentecostes, & essemus omnes pariter in eodem loco, corpore & animo congregati, sedentesq; in domo dicti Decani; facta est nobis rursus Quæstio eadem, quæ sæpius antea, non quidem parva, hunc in modum: An rem faciat illicitam necne, frater accipiens Uxorem a præmortuo fratre relictam, consummato etiam Matrimonio? Tandem rei ipsius veritate disquisita & perspecta, multo singulorum labore, & Sacrorum iterata atq; iterata revolutione codicum, unusquisq; nostrum non fascinatus, quo minus veritati obediret, cæpit, prout Spiritus Sanctus dedit, suum hoc unum arbitrium eloqui, absq; personarum acceptione, in veritate comperi, personas memoratas in Capite Levitici octavo supra decimum prohibitas esse jure ipso naturali, authoritate humana minime relaxabili, & vetitas, ne invicem Matrimonium contrahant, quo fit fraternæ turpitudinis, abominabilis Revelatio. Et hoc nobis signum nostri Bedelli Notarii publici, cum Sigillo dicti supra nostræ Facultatis præsentibus appenso. Die decimo Junii, Anno vero a Christi Nativitate, Millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo. Ut autem nostræ scriptionis pes & caput uni reddantur formæ, quemadmodum sumus auspicati a precatione, ita claudamus illius quo utimur exemplo. Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, charitas Dei, & communicatio Sancti Spiritus sit cum omnibus vobis. Amen.

Censura Almæ Universitatis Tholosanæ.

TRactabatur in nostra Tholosana Academia perquam difficilis Quæstio, Liceatne fratri eam, quæ jam olim defuncto fratri Uxor fuerat (nullis tamen relictis liberis) in Matrimonio sibi conjungere? Accedebat & alius scrupulus, qui nos potissimum torquebat, Si Romanus Pontifex, cui est commissa gregis Christiani cura, id sua, quam vocamus, Dispensatione permittat, tunc saltem liceat? Ad utramq; Quæstionem agitandam Doctores omnes Regentes, qui tunc Tholosæ aderant, coegit Rector in Concilium, neque id semel tantum sed etiam iterum:

Quippe existimavit præcipitari non oportere Consilia, indigereq; nos tempore, ut aliquid maturius agamus. Demum, cum in unum locum convenissent omnes, tùm Sacrarum Literarum disertissimi Interpretes, tum utriusq; Censuræ Consultissimi, deniq; qui quavis in re & judicio & oratione viri fœlicibus ingeniis non mediocriter exercitati essent, ac sese Sacrosanctis Conciliis parere velle, Sanctorumq; Patrum haud quaquam piis animis violanda Decreta imitari jurassent, & unusquisq; suam sententiam protulisset, atq; in utramq; partem diffuse decertatum esset; tandem in eam Sententiam sic frequentius itum est, ut uno omnium ore Alma nostra Universitas animis sincerissimis nulloq; fermento vitiatis censuerit, Jure Divino pariter & Naturali Uxorem relictam fratris sui nemini licere accipere. At postquam id lege eadem non licet, responsum est, non posse Pontificem aliquem ea lege solvere. Nec huic sententiæ refragari potest, quod cogeretur olim frater Uxorem demortui fratris accipere. Nam hoc figura erat, atque umbra futurorum, quæ omnia adveniente luce & veritate Evangelii evanuerunt. Hæc quoniam ita se habent, in hanc formam redegimus, & per Notarium, qui nobis est a Secretis, signari, sigilliq; autentici ejusdem nostræ Almæ Universitatis jussimus Appensione Communiri. Tholosæ. Kal. Octob. Ann. a Christo nato M. D. XXX.

Censura Facultatis Sacræ Theologiæ Universitatis Bononiensis.

CUm Deus Optimus Maximus veterem Legem ad morum vitæque informationem ac institutionem ore suo tradiderit, idemque humanitate sumpta, mortalium Redemptor Deus novum condiderit Testamentum, sed ad dubia, quæ in multis emergebant, tollenda declarandaque contulerit, quæ ad hominum perfectionem elucidata nonnihil conferunt; nostras partes semper fore duximus hujusmodi sanctissima Patris æterni documenta sectari, & in rebus arduis ac dubitabilibus, superno illustratos lumine, nostram ferre sententiam, ubi causa mature consulta, multisq; hinc inde rationibus, scriptisq; Patrum dilucidata fuerit, nihil quod possumus, in aliquo t[illegible]re ferentes. Cum itaq; nos, præstantes quidam & clarissimi viri, ob[illegible] rogarint, ut subsequentem casum maxima diligentia perscrutaremur, nostrumq; subinde in eum judicium ferremus æquissime, soli veritati innitentes, in unum omnes Almæ Universitatis hujus Doctores Theologi convenimus, casu prius per unumquemq; nostrum sigillatim domibus propriis examinato, summaq; solertia per dies plurimos contracto: Illud una mox vidimus, examinavimus, contulimus, ad amussimq; singula quæq; pertractantes ponderavimus, rationes quascunq; contrarias, quas fieri posse censuimus, in medium afferentes atq; solventes, etiam ipsius Reverendissimi D. D. Card. Cajetani, necnon Deuteronomicam Dispensationem de fratris suscitando semine, & reliquas tandem omnes sententias oppositas, quæ ad id negotii facere viderentur. Quæsitum est igitur a nobis, An ex sola Ecclesiæ institutione vel etiam Jure Divino prohibitum fuerit, ne quis Relictam a a fratre sine liberis in Uxorem ducere valeat? Quod si utraq; lege ne fieri possit, cautum est; An quenquam possit Beatissimus Pontifex super ejusmodi contrahendo Matrimonio dispensare? Qua diligentissime (ut diximus) ac exactissime seorsim palamq; examinata, ac pro viribus nostris, optime discussa Quæstione, Censemus, Judicamus, dicimus, constantissime

stantissime Testamur & indubie affirmamus, hujusmodi Matrimonium, tales nuptias, tale conjugium horrendum fore, execrabile, detestandum, viroq; Christiano, immo etiam cuilibet infideli prorsus abominabile, esseque a Jure naturæ divino & humano diris pœnis prohibitum. Nec posse Sanctissimum Papam (qui tamen fere omnia potest) cui collatæ sunt a Christo claves Regni Cœlorum: Non inquam posse aliqua ex causa super hujusmodi contrahendo Matrimonio, quenquam dispensare. Ad hujus Conclusionis veritatem tutandam, omnes in omnia loca & tempora parati sumus. In quorum fidem has scripsimus, almæq; nostræ Universitatis ac Sacri Venerabilium Theologorum Collegii Sigillo munivimus, solita nostra generali subscriptione Signantes. Bononiæ in Ecclesia Cathedrali, decima Junii, Anno Dom. M. D. XXX. sub Divi Clementis 7. Pontificatu.

Censura Facultatis Sacræ Theologiæ Almæ Universitatis Pataviensis.

TEstantur, qui Catholicam fidem astruunt, Deum Optimum Maximum legis veteris præcepta filiis Israel ad exemplar vitæ ac morum nostrorum institutionem ore proprio tradidisse, eundemq; trabea humanitatis indutum, Redemptorem omnium factum, Novum Testamentum condidisse, & nedum propter hoc, sed ad dubia quæcunq; emergentia removenda, dilucidandaq; nobis misericorditer condonasse, quæ ad nostri perfectionem enucleata fructus uberes conferunt & salutares. Nostrum semper fuit eritq; per secula (uti Christicolas decet) hujusmodi celebratissima Summi Pontificis instituta sectari, & in quibusq; dubitationibus, ac arduis Quæstionibus supernaturali lumine freti, nostrum proferre Judicium, ubi res ipsa optime considerata, multisq; hinc inde demonstrationibus, atq; Patrum Authoritatibus mature declarata fuerit, temere quoad possumus nihil omnino judicantes. Cum igitur nos, quidam oratores clarissimi, suppliciter exorarint, ut subsequentem casum diligentissime perscrutari dignaremur, atq; nostram ferremus exinde sententiam, soli veritati simpliciter attendentes: Qua ex re omnes hujus Almæ Universitatis Doctores Theologi in simul convenimus, re ipsa prius per nostrum quemlibet particulariter propriis domibus examinata, summaq; cum solertia enucleata, mox in unum redacti cuncta consideravimus, examinavimus, omniaq; sigillatim ponderavimus, Argumenta quæcunq; contraria, quæ fieri quoquomodo posse putavimus, adducentes, atq; integerrime dissolventes, necnon Deuteronomicam Dispensationem de Fratris suscitando semine, & reliquas omnes rationes atq; sententias oppositas, quæ ad id facere videbantur: Quæstio igitur talis fuit exposita, An ex sola Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ institutione, vel etiam de Jure Divino prohibitum fuerit, ne quis Relictam fratris absq; liberis in Uxorem ducere valeat? Quod si utrobiq; fieri nequeat cautum est, An Beatissimus Pontifex super hujusmodi contrahendo Matrimonio quenquam dispensare legitime possit? Quo exactissime (ut dictum est) seorsim publiceq; discusso, ac pro viribus dilucidato quæsito, Dicimus, Judicamus, Decernimus, Attestamur, atque veridice Affirmamus, Matrimonium hujusmodi, tale conjugium & tales nuptias nullas esse, immo detestabiles, atque execrandas Christiano cuilibet esse, prophanas, &, ut

scelus

ſcelus abominandas, crudeliſſimis pœnis, jure naturæ, divino & humano, clariſſime eſſe prohibitas. Nec Beatiſſimum Pontificem, cui claves Regni cœleſtis a Chriſto Dei Filio ſunt collatæ, ulla ex cauſa poſſe ſuper tali Matrimonio contrahendo quenquam juridice diſpenſare. Cum illa, quæ ſunt a Jure Divino prohibita, non ſubſint ejus poteſtati, nec in illa gerit vicem Dei, ſed ſolum ſuper ea, quæ ſunt commiſſa juriſdictioni hominum. Ad cujus Sententiæ ac Concluſionis veritatem tutandam & ejuſdem certiſſimam defenſionem, Nos omnes unanimes ſemper & ubique parati ſumus. In quorum fidem has noſtras fecimus, Almæ Univerſitatis noſtræ, ac Sacri Reverendorum Theologorum Collegii Sigillo ſolito communivimus. Datum Paduæ in Eccleſia Hermitarum S. Auguſtini, die primo Julii, M. D. XXX.

XXXV. *The Judgment of the* Lutheran *Divines about the King's Marriage*, ex MSS. R. Smith, *London*.

EX hac Collatione in qua audivimus Argumenta de Controverſia Divortii Sereniſſimi & Illuſtriſſimi Regis Angliæ, Franciæ, &c. propoſita & diligenter agitata a Reverendo D. D. Edwardo Hereford. Epiſcopo, D. Nicolao Archdiacono & D. D. Barnes, intelleximus Sereniſſimum Regem maximis & graviſſimis Cauſis adductum, ſuperatum & concluſum eſſe, ut in hoc negotio Matrimonii ſui faceret quod fecit: Nam hoc manifeſtum eſt & negare nemo poteſt, quod Lex Levit. tradita Lev. 18. v. 20. prohibet ducere fratris Uxorem, &c. ſed Divina, naturalis, & moralis Lex eſt intelligenda tam de vivi quam de mortui fratris Uxore, & quod contra hanc legem nulla contraria lex fieri aut conſtitui poſſit, ſicut & tota Eccleſia ſemper hanc Legem retinuit, & judicavit hujuſmodi nuptias inceſtas eſſe, ſicut teſtantur Synodorum Decreta & Sanctiſſimorum Patrum Clariſſimæ Sententiæ, & has nuptias prohibent & vocant inceſtas etiam jura Civilia. Proinde & nos ſentimus, & hanc Legem de non ducenda Uxore fratris in omnibus Eccleſiis ſervandam eſſe veluti divinam, naturalem, & moralem Legem; Nec in noſtris Eccleſiis vellemus diſpenſare aut permittere, præſertim ante factum, ut ejuſmodi nuptiæ contraherentur, & hanc Doctrinam poſſumus & volumus Deo volente facile defendere. Cæterum quantum ad Divortium pertinet, nondum ſumus plene perſuaſi ut ſententiam noſtram ferre poſſimus, An poſt Contractum Matrimonium in hoc caſu Sereniſſimi Regis debuerit fieri Divortium. Rogamus igitur Seren. Regem ut æquo animo ferat, differri noſtram Sententiam in hac re donec erimus certiores.

XXXVI. An Abstract of the Grounds of the Divorce.

Written in the beginning, Thomas Cantuarien, *with his own hand.*

Articuli ex quibus plane admodum demonstratur Divortium inter Henr. 8. Angliæ Regem Invictiss. & Serenissimam Catharinam necessario esse faciendum.

1. Affinitas quæ Divino & Naturali Jure impedit ne Matrimonium contrahatur, & contractum dirimit, solo nuptiali fœdere inducitur. *Cotton* Libr. *Vesp. B.* 5.

2. Substantia Matrimonii, verum perfectumq; conjugium, sola conjugali pactione, & non carnali copula efficitur.

3. Vir & Uxor solo fœdere conjugali, Deo inprimis operante, una mens & una caro fiunt.

4. Carnalis Copula affinitatem solo Jure Ecclesiastico repertam inducit.

5. Affinitas sola Carnis concubitu orta Sanctione humana solum impedit, ne Matrimonium contrahatur, & contractum dissolvit.

6. Carnalis Copula Matrimonium necessario reddit consummatum.

7. Potest Matrimonium Carnali Copula consummari, etiam Uxoris Virginitate irrecuperabili non amissa.

8. Serenissimam Catharinam ab Illustrissimo Principe Arthuro relictam Virginem non fuisse affirmamus.

9. Sereniss. Catharinam ex Judiciis quam plurimis attestantibus, & violentam præsumptionem inducentibus, ab eodem Illustrissimo Principe Arthuro corruptam, atque Matrimonium inter eos consummatum fuisse non dubitamus.

10. Serenissima Catharina, præsumptione violenta hujusmodi constante, Virginitatem suam Juramento præsertim publico probare nequit.

11. Judex eandem Serenissimam Catharinam, super ea causa jurare volentem, ad juramentum jure quidem admittere non potest.

12. Henrici octavi Angliæ Regis Invictissimi & Serenissimæ Catharinæ prætensum Matrimonium, lege Divina & naturali prohibente, nullum omnino fuisse neq; esse posse Censemus.

XXXVII. *A Bull sent to the Arch-Bishop of* Canterbury, *against the Statutes of Provisors.*

Ex M S. D. Petyt.

Martinus Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, venerabili Fratri Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Si quam districto Dei Judicio de commissis tibi ovibus rationem redditurus es, aliquando cogitares, si meminisses & tu quæ pastoralis officii cura esse debet, quantumq; Ecclesiæ Romanæ, a qua dignitatem & autoritatem vendicas, jus atque honorem tueri obligatus es, in considerationem

tionem duceres; profecto non usque adeo dormitares neque negligeres: Surrexisses jamdudum, & post oves jam longe aberrantes inclamares, & pro viribus resisteres iis, qui jura ac privilegia a summo Ecclesiarum capite omnium Christo, Ecclesiæ Romanæ tradita, sacrilego vel ausu violant atque contemnunt. Numquid ideo Pontificalis Dignitas tibi commissa est ut hominibus præsis, opes cumules, & quæ tua sunt non quæ Jesu Christi quærere debeas? Si id existimas vehementer erras, & a Christi intentione longe abes, qui cum Beato Petro oves suas committeret, nil ei aliud nisi ut illas pasceret indixit, priusque non semel, sed bis ac tertio, an ab eo diligeretur expostulans. Estne hæc in Christum dilectio quam habes? Estne hoc amare ac pascere oves? Itane debitum quo Ecclesiæ Romanæ astringeris, recte exsolvis? En ante oculos tuos ab ovili errantes in præcipitium labuntur oves, nec illas revocas neque reducis. In conspectu tuo herbas pergunt pestiferas pascere, nec illas prohibes, immo (quod abominabile est) tuis quasi manibus hujusmodi præbes mortiferum cibum. Te vidente, lupus illas dispergit, & taces tanquam canis mutus non valens latrare. Aspicis simul & Christi & Ecclesiæ & sedis Apostolicæ mandata, auctoritatem, reverentiamque contemptui haberi, nec semel unum murmuras verbum, clauculum saltem, si nolles palam. An ignoras ante æterni tribunal judicis hujusmodi reatus & culpæ usque ad minimum quadrantem redditurum te rationem? num credis, si qua tuo neglectu perierit ovium (pereunt autem multæ) de tuis manibus sanguis earum exigetur? Quid per os Ezechielis Dominus comminatur, memorare & extimesce. Ipse, inquit, Speculatorem Domini posuit te Deus, si videris gladium venientem, & non insonueris buccina, & aliquis perierit, sanguinem ejus de manibus tuis requiram; hæc dicit Dominus. Qualis autem & qualis iniquitatis & abominationis gladius in Angliæ Regnum, atque oves tuas descenderit, tuo judicio (si ratione uteris) relinquimus. Perlege illud Statutum Regium, si tamen Statutum, si tamen Regium dici fas est. Nam quomodo Statutum, quod Statuta Dei & Ecclesiæ destruit? Quomodo Regium? quod Instituta peremit? contra illud quod scriptum est, Honor Regis Judicium diligit. Et judica, venerabilis Frater & Christiane Episcope, ac Catholice Præsul, si justum, si æquum, si a Populo Christiano servari est. Imprimis per illud execrabile Statutum ita Rex Angliæ de Ecclesia cum Provisionibus & Administrationibus disponit, quasi Vicarium suum Christus eum instituisset. Legem condit super Ecclesias, beneficia, Clericos & Ecclesiasticum statum, ad se suamq; laicalem Curiam nonnullas causas Spirituales & Ecclesiasticas jubet introduci; & ut uno verbo concludamus, ita de Clericis statuit, de Ecclesiis & Ecclesiastico Statu, quasi Ecclesiæ claves in manibus haberet, & non Petro, sed sibi hujusmodi cura commissa foret. Præter hanc nefandam Dispositionem, vipereas quasdam contra Clericos adjecit pœnas, quæ ne quidem contra Judæos vel Saracenos, per ullum de Statutis suis, promulgatæ inveniuntur. Possunt ad Angliæ Regnum cujuslibet generis homines libere proficisci; soli acceptantes beneficia Auctoritate Summi Pontificis, Vicarii Jesu Christi, jubentur exulari, capi, incarcerari, omnibusq; bonis exui, executoresq; literarum Apostolicarum, Procuratores, Notarii, ac quicunq; alii Censuram seu Processum ab Apostolica sede in Regnum mittentes aut deferentes, ultimo supplicio deputantur, projectiq; extra protectionem Regis exponuntur ab omnibus captivandi. Vide si audita est unquam similis

Statuti

Statuti iniquitas: Consideret prudentia tua, si Regem aut Regnum hujusmodi Statuta decent: Cogita si te talia inspicientem silere oporteat,& non magis clamare, contradicere, & pro viribus resistere. Estne ista filialis Reverentia? Estne ista Christiana devotio quam Regnum Angliæ suæ Matri Ecclesiæ ac Sedi Apostolicæ exhibet? Potestne Catholicum Regnum dici, ubi hujusmodi statuuntur profanæ leges & observantur, ubi prohibetur adiri Vicarius Christi, ubi oves suas Successor Apostoli Petri pascere juxta mandatum Domini non permittitur? Christus dixit Petro suisq; Successoribus, Pasce oves meas; Statutum autem Regni pascere ipsas non sinit, sed vult ut Rex ipse pascat, devolvendo ad eum in certis casibus Apostolicam Auctoritatem. Christus ædificavit supra Petrum Ecclesiam; sed Regni Statutum, id prohibet: Nam non patitur Petri Cathedram de Ecclesia prout judicaverit,expedire, ordinare vel dissponere. Christus voluit quod quicquid summus Pontifex in terris solverit aut ligaverit, solutum ligatumve esset in cœlis; Statutum huic divinæ voluntati non assentit: Nam si quos Sacerdotes ad ligandum solvendumq; animas Christi Vicarius in Regnum contra Statuti tenorem destinaret, non modo ipsos non admittit Statutum sed exulare jubet, bonis privari, aliisq; pœnis affligi, & censuram seu Processum Apostolicum in Regnum deferens, tanquam Sacrilegus capite punitur. Quid ad hoc tua Discretio respondebit? Estne hoc Catholicum Statutum? Potestne sine Christi injuria, sine Evangelii transgressione, sine animæ interitu tolerari aut observari? Cur igitur non clamas, & quasi tuba exaltas vocem tuam, annuncians populo tuo peccata sua, Domui Israel scelera eorum, ne sanguis eorum de manibus tuis requiratur. Quod & si omnes quibus populorum cura commissa est, facere teneantur, quanto magis id tibi erit necessarium exequi, cui populos & populorum ministros, oves & ovium pastores, tuæ solicitudini Romana deputavit Ecclesia, a qua & Primatum & Sedis Apostolicæ legationem super Anglicanas Ecclesias suscepisti, & ipsius gloriosissimi Martyris Beati Thomæ olim Cantuariæ Archepiscopi Successor effectus es, qui adversus similia decertans Statuta, holocaustum se Deo offerens pro libertate Ecclesiastica occubuit. Tu certe ob hæc, omnium primus qui vexillo assumpto in aciem prodire deberes, & fratres Co-episcopos tuos tuo exemplo in certamine sistere, primus omnium terga vertis, & aliquos qui forte resistendi impetum caperent, tua sive pusillanimitate, sive dissimulatione, sive (ut omnes attestantur) evidenti prævaricatione a bono proposito dejicis. Itaq; si de te queritur Ecclesia, si in te omnis culpa transfertur, non mirari sed dolere, immo potius teipsum corrigere debes, & debitum quo ovium jure astrictus es audacter exolvere: pro qua re efficienda, si velis quam potes operam adhibere, non magnum certamen subeundum est. Persuade tuo pro officio & Auctoritate tua, secularibus, & eos veritatem instrue. Ostende eis peccatum quo observantes prædictum Statutum illaqueantur: Et erunt (ut omnes asserunt) prava in directa, & aspera in vias planas. Ne ergo, si tacueramus & nos, tuam aliorumq; desidiam dissimulantes similis apud omnipotentem Deum culpæ reos efficiat, neve ovium nostrarum sanguis (si neglexerimus) de manibus nostris exigatur, tuam fraternitatem qua possumus instantia, toto corde, totoq; affectu hortamur, monemus, requirimus, & in virtute Sanctæ obedientiæ, & sub Excommunicationis pœna cui (si neglexeris) ipso facto te subjicimus, districte præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus quamprimum ad

locum ubi Consiliarii Charissimi in Christo Filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis Illustris conveniunt, personaliter accedas, eosq; tam Ecclesiasticos quam Seculares pro sapientia tua, quam tibi Dominus inspiraverit, rationibus ac monitionibus reddas instructos, ut prædictum Statutum in proximo Parliamento tollant penitus & aboleant: Cum enim Divinæ & Humanæ rationi, veteris ac Novi Testamenti, Conciliorum, Sanctorum Patrum, Summorum Pontificum Decretis, ipsius denique Universalis Ecclesiæ observantiæ evidentissime contradicat, nec sine interitu salutis æternæ quovis modo servari possit. Illudq; inter alia dicere non omittas, qualiter Ecclesiasticæ libertatis violatores, facientesq; Statuta aut consuetudines contra libertatem servari, Officiales, Rectores & Consiliarii, locorum ubi hujusmodi Statuta vel consuetudines editæ fuerunt vel servatæ, Ac etiam qui secundum prædicta judicaverint, ipso jure Excommunicationem incurrunt, quæ quantum sit Christi fidelibus metuenda, ipsis plene poteris declarare. Idem sub pœna eadem te facere volumus cum Parliamentum inchoabitur, tam erga prædictos Consiliarios quam Communitates, & alios qui vocem in ipso habuerint Parliamento. Insuper ut pluribus viis honori Dei & Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ, & animarum saluti provideatur, sub simili pœna mandes ac præcipias omnibus tam Rectoribus Ecclesiarum, quam aliis officium prædicationis obtinentibus, Secularibus & Religiosis, ut frequenter in sermonibus suis populos de prædicta materia instruere non omittant. Volumus autem ut quicquid super prædictis feceris per tuas literas (quibus saltem duæ graves personæ, quæ ipsis requisitionibus per te faciendis interfuerint, se subscribant) nos certiores efficias. Dat. Rom. apud Sanctos Apostolos quinto die Decembris, Pontificatus nostri Anno decimo.

XXXVIII. *A Letter to King* Henry *the Sixth for Repealing that Statute.*

MArtinus Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, Charissimo in Christo Filio Henrico Regi Angliæ Illustri, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Quum post multos nuncios ad tuam Serenitatem pro abolitione illius detestabilis Statuti contra libertatem Ecclesiasticam editi olim transmissos, postremo dilectum filium Magistrum Julianum causarum curiæ Cameræ Apostolicæ Auditorem, pro eadem causa destinassemus; per ipsum tua Celsitudo tunc nobis respondit, quod quamprimum commode possit, Parliamentum, sine quo idem nequit aboleri Statutum, convocaret, & in eo quod sibi possibile foret pro nostræ requisitionis implemento faceret, Protestans quod Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ sedisq; Apostolicæ Juribus ac Privilegiis nullo modo detrahere aut derogare intendebat: Nos ob hoc, sicut deinde aliis literis tibi significavimus, usq; ad id tempus cum patientia expectare decrevimus, sperantes quod in Verbo Regio nobis pollicitus fueris, id tempore suo exequi non differres; itaq; quicquid ex parte nostra hactenus faciendum fuit, omnem mansuetudinis & patientiæ modum experientes jam fecimus. Et licet gravibus interim per aliquos de Regno tuo lacessiti sumus injuriis, volumus tamen (ne quid contra promissum fieri videretur) usq; ad id tempus (non sine rubore

Sedis

Sedis Apostolicæ) expectare, ut merito illud verbum Evangelicum jam dici possit, Quid debui huic vineæ facere & non feci? Tu vero, Fili Charissime, cum ipsius Parliamenti jam tempus instet, quod ex tua parte agendum restat, juxta promissionem tuam ac verbum Regium implere non omittas, ad quod & Jure Divino & Humano tanquam Christianissimus Princeps obligatus, sine cujusvis requisitione pro tua & tuorum subditorum salute & honore facere teneris: præsertim quum talia obtuleramus, ob quæ nec tibi nec dicto Regno ex prædicti Statuti abolitione præjudicium ullum redundare possit; providere enim iis omnibus quæ causam Statuto dedisse dicuntur, jam sæpe nostro nomine oblatum est, & nunc de novo offerimus. Jam igitur cum nulla quævis contradicendi occasio prætendi possit, speramus in dicto Parliamento tuam Serenitatem ita facturam, ut prædictum tam execrabile Statutum penitus de eodem Regno tollatur. Quod si feceris, salvabis primum tuam, tum vero multorum animas, quæ ob dictum Statutum gravi crimine illaqueatæ tenentur: Providebis deinde tuo & ipsius Regni honori, quod utiq; propterea non modicum est notatum: Demum nos ac sedem ipsam semper tuis justis desideriis obligabis. Super iis autem omnibus & de nostra intentione plene per literas nostras instructo, dilecto Filio magistro Joanni de Obizis in dicto Regno Nuncio & Collectori nostro, dabis credentiæ fidem plenam. Dat. Rom. die decimo tertio Octobris, Pontificatus nostri Anno decimo.

XXXIX. *A Letter to the Parliament upon the same occasion.*

MArtinus Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, venerabilibus Fratribus & dilectis Filiis, Nobilibus viris Parliamenti Regni Angliæ, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Multis nunciis ac frequentibus exhortationibus, pro debito pastoralis officii, vos ac Regnum vestrum hactenus admonuimus, ut pro salute animarum vestrarum, & ipsius Regni honore, quoddam detestabile Statutum contra Divinum & Humanum Jus editum, quod sine interitu salutis æternæ nullatenus servari potest, aboleretur. Et quoniam id sine Parliamento tolli non posse, ex parte Charissimi in Christo Filii nostri Henrici Regis Angliæ illustris, Dilecto Filio Magistro Juliano Causarum curiæ Cameræ Apostolicæ Auditori, tunc Nuncio nostro, responsum extitit, in quo (quam primum posset) convocato, quod sibi possibile foret pro nostræ Requisitionis executione se facturum, idem Rex pollicitus est, protestans Juribus ac Privilegiis Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ & Sedis Apostolicæ in nullo velle detrahere aut derogare. Nos volentes solita erga vos mansuetudine uti, decrevimus usq; ad ipsius Parliamenti tempus expectare, sperantes quod tam Rex juxta suam Regiam Promissionem, quam vos pro salute animarum vestrarum, Sancte ac Catholice secundum nostram Requisitionem concludetis. Itaq; cum Parliamentum (ut fertur) jam instet, vos omnes, quorum animas nostræ curæ Dominus noster Jesus Christus commisit; hortamur, monemus, obsecramus, ut unanimes vestrarum animarum salutem, ac conscientiarum puritatem præ cæteris rebus amantes, prædictum abominabile Statutum (quod qui observat vel observari faciat salvari non potest) penitus tollatur, & de Regno in perpetuum aboleatis. Quod si quis forsitan vobis contrarium persuadere audeat, quicunq; ille

ille sit, Sæcularis vel Ecclesiastici Status, tanquam hostem animarum vestrarum & honorum, nullatenus audite; nec eum virum Catholicum reputetis, qui adversus Romanæ Ecclesiæ Auctoritatem, Juraque & Privilegia Sedi Apostolicæ Divinitus concessa, aliquid machinari præsumpserit, quibus ipse Rex vester Illustris nolle ullatenus derogare publice protestatus est. Nos quidem ipsi sumus ab omnipotenti Deo Jesu Christo super vos & Universalem Ecclesiam constituti, cujus Doctrinæ ac persuasioni sine ulla contradictione omnimodam fidem vos & quilibet Christianus habere debetis: Nos tamen, etsi indignos, oves suas pascere Christus voluit, clavesq; aperiendi ac solvendi Cœlos tradidit. Et si quis nos audit, servi Christi testimonium Christianum audit; & si quis nos spernit, Christum spernere convincitur. Et quoniam de vobis ac singulis Christianis in districto Dei Judicio rationem reddituri sumus, ideo vos pro salute vestra tam sæpe tamq; efficaciter admonemus; & ne quisquam sub alicujus damni temporalis prætextu vos ab hac nostra Catholica Doctrina submoveat, ecce nos promptos paratosq; offerimus, omnibus causis, propter quas dictum Statutum conditum esse prætenditur, salubriter providere, ita ut nec Regno nec cuiquam privatæ personæ præjudicium aliquod ex ipsius Statuti abolitione possit accidere. Super his omnibus & nostra intentione plene instructo dilecto Filio Magistro Joanni de Obizis, in dicto Regno Nuntio & Collectori nostro, dabitis Credentiæ plenam fidem. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctos Apostolos tertio die Octobris, Pontificatus nostri Anno decimo.

XL. *An Instrument of the Speech the Arch-Bishop of* Canterbury *made to the House of Commons about it.*

DIe Veneris, penultimo mensis Januarii, Anno Domini secundum cursum & computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ millesimo quadringentesimo decimo septimo, indictione sexta, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris & Domini nostri Domini Martini Divina Providentia Papæ quinti Anno undecimo, Reverendissimi in Christo Patres & Domini, Domini, Henricus Dei Gratia Cantuariensis & Johannes Eboracensis Archiepiscopi, necnon Reverendiss. Patres W. Londinensis, Benedictus Menevensis, Philippus Eliensis, Jochen & W. Norvicensis, Episcopi, & cum eis venerabiles Patres & viri religiosi Westmonasterii & Radingiæ Abbates de palatio regio Westmonasteriensi de Camera, viz. Ubi tam Domini Spirituales quam Temporales in Parliamento adtunc tento negotia Regni tractaverint & tractare solebant, recedentes, & dimissis ibi Dominis Temporalibus, in simul transierunt ad viros illos qui pro communitate Regni ad Parliamentum hujusmodi venerant in loco solito, viz. in Refectorio Abbatiæ Westmonasteriensis prædictæ personaliter existentes, & incontinenter eisdem Dominis Spiritualibus cum reverentia debita, prout decuit a viris hujusmodi communitatem Regni facientibus & repræsentantibus, receptis: Præfatus Reverendissimus Pater Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis causam adventus sui & confratrum suorum ad tunc exponere cœpit in vulgari; Protestando primitus, & protestabatur idem Dominus Cantuariensis vice sua & confratrum suorum prædictorum,

dictorum, quod pro dicendo tunc ibidem non intendebat ipse Reverendissimus Pater, aut aliquis confratrum suorum, Domino Regi Angliæ aut Coronæ suæ vel communitati Regni in aliquo derogare, & sic adhærendo Protestationi suæ hujusmodi, idem Reverendissimus Pater prosequebatur & exposuit solemniter causam adventus sui & con-fratrum suorum, sumpto quasi pro themate, Reddite quæ sunt Cæsaris, Cæsari, & quæ sunt Dei Deo. Super quo procedendo, ea quæ ad Jurisdictionem Ecclesiasticam, & ea quæ ad Cæsaream pertinebant, notabiliter & ad longum declaravit, materiam Provisionis & pro Statuti illius contra Provisores editi abolitione, cum bona & matura deliberatione prosequendo, & in processu declarationis hujusmodi jura nonnulla & Sacræ Scripturæ Auctoritates convenientes allegavit, pro jure Domini nostri Papæ in Provisionibus habendis, sicut Sancti Prædecessores sui summi Pontifices in Regno Angliæ & alibi per Universalem Christianitatem habuerunt, ipseq; Dominus Papa modernus in cæteris Regnis habet & possidet in præsenti: Unde præmissis, Bullisq; & literis Apostolicis, quas pro hac re idem Dominus Papa jam tarde ad Regnum transmiserat, diligenter consideratis, & quod dictus Dominus noster Papa tot Ambassiatas & nuncios solemnes ad prosequendum jus suum & Ecclesiæ libertatem præmissis, non absq; laboribus magnis, periculis & expensis, de Curia Romana ad Regnum Angliæ destinavit, idem Reverendissimus Pater Cantuar. Archiepiscopus, nomine suo & confratrum suorum ad tunc ibidem præsentium, & absentium in dicto Parliamento per Procuratores comparentium, ad quos ut asseruit divisim saltem principalis cura animarum totius Communitatis Regni pertinere dignoscitur, dictos viros omnes & singulos tunc præsentes, Communitatem (ut præmittitur) repræsentantes, requisivit & in Domino exhortabatur, quatenus ob salutem animarum suarum totiusq; Regni prosperitatem & pacem, materiam prædictam sic ponderarent, & taliter in eodem Parliamento super eadem deliberarent, ut Sanctissimus Dominus noster Papa placari, ac Regis zelum ad Sedem Apostolicam totiusq; Regni devotionem in hac parte habere posset materiam commendandi. Et addidit ultra hujusmodi Requisitionem & Exhortationem præfatus Reverendissimus Pater Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis; & ex corde, ut apparuit, exposuit lacrymando, pericula per censurarum, viz. Ecclesiasticarum & etiam Interdicti fulminationem, & alias tam Regi quam Regno (quod absit) verisimiliter eventura alia, in casu quo responsio Parliamenti illius, in materia tunc declarata, grata non foret Domino Papæ & accepta, sic dicendo; Forte videtur quibusdam vestrum, quod hæc quæ Regni Prælatos potissime concernunt ex corde non profero; Sciatis pro certo, & in fide, qua Deo teneor & Ecclesiæ; affirmo coram vobis, quod magis mihi foret acceptum nunquam conferre aut etiam habere aliquod beneficium Ecclesiasticum, quam aliqua talia pericula seu processus meo tempore in Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Scandalum venirent. Ulterius idem Reverendissimus Pater expresse declaravit, qualiter dictus Dominus noster Papa in diversis Bullis suis obtulit & promisit, se & Sedem Apostolicam, ad quascunq; causas & occasiones editionis Statuti prædicti rationabile; remedium apponere, & materias causarum & occasionum hujusmodi Statuti in toto tollere & abolere; & sic Requisitione, Exhortatione & periculorum hujusmodi expositione finitis, Reverendissimi Patres Cantuar. & Eborac. Archiepiscopi, cum confratribus suis Episcopis & Prælatis prædictis, recesserunt,

Regni

Regni Communitate, seu saltem dictis viris Communitatem Regni repræsentantibus remanentibus, & circa materiam eis expositam tractantibus, præsentibus, & Declarationem, Requisitionem, & Exhortationem, hujusmodiq; periculorum expositionem per dictum Dominum Arckiepiscopum Cantuariensem (ut præmittitur) factas audientibus, venerabilibus viris Richardo Coudray Archidiacono Norwici in Ecclesia Norwicensi, Magistro Joanne Forster Canonico Lincolnensi, &c. & Johanne Boold Notario Publico & multis aliis.

Act. 33. Anno Regni vicesimo tertio.

XLI. *An Act concerning Restraint of payment of* Annates *to the See of* Rome.

FOrasmuch as it is well perceived, by long approved experience, that great and inestimable Sums of Mony have been daily conveyed out of this Realm, to the impoverishment of the same; and specially such sums of Mony as the Pope's Holiness, his Predecessors, and the Court of *Rome*, by long time have heretofore taken of all and singular those Spiritual Persons which have been named, elected, presented, or postulated to be Arch-Bishops or Bishops within this Realm of *England*, under the Title of *Annates*, otherwise called First-Fruits. Which *Annates*, or First-Fruits, have been taken of every Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, within this Realm, by restraint of the Pope's Bulls, for Confirmations, Elections, Admissions, Postulations, Provisions, Collations, Dispositions, Institutions, Installations, Investitures, Orders, Holy Benedictions, Palles, or other things requisite and necessary to the attaining of those their Promotions; and have been compelled to pay, before they could attain the same, great Sums of Mony, before they might receive any part of the Fruits of the said Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, whereunto they were named, elected, presented, or postulated; by occasion whereof, not only the Treasure of this Realm hath been greatly conveighed out of the same, but also it hath hapned many times, by occasion of death, unto such Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, so newly promoted, within two or three years after his or their Consecration, that his or their Friends, by whom he or they have been holpen to advance and make paiment of the said *Annates*, or First-Fruits, have been thereby utterly undone and impoverished. And for because the said *Annates* have risen, grown, and encreased, by an uncharitable Custom, grounded upon no just or good title, and the paiments thereof obtained by restraint of Bulls, until the same *Annates*, or First-Fruits, have been paied, or Surety made for the same; which declareth the said Paiments to be exacted, and taken by constraint, against all equity and justice. The Noble Men therefore of the Realm, and the Wise, Sage, Politick Commons of the same, assembled in this present Parliament, considering that the Court of *Rome* ceaseth not to tax, take, and exact the said great Sums of Mony, under the Title of *Annates*, or First-Fruits, as is aforesaid, to the great damage of the said Prelates, and this Realm; Which

Which *Annates*, or First-Fruits, were first suffered to be taken within the same Realm, for the only defence of Christian People against the Infidels, and now they be claimed and demanded as mere duty, only for lucre, against all right and conscience. Insomuch that it is evidently known, that there hath passed out of this Realm unto the Court of *Rome*, sithen the second year of the Reign of the most Noble Prince, of famous memory, King *Henry* the Seventh, unto this present time, under the name of *Annates*, or First-Fruits, payed for the expedition of Bulls of Arch-Bishopricks and Bishopricks, the sum of eight hundred thousand Ducats, amounting in *Sterling* Mony, at the least, to eightscore thousand pounds, besides other great and intolerable Sums which have yearly been conveighed to the said Court of *Rome*, by many other ways and means, to the great impoverishment of this Realm. And albeit, that our said Sovereign the King, and all his natural Subjects, as well Spiritual as Temporal, been as obedient, devout, Catholick and humble Children of God, and Holy Church, as any People be within any Realm christned; yet the said exactions of *Annates*, or First-Fruits, be so intolerable and importable to this Realm, that it is considered and declared, by the whole Body of this Realm now represented, by all the Estates of the same assembled in this present Parliament, that the King's Highness before Almighty God, is bound, as by the duty of a good Christian Prince, for the conservation and preservation of the good Estate and Common-Wealth of this his Realm, to do all that in him is to obviate, repress, and redress the said abusions and exactions of *Annates*, or First-Fruits. And because that divers Prelates of this Realm being now in extream Age, and in other debilities of their Bodies, so that of likelyhood, bodily death in short time shall or may succeed unto them; by reason whereof great sums of Mony shall shortly after their deaths, be conveighed unto the Court of *Rome*, for the unreasonable and uncharitable Causes abovesaid, to the universal damage, prejudice, and impoverishment of this Realm, if speedy remedy be not in due time provided: It is therefore ordained, established, and enacted, by Authority of this present Parliament, That the unlawful paiment of *Annates*, or First-Fruits, and all manner Contributions for the same, for any Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, or for any Bulls hereafter to be obtained from the Court of *Rome*, to or for the foresaid purpose and intent, shall from henceforth utterly cease, and no such hereafter to be payed for any Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, within this Realm, other or otherwise than hereafter in this present Act is declared; And that no manner, Person, nor Persons hereafter to be named, elected, presented, or postulated to any Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, within this Realm, shall pay the said *Annates*, or First-Fruits, for the said Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, nor any other manner of Sum or Sums of Mony, Pensions or *Annates* for the same, or for any other like exaction, or cause, upon pain to forfeit to our said Sovereign Lord the King, his Heirs and Successors, all manner his Goods and Chattels for ever, and all the Temporal Lands and Possessions of the same Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, during the time that he or they which shall offend, contrary to this present Act, shall have, possess, or enjoy, the Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick; wherefore he shall so offend contrary to the form aforesaid. And furthermore it is enacted, by Authority of this present Parliament, That

any

if any Perſon hereafter named and preſented to the Court of *Rome* by the King, or any of his Heirs or Succeſſors, to be Biſhop of any See or Dioceſs within this Realm hereafter, ſhall be letted, deferred, or delayed at the Court of *Rome* from any ſuch Biſhoprick, whereunto he ſhall be ſo repreſented, by means of reſtraint of Bulls Apoſtolick, and other things requiſite to the ſame; or ſhall be denied, at the Court of *Rome*, upon convenient ſuit made, any manner Bulls requiſite for any of the Cauſes aforeſaid, any ſuch Perſon or Perſons ſo preſented, may be, and ſhall be, conſecrated here in *England* by the Arch-Biſhop, in whoſe Province the ſaid Biſhoprick ſhall be, ſo alway that the ſame Perſon ſhall be named and preſented by the King for the time being to the ſame Arch-Biſhoprick: And if any Perſons being named and preſented, as aforeſaid, to any Arch-Biſhoprick of this Realm, making convenient ſuit, as is aforeſaid, ſhall happen to be letted, deferred, delayed, or otherwiſe diſturbed from the ſame Arch-Biſhoprick, for lack of Pall, Bulls, or other to him requiſite, to be obtained in the Court of *Rome* in that behalf, that then every ſuch Perſon named and preſented to be Arch-Biſhop, may be, and ſhall be, conſecrated and inveſted, after preſentation made, as is aforeſaid, by any other two Biſhops within this Realm, whom the King's Highneſs, or any of his Heirs or Succeſſors, Kings of *England* for the time being, will aſſign and appoint for the ſame, according and in like manner as divers other Arch-Biſhops & Biſhops have been heretofore, in ancient time by ſundry the King's moſt noble Progenitors, made, conſecrated, and inveſted within this Realm: And that every Arch-Biſhop and Biſhop hereafter, being named and preſented by the King's Highneſs, his Heirs or Succeſſors, Kings of *England*, and being conſecrated and inveſted, as is aforeſaid, ſhall be inſtalled accordingly, and ſhall be accepted, taken, reputed, uſed, and obeyed, as an Arch-Biſhop or Biſhop of the Dignity, See, or Place whereunto he ſo ſhall be named, preſented, and conſecrated requireth; and as other like Prelates of that Province, See, or Dioceſs, have been uſed, accepted, taken, and obeyed, which have had, and obtained compleatly, their Bulls, and other things requiſite in that behalf from the Court of *Rome*. And alſo ſhall fully and entirely have and enjoy all the Spiritualities and Temporalities of the ſaid Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, in as large, ample, and beneficial manner, as any of his or their Predeceſſors had, or enjoyed in the ſaid Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, ſatisfying and yielding unto the King our Sovereign Lord, and to his Heirs and Succeſſors, Kings of *England*, all ſuch Duties, Rights, and Intereſts, as before this time had been accuſtomed to be paid for any ſuch Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, according to the Ancient Laws and Cuſtoms of this Realm, and the King's Prerogative Royal. And to the intent our ſaid Holy Father the Pope, and the Court of *Rome*, ſhall not think that the pains and labours taken, and hereafter to be taken, about the writing, ſealing, obtaining, and other buſineſſes ſuſtained, and hereafter to be ſuſtained, by the Offices of the ſaid Court of *Rome*, for and about the Expedition of any Bulls hereafter to be obtained or had for any ſuch Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, ſhall be irremunerated, or ſhall not be ſufficiently and condignly recompenſed in that behalf. And for their more ready expedition to be had therein, it is therefore enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That every Spiritual Perſon of this Realm,

hereafter

hereafter to be named, presented, or postulated, to any Arch-Bishoprick or Bishoprick of this Realm, shall and may lawfully pay for the writing and obtaining of his or their said Bulls, at the Court of *Rome*, and ensealing the same with Lead, to be had without payment of any *Annates*, or First-Fruits, or other charge or exaction by him or them to be made, yielden, or paied for the same, five pounds *Sterling*, for and after the rate of the clear and whole yearly value of every hundreth pounds *Sterling*, above all charges of any such Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, or other mony, to the value of the said five pounds, for the clear yearly value of every hundreth pounds of every such Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, and not above, nor in any other wise, any things in this present Act before written notwithstanding. And forasmuch as the King's Highness, and this his High Court of Parliament, neither have, nor do intend to use in this, or any other like cause, any manner of extremity or violence, before gentle courtesie or friendship, ways and means first approved and attempted, and without a very great urgent cause and occasion given to the contrary, but principally coveting to disburden this Realm of the said great exactions, and intolerable charges of *Annates*, and First-Fruits, have therefore thought convenient to commit the final order and determination of the Premisses, in all things, unto the King's Highness. So that if it may seem to his high wisdom, and most prudent discretion, meet to move the Pope's Holiness, and the Court of *Rome*, amicably, charitably, and reasonably, to compound, other to extinct and make frustrate the payments of the said *Annates*, or First-Fruits; or else by some friendly, loving, and tolerable composition to moderate the same in such wise as may be by this Realm easily born and sustained; That then those ways and compositions once taken, concluded, and agreed, between the Pope's Holiness and the King's Highness, shall stand in strength, force, and effect of Law, inviolably to be observed. And it is also further ordained, and enacted by the Authority of this present Parliament, That the King's Highness at any time, or times, on this side the Feast of *Easter*, which shall be in the Year of our Lord God, a thousand five hundred and three and thirty, or at any time on this side the beginning of the next Parliament, by his Letters Pattents under his Great Seal, to be made, and to be entred of Record in the Roll of this present Parliament, may and shall have full power and liberty to declare, by the said Letters Patents, whether that the Premisses, or any part, clause, or matter thereof, shall be observed, obeyed, executed, and take place and effect, as an Act and Statute of this present Parliament, or not. So that if his Highness, by his said Letters Patents, before the expiration of the times above-limited, thereby do declare his pleasure to be, That the Premisses, or any part, clause, or matter thereof, shall not be put in execution, observed, continued, nor obeyed, in that case all the said Premisses, or such part, clause, or matter, as the King's Highness so shall refuse, disaffirm, or not ratifie, shall stand and be from henceforth utterly void and of none effect. And in case that the King's Highness, before the expiration of the times afore-prefixed, do declare by his said Letters Patents, his pleasure and determination to be, that the said Premisses, or every clause, sentence, and part thereof, that is to say, the whole, or such part thereof as the King's Highness so shall affirm, accept, and ratifie, shall in all points stand,

remain, abide, and be put in due and effectual execution, according to the purport, tenour, effect, and true meaning of the same; and to stand and be from henceforth for ever after, as firm, stedfast, and available in the Law, as the same had been fully and perfectly established, enacted, and confirmed, to be in every part thereof, immediately, wholly, and entirely executed, in like manner, form, and effect, as other Acts and Laws; The which being fully and determinately made, ordained, and enacted in this present Parliament: And if that upon the foresaid reasonable, amicable and charitable ways and means, by the King's Highness to be experimented, moved, or compounded, or otherwise approved, it shall and may appear, or be seen unto his Grace, that this Realm shall be continually burdened and charged with this, and such other intolerable Exactions and Demands, as heretofore it hath been. And that thereupon, for continuance of the same, our said Holy Father the Pope, or any of his Successors, or the Court of *Rome*, will; or do, or cause to be done at any time hereafter, so as is above rehearsed, unjustly, uncharitably, and unreasonably vex, inquiet, molest, trouble, or grieve our said Sovereign Lord, his Heirs or Successors, Kings of *England*, or any of his or their Spiritual or Lay-Subjects, or this his Realm, by Excommunication, Excomengement, Interdiction; or by any other Process, Censures, Compulsories, Ways, or Means; Be it Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the King's Highness, his Heirs and Successors, Kings of *England*, and all his Spiritual and Lay-Subjects of the same, without any scruples of Conscience, shall and may lawfully, to the honour of Almighty God, the encrease and continuance of vertue and good example within this Realm, the said Censures, Excommunications, Interdictions, Compulsories, or any of them notwithstanding, minister, or cause to be ministred, throughout this said Realm, and all other the Dominions or Territories belonging or appertaining thereunto; All and all manner Sacraments, Sacramentals, Ceremonies, or other Divine Services of the Holy Church, or any other thing or things necessary for the health of the Soul of Mankind, as they heretofore at any time or times have been vertuously used or accustomed to do within the same; and that no manner such Censures, Excommunications, Interdictions, or any other Process or Compulsories, shall be by any of the Prelates, or other Spiritual Fathers of this Region, nor by any of their Ministers or Substitutes, be at any time or times hereafter published, executed, nor divulged, nor suffered to be published, executed, or divulged in any manner of ways. *Cui quidem Billæ prædictæ & ad plenum intellectæ per dictum Dominum Regem ex assensu & Autoritate Parliamenti prædicti taliter est Responsum.*

Le Roy le Volt *Soit Baille aux communes*

A cest Bille Les communes sont assentes.

Memorand.

MEmorand. quod nono die Julii, Anno Regni Regis Henrici vicesimo quinto, idem Dominus Rex per Literas suas Patentes sub magno sigillo suo sigillat. Actum prædictum, ratificavit & confirmavit, & actui illo assensum suum regium dedit, prout per easdem Literas Patentes, cujus tenor sequitur in hæc verba, magis apte constat.

Here follows the King's Ratification, in which the Act is again recited and ratified.

XLII. The King's last Letter to the Pope. A Duplicate.

To the Pope's Holiness, 1532.

AFter most humble commendations, and most devout kissing of your blessed Feet. Albeit that we have hitherto differred to make answer to those Letters dated at *Bonony*, the 7*th* day of *October*; which Letters of late were delivered unto us by *Paul* of *Cassali*: Yet when they appear to be written for this Cause, that we deeply considering the Contents of the same, should provide for the tranquillity of our own Conscience, and should purge such Scruples and Doubts conceived of our Cause of Matrimony; We could neither neglect those Letters sent for such a purpose, nor after that we had diligently examined and perpended the effects of the same, which we did very diligently, noting, conferring, and revolving every thing in them contained, with deep study of mind, pretermit ne leave to answer unto them. For sith that your Holiness seemeth to go about that thing chiefly, which is to vanquish those Doubts, and to take away inquietations which daily do prick our Conscience; insomuch as it doth appear at the first sight to be done of Zeal, Love, and Piety, we therefore do thank you of your good will. Howbeit sith it is not performed in Deed, that ye pretend, we have thought it expedient to require your Holiness to provide us other Remedies; wherefore forasmuch as your Holiness would vouchsafe to write unto us concerning this Matter, we heartily thank you, greatly lamenting also both the chance of your Holiness, and also ours, unto whom both twain it hath chanced in so high a matter of so great moment to be frustrated and deceived; that is to say, That your Holiness not being instructed, nor having knowledg of the Matter, of your self, should be compelled to hang upon the Judgment of others, and so put forth and make answers, gathered of other Men, being variable and repugnant among themselves. And that we being so long sick, and exagitate with this same Sore, should so long time in vain look for Remedy; which when we have augmented our ægritude and distress, by delay and protracting of time, ye do so cruciate the Patient and Afflicted, as who seeth it should much avail to protract the Cause, and thorough vain hope of the end of our desire to lead us whither ye will. But to speak plainly to your Holiness; Forasmuch as we have suffered many Injuries, which with great difficulty we do sustain and digest; albeit that

Cotton Libr. Vitel. B. 13.

that among all things passed by your Holiness, some cannot be laid, alledged, nor objected against your Holiness, yet in many of them some default appeareth to be in you, which I would to God we could so diminish, as it might appear no default; but it cannot be hid, which is so manifest, and tho we could say nothing, the thing it self speaketh. But as to that that is affirmed in your Letters, both of God's Law, and Man's, otherwise than is necessary and truth, let that be ascribed to the temerity and ignorance of your Counsellors, and your Holiness to be without all default, save only for that ye do not admit more discreet and learned Men to be your Counsellors, and stop the mouths of them which liberally would speak the Truth. This truly is your default, and verily a great fault, worthy to be alienate and abhorred of Christ's Vicar, in that ye have dealt so variably, yea rather so inconstantly and deceivably. Be ye not angry with my words, and let it be lawful for me to speak the Truth without displeasure; if your Holiness shall be displeased with that we do rehearse, impute no default in us, but in your own Deeds; which Deeds have so molested and troubled us wrongfully, that we speak now unwillingly, and as enforced thereunto. Never was there any Prince so handled by a Pope, as your Holiness hath intreated us. First; When our Cause was proponed to your Holiness, when it was explicated and declared afore the same; when certain Doubts in it were resolved by your Counsellors, and all things discussed, it was required that answer might be made thereunto by the order of the Law. There was offered a Commission, with a promise also that the same Commission should not be revoked; and whatsoever Sentence should be given, should streight without delay be confirmed. The Judges were sent unto us, the Promise was delivered to us, subscribed with your Holiness's hand; which avouched to confirm the Sentence, and not to revoke the Commission, nor to grant any thing else that might lett the same; and finally to bring us in a greater hope, a certain Commission Decretal, defining the Cause, was delivered to the Judges hands. If your Holiness did grant us all these things justly, ye did injustly revoke them; and if by good and truth the same was granted, they were not made frustrate nor annihilate without fraud; so as if there were no deceit nor fraud in the Revocation, then how wrongfully and subtilly have been done those things that have been done! Whether will your Holiness say, That ye might do those things that ye have done, or that ye might not do them? If ye will say that ye might do them, where then is the Faith which becometh a Friend, yea, and much more a Pope to have, those things not being performed, which lawfully were promised? And if ye will say that ye might not do them, have we not then very just cause to mistrust those Medicines and Remedies with which in your Letters ye go about to heal our Conscience, especially in that we may perceive and see those Remedies to be prepared for us, not to relieve the Sickness and Disease of our Mind, but for other means, pleasures, and worldly respects? And as it should seem profitable, that we should ever continue in hope or despair, so always the Remedy is attempted; so that we being always a-healing, and never healed, should be sick still. And this truly was the chief cause why we did consult and take the advice of every Learned Man, being free, without all affection, that the Truth (which now with our labour and study

study we seem partly to have attained) by their judgments more manifestly divulged, we might more at large perceive; whose Judgments and Opinions it is easy to see how much they differ from that, that those few Men of yours do shew unto you, and by those your Letters is signified. Those few Men of yours do affirm the prohibition of our Marriage to be inducted only by the Law positive, as your Holiness hath also written in your Letters; but all others say the prohibition to be inducted, both by the Law of God and Nature: Those Men of yours do suggest, that it may be dispensed for avoiding of slanders; The others utterly do contend, that by no means it is lawful to dispence with that, that God and Nature hath forbidden. We do separate from our Cause the Authority of the See Apostolick, which we do perceive to be destitute of that Learning whereby it should be directed; and because your Holiness doth ever profess your ignorance, and is wont to speak of other Mens mouths, we do confer the sayings of those, with the sayings of them that be of the contrary Opinion; for to confer the Reasons it were too long. But now the Universities of *Cambridg*, *Oxford*, in our Realms; *Paris*, *Orleance*, *Biturisen*, *Andegavon*, in *France*; and *Bonony* in *Italy*, by one consent; and also divers other of the most famous and Learned Men, being freed from all affection, and only moved in respect of verity, partly in *Italy*, and partly in *France*, do affirm the Marriage of the Brother with the Brother's Wife, to be contrary both to the Law of God and Nature; and also do pronounce that no Dispensation can be lawful or available to any Christian Man in that behalf: But others think the contrary, by whose Counsels your Holiness hath done that, that sithence ye have confessed ye could not do, in promising to us as we have above rehearsed, and giving that Commission to the Cardinal *Campege* to be shewed unto us; and after, if it so should seem profitable to burn it, as afterwards it was done indeed as we have perceived. Furthermore, those which so do moderate the Power of your Holiness, that they do affirm, That the same cannot take away the Appellation which is used by Man's Law, and yet is available to Divine Matters every-where without distinction. No Princes heretofore have more highly esteemed, nor honoured the See Apostolick than we have; wherefore we be the more sorry to be provoked to this contention, which to our usage and nature is most alienate and abhorred. Those things so cruel we write very heavily, and more glad would have been, to have been silent if we might, and would have left your Authority untouched with a good will, and constrained to seek the verity, we fell, against our Will, into this contention; but the sincerity of the Truth prohibited us to keep silence, and what should we do in so great and many perplexities? For truly if we should obey the Letters of your Holiness, in that they do affirm that we know to be otherwise, we should offend God and our Conscience, and we should be a great slander to them that do the contrary, which be a great number, as we have before rehearsed: Also, if we should dissent from those things which your Holiness doth pronounce, we would account it not lawful, if there were not a Cause to defend the Fact, as we now do, being compelled by necessity, lest we should seem to contemn the Authority of the See Apostolick. Therefore your Holiness ought to take it in good part, tho we do somewhat at large and more liberally speak in this Cause, which

which doth ſo oppreſs us, ſpecially foraſmuch as we pretend none atrocity, nor uſe no rethorick in the exaggerating and encreaſing the indignity of the Matter; but if I ſpeak of any thing that toucheth the quick, it proceedeth of the meer verity, which we cannot nor ought not to hide in this Cauſe, for it toucheth not Worldly Things but Divine, not frail but eternal; in which things no feigned, falſe, nor painted Reaſons, but only the Truth, ſhall obtain and take place: and God is the Truth to whom we are bound to obey rather than to Men; and nevertheleſs we cannot but obey unto Men alſo, as we were wont to do, unleſs there be an expreſs cauſe why we ſhould not; which by thoſe our Letters we now do to your Holineſs: and we do it with charity, not intending to ſpread it abroad, nor yet further to impugn your Authority, unleſs ye do compel us; albeit alſo, that that we do, doth not impugne your Authority, but confirmeth the ſame, which we revocate to its firſt foundations; and better it is in the middle way to return, than always to run forth head-long and do ill. Wherefore if your Holineſs do regard or eſteem the tranquillity of our Mind, let the ſame be eſtabliſhed with verity, which hath been brought to light by the conſent of ſo many Learned Men; So ſhall your Holineſs reduce and bring us to a certainty and quietneſs, and ſhall deliver us from all anxiety, and ſhall provide both for us and our Realm, and finally ſhall do your Office and Duty. The reſidue of our Affairs we have committed to our Ambaſſadours to be propounded unto you, to whom we beſeech your Holineſs to give credence, &c.

XLIII. *A Promiſe made for engaging the Cardinal of* Ravenna. *An Original.*

Rome, Februar. 7. 1532.

Cotton Libr. *Vitel. B.* 13.

EGo Willielmus Benet Sereniſſimi Domini mei D. Henrici Octavi Angliæ, &c. Regis, in Romana Curia Orator, habens ad inſcripta ab ipſo Rege poteſtatem & facultatem, prout conſtat per ipſius Majeſtatis Literas Patentes datas in Regia ſua Greenewici die penultima Decemb. M.D.XXXI. manu ſua propria ſupraſcriptas, & ſecreto ſigillo ſuo ſigillatas; Quoniam in ipſius Regis arduis negotiis expertus ſum ſingularem & præclaram operam Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patris & Domini D. Henrici Sancti Euſebii S.R.E. Preſbyteri Cardinalis Ravennæ, quibus & deinceps uti cupio, ut eandem ſemper voluntatem & operam ſua Dominatio Reverendiſſima erga ipſum regem præſtet, libere promitto eidem Cardinali nomine dicti mei Regis, quod ſua Majeſtas provideri faciet eidem Cardinali, de aliquo Monaſterio ſeu Monaſteriis aut aliis beneficiis Eccleſiaſticis in Regno Galliæ primo vacaturis, uſq; ad valorem annuum ſex millium ducatorum: Et inſuper promitto quod Rex Angliæ prædictus præſentabit, ſeu nominabit eundem Cardinalem ad Eccleſiam Cathedralem primo quovis modò vacaturam, ſeu & ad præſens vacantem, in Regno Angliæ, & de illa ei provideri faciet; & caſu quo Eccleſia primo vacatura hujuſmodi, ceu ad præſens vacans, non ſit Eccleſia Elienſis

Elienſis, promitto etiam quod ſuccedente poſtea vacatione Eccleſiæ Elienſis, Rex Angliæ transferri faciet eundem Cardinalem, ſi ipſi Cardinali magis placuerit, ab illa alia Eccleſia de qua proviſus erit, ad Eccleſiam Elienſem; & dictorum Monaſteriorum & Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum in Regno Galliæ, & Eccleſiæ Cathedralis in Regno Angliæ poſſeſſionem pacificam, cum fructuum perceptione, ipſum Cardinalem aſſequi faciet: Et hæc omnia libere promitto, quod Rex meus ſupradictus pleniſſime & ſine ulla prorſus exceptione ratificabit & obſervabit & exequetur; in quorum fidem præſentes manu mea propria ſcripſi & ſubſcripſi, ſigilloq; munivi. Dat. Rom. die ſeptimo Februarii, M. D. XXXII.

XLIV. *Bonner's Letter about the proceedings at* Rome. *An Original.*

This is all written with his own hand, and was ſent over by him to the King.

Rome, April 29. 1532.

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 13.

PLeaſeth it your Highneſs; This is to advertiſe the ſame, That ſithen we *William Benet*, *Edward Karne*, and *Edmond Bonner*, ſent our Letters of the *7th* of this preſent to your Highneſs; There hath been two Diſputations publick, the one the *13th* of this, the other the *20th* day of the ſame, according to the order given and aſſigned, which was three Concluſions to be diſputed every Conſiſtory; and what was ſpoken, as well by your Highneſs's Counſel, for the juſtification of the Concluſion purpoſed the ſaid *13th*, as alſo for the impugnation thereof by the Party adverſe, with Anſwers made thereunto by your Highneſs's ſaid Counſel as fully as were any wiſe deduced, your ſaid Highneſs ſhall perceive by the Books ſent herewithal containing the ſame; and alſo the Juſtifications, Objections, and Anſwers, made in the *6th* of this preſent, according as I *Edward Karne* in my ſaid Letters promiſed. The Copies of all the which Juſtifications, Objections, and Anſwers, after that they were fully noted and deduced in writing, and maturely conſidered by your Highneſs's Learned Counſel, I *Edward Karne* did bring to the Pope's Holineſs, and to the Cardinals, for their better information; and likewiſe did of the firſt, alwiſe afore the Conſiſtory, according to the order aſſigned at the beginning; looking in likewiſe that the Queen's Counſel ſhould do this ſame; but as yet they have done nothing therein, tho your Ambaſſadors and I have called upon the Pope many times for the ſame. And as concerning ſuch things as were ſpoken and done for either part in the Diſputation of the *20th* day, it is not poſſible for us, by reaſon of the ſhortneſs of time, to reduce all in good order, and to ſend the ſame to your Highneſs at this time; nevertheleſs with all ſpeed it ſhall be made ready, and ſent to your Highneſs by the next Courier. After the Diſputation done, the ſaid *13th* day of this preſent, the Advocate of the Party adverſe did alledg, That we did ſeek this Diſputation but only to defer the Proceſs; proteſting therefore, That the Queen's Counſel would diſpute no more; and deſiring therefore the Pope's Holineſs, and the whole Conſiſtory, to make Proceſs in the principal Cauſe. Whereunto I *Edward Karne* ſaid, That the Pope's Holineſs, with the whole Senate, had granted the Diſputations upon the Matters, and given an order that the Concluſions publiſhed ſhould be diſputed according to the ſame. Whereupon I deſired that foraſmuch as there

remained

remained sixteen Conclusions not disputed, (which to propose and justify, with your Highness's Counsel, I would be ready at all times) that the Party adverse knowing the Conclusions to be Canonical, would not confess them, and thereby avoid Disputations, that then the said Party should dispute them, and upon the refusal of both the same, the Matters excusatories to be admitted byhis Holiness, especially because the said Party adverse hath nothing material that could be perceived to lett the same. The Pope's Holiness answered, That he would deliberate upon the demand of both Parties. The 16*th* of this present, the Datary on the Pope's behalf sent unto me *Edward Karne* an Intimation for disputation of the Consistory to be kept the 20 of this present, and that I should send the Conclusions not disputed, that they might be in the said Consistory disputed; adding withal, that the said Consistory should be, *ultimus & peremptorius terminus quoad alias Disputationes.* Of the which Intimation your Highness shall receive a Copy herewith. Upon this, with the advice of your Ambassadors and Counsel here, I repaired unto the said Datary, and brought unto him three Conclusions to be disputed, with a Protestation, *De non recedendo ab ordine hactenus observato*, according to the Proem of the said Conclusions, the Copy whereof your Highness shall receive herewith. Afterwards, with the same Conclusions and Protestation, I went to Cardinal *de Monte*, who said, at the beginning, That all the Consistory crieth out upon the Disputations, and that we had been heard sufficiently, and that it was enough that we should have the fourth Disputation; adding withal, That it was a thing never seen before after such sort; and that it stood not with the honour of the See to have such Disputations in the Consistory, to the great disquieting of the Pope and the Cardinals, especially considering the manner that is used, and that all the Conclusions be touched which should content us. To this I answered, and desired his most Reverend Lordship to call to his remembrance, what he had promised to your Highness's Ambassadors and me, in the *Castel-Angel* upon *Shrove-Sunday*, the Pope being present, and allowing the same, contented that all the Conclusions should be disputed *singulariter*; and that I should at my pleasure, from time to time, chuse the Conclusions to be disputed. And how also afterward, *viz.* 17 *Febr.* the Pope's Holiness, Cardinal *Ancona*, and his Lordship, not going from that promise, gave direction for three Conclusions to be disputed every Consistory; the choice whereof to be at my liberty (according to the Copy of the said Order which I sent to your Highness with my Letters, of the date of the 22 of the last): And furthermore, that what time the order to dispute three Conclusions in a Consistory was sent unto me, and I required to send the Conclusions first to be disputed according to the said order; I did, to avoid all manner of doubts, protest afore I would accept it, and in the deliverance of the said Conclusions, that I would not otherwise accept it, but that all the Conclusions, according to the order promised in *Castel-Angel*, should be disputed and examined *singulariter*, and that standing, and not otherwise, I delivered my said Conclusions according to the Order of the 17*th* of *February*; which Order the Pope's Holiness hitherto had approved and observed, and from that I neither could nor would go from: And where he said that we had been heard sufficiently; I said, that Audience and Information

mation of less than the one half of a Matter could not be sufficient; and if they intended to see the truth of the whole, every point must be discussed. And as for the crying out of the Cardinals, I said, They had no cause so to do, for it was more for the honour of the See Apostolick, to see such a Cause as this is, well and surely tried, so that the Truth may appear, and the Matters be well known, than to proceed *precipitanter*, as they did at the beginning of this Matter, afore they well knew what the Matter was. And as touching the disquieting the Pope's Holiness, and the said Cardinals, I said, your Highness for their pains was much beholden unto them; nevertheless, I said, that they might on the other side ponder such pains as your Highness hath taken for them, in part declared by me; which was much more than for them to sit in their Chairs two or three hours in a week, to hear the justice of your defence in this cause. And as touching the manner used in the said Disputation, I said, his Lordship knew well that it was by the Party adverse, which all manner of ways goeth about to fatigate and make weary the Consistory of the Disputations, specially in chiding, scolding, and alledging Laws and Decisions that never were, nor spoken of by any Doctor, and vainly continuing the time, to the intent that the Pope's Holiness, and the Cardinals, dissolving the Consistory, and not giving audience, the said Party, without Law, Reason, or any good ground, might attain their desire, and keep under the Truth, that it should not appear; and if any thing was sharply spoken of our Party, I said it was done only for our defence, and to shew the errors and falsity of the Queen's Advocates in their Allegations, wherein, I said, they should not be spared. And forasmuch as on the behalf of your Highness there was nothing spoken but that which was grounded upon Law, and declared in what place, so that it cannot be denied; I desired his Lordship that he would continue his goodness in this Matter, as your Highness's especial trust was he would do; and that we might always, as we were accustomed, have recourse unto the same in all our Business for his good help and counsel. His Lordship not yet satisfied, said, That as concerning the Order, the Pope's Holiness might interpretate and declare what he meaned by it; and as touching the Conclusions, they were superfluous, impertinent, and calumnious, only proposed to defer the Matter. I answered, and said, That to interpretate the said Order, where it is clear out of doubt, the Pope's Holiness considering the promise made on *Shrove-Sunday*, with my Protestation foresaid, and the execution of the said Order to that time, in divers Consistories observed, could not by right interpretate the said Order, admitting disputation upon all the Conclusions; and of this I said, That if such alterations were made, without any cause given of your Highness's Party, there was little certainty to be reckoned upon amongst them. And as touching the superfluity and impertinency of the said Conclusions, I said, That that was the saying of the Party adverse, that did not understand the same Conclusions. And further, that such Conclusions as were clamorously, by the Advocates of the Party adverse, alledged to be superfluous, his Lordship in the Disputation and trial thereof in the Consistory, did manifestly perceive that it was not so. And where it was alledged the said Conclusions to be calumnious, and laid in to defer the Process. I answered, That we might well alledg again the

Counſel of the Party adverſe, the thing againſt us alledged, and ſay truly, that we were calumniouſly dealed withal, ſeeing the matters were ſo juſt and clear, and yet not admitted. Then his Lordſhip went further, and ſaid, that *Impedimentum allegatum erat perpetuum*, becauſe your Highneſs, *ex cauſa reipublicæ*, could not come out your Realm, and *quia dignitas veſtra eſt perpetua*; and alſo *quod Cauſa requirit celeritatem*. To this, I ſaid, that his Lordſhip miſtook the Matter, for we ſaid not in the Matters that your Highneſs could not go out of your Realm to no place,but we ſaid,that the ſame could not go, *ad loca tam remota*,as *Rome* is; ſo that it was not *perpetuum impedimentum*. And to the other I ſhewed him a Text, and the common opinion of Doctors in a Cauſe of Matrimony, being *inter Regem & Reginam*, which took away the thing that he had ſaid. Then his Lordſhip ſaid, That it was enough that the place were ſure to the Procurator by the Chapter, *Cum olim de teſtibus*. I ſaid, That that Chapter did not prove that Allegation, and that they miſtook the Text that ſo did underſtand it, for the Alternative that is in that Text is not referred *ad locum tutum*, but *ad ordinem Citationis inchoandæ in perſona principali, aut ejus procuratore*; and ſo *Petrus de Anchorano* underſtandeth that Text; and otherwiſe underſtanding the ſame it ſhould be againſt the Chapter, *Ex parte de appellatione*, and the common opinion there. Then he ſaid that *Aretine* ſaith, *Quod ſufficit quum locus ſit tutus procuratori*. I ſaid, that under his favour, *Aretine* ſaith the contrary, for he ſaith, *Quod partibus debet locus tutus aſſignari ſi poterit, & ſi non poterit partibus, detur procuratoribus*. Then his Lordſhip ſaid to me, That I knew well he began to ſet forward theſe Diſputations, and that he would do the beſt he could for the furtherance thereof.

The 19*th* of this preſent I went with your Highneſs's Ambaſſadors to the Pope, and delivered his Holineſs in writing thoſe things that were done in the Diſputation of the 13*th* of this: And then your Ambaſſadors were in hand with the Pope to alter the Intimation, and to put out the term *peremptory*, and other that were excluſory of further Diſputations to be had upon the ſame Concluſions. The Pope's Holineſs ſaid, That Diſputations was no act Judicial requiring to be in the Conſiſtory; and therefore he ſaid, he would call certain Congregations of Cardinals, on *Friday* and *Monday* following, to hear the Diſputations. Then I *William Benet* ſaid, That that could not ſtand very well with the Decree of the Intimation, which was peremptory for any further Diſputations after the 20*th* of this preſent; and therefore I ſpake that the ſame term *peremptory* might be put out of the Intimation, alledging withal, that upon the ſaid *Friday* or *Monday* it was no time to hear the Diſputation, being ſo nigh after; and that his Holineſs hitherto hath obſerved the Conſiſtory for the Diſputations, which Conſiſtory cannot be unto after *Eaſter*, if the manner of the Court be obſerved. Then the Pope ſaid, he might call a Conſiſtory when he would, as he hath done in making of Cardinals, an Act much more ſolemn than a Diſputation. To that, I ſaid, his Holineſs might ſo do if he would; howbeit, it ſhould be *præter ſolitum morem*: and therefore deſired his Holineſs to conſider therein the order before aſſigned, and that this term *peremptory* would not ſtand with the order. His Holineſs then willed we ſhould inform the Cardinals, *Anchona*, and *de Monte*, and ſo we did; *Anchona* ſhewed himſelf ſomewhat reaſonable,and was contented the term *peremptory*

ſhould

ſhould be put out. *De Monte* ſaid that the Pope would promiſe to hear the Concluſions diſputed in Congregations, calling thereto certain Cardinals, ſo that the term *peremptory* ſhould not be prejudicial. Then I *Edward Karne* deſired him, that if the ſaid term ſhould not be prejudicial, that it might be ſtricken out, for I told him plainly that I would not ſtand to words, the writing ſhewing the contrary; adding withal, that I would not diſpute in this term, *tanquam peremptorio*, but would manifeſtly ſhew and proteſt, That I, with other your Highneſs's Counſel, were ready to defend the Concluſions publiſhed, according to the order given, and hitherto obſerved; alledging alſo, that the Concluſions being juſtified, the Matters ought to be admitted; and that if the Pope's Holineſs and the Cardinals would not give audience to me and your Highneſs's ſaid Counſel, for the manifeſt trial and ſhowing of the truth, they ſhould give us cauſe to complain upon them, and to cry out, *uſque ad Sidera*, your Highneſs's Ambaſſadors all affirming the ſame. Then the ſaid Cardinal *de Monte* ſaid, that the Pope's Holineſs would provide for the Diſputations, notwithſtanding the term *peremptory* aſſigned, and ſaid alſo, that in the Morning he would ſpeak with the Pope, and give your Ambaſſadors and me an anſwer.

In the morning, which was the 20*th* of this preſent, the ſaid Cardinal would, that nothing of the Decree of Intimation ſhould be manifeſted, becauſe the other part had a Copy thereof, but would the Pope's Holineſs to give an order that the word *peremptory* ſhould be only for Diſputations to be had in the Conſiſtory, and not in Congregations, in which Congregations, the Concluſions remaining might be diſputed; and tho they had drawn out this Order, yet becauſe it was nothing plain, neither certain to be conformable to the former Order, I would have had the ſaid Cardinal to ſpeak to the ſaid Datary for to make it as afore: and he was then contented, howbeit the Pope's Holineſs commanded all the Cardinals to their places, ſo that I could not have the ſaid Order, and was driven thereby either to diſpute and accept the term, *tanquam peremptorium*, or elſe to fly the Diſputations, giving occaſion to the adverſe Party to ſay, that I diffided in the juſtneſs of the Matters, and defence of the Concluſions. Whereupon your Highneſs's Ambaſſadors and we, with other your Learned Counſel, concluded, that I *Edward Karne* ſhould proteſt, *De non conſentiendo in termino, tanquam peremptorio*, and afterward to proceed to the propoſing of the Concluſions, and ſo I did by mouth according to the tenour of a Copy, which here withal your Highneſs ſhall receive. When I had proteſted, and the Pope had ſpoken this word *Acceptamus*, the Queen's Advocate began to proteſt that they would diſpute no more, and deſired his Holineſs to proceed in the principal Cauſe. Then I *Edward Karne* ſaid, That the Pope's Holineſs did well perceive, that the Concluſions were publiſhed and propoſed, not only for them to diſpute, but alſo for all other, come who would, for the information of his Holineſs, and the whole Conſiſtory. And therefore I ſaid, that tho they would not diſpute, yet I was there, with other your Highneſs's Learned Counſel, to propoſe the Concluſions, according to the Order given, juſtifying them to be Canonical, and ready to defend them againſt all thoſe that would gainſay them; and thereupon deſired the Pope's Holineſs, that tho the Counſel of the Party Adverſe would not diſpute, yet I with your

Highness's Learned Counsel might be heard again; against which my desire the Queen's Advocate made great exclamations, till at the last the Pope commanded him to silence, and willed us to go to the Conclusions, which we did.

And here now it is determined, That we shall have no more Disputations in the Consistory, but the rest of the Conclusions to be disputed in Congregations before the Pope, purposely made for the same; and what therein shall be determined or done, your Highness from time to time shall thereof by us be advertised, and of all other our doings in that behalf.

And as concerning the Letters which your Highness sent by *Francis* the Courier, of the last of *February*, as well to the Pope, as to me *Edward Karne*, for the admission of me and the Matter excusatory, we shall, according to your Highness's pleasure and order assigned, in the common Letter sent unto us by your said Highness, proceed and do therein as may be most beneficial and profitable for the same.

And thus most humbly we commend us to your Highness, beseeching Almighty God to preserve the same in felicity and health many years. At *Rome* the 28*th* of *March* 1532.

Your Highness's most humble Subjects,

Servants, and Chaplains,

William Benet,

Edward Karne,

Edmond Bonner.

XLV. *Another Letter concerning the Process at* Rome. *An Original.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 13.

PLeaseth it your Highness, sithen our Letters of the 23 of *March*, here hath been great labour, and solliciting, to bring the Disputation publick out of the Consistory kept once in the week, into the Congregations, to be observed and kept before the Pope's Holiness and the Cardinals, in such place, and as oft as should please them; to the intent, as we perceived, that the said Disputation might be the sooner ended, and not take such effect as it was devised for. And upon this great importune labour, I, *Edward Karne*, was monished oftentimes to send Conclusions to be proposed in the said Congregations, as well in *Palm-Sunday* week, as in *Easter*-week, as appeareth by the Copies of the Intimations sent herewithal to your Highness: Upon which Intimations I delivered certain Conclusions, according to the order taken at the beginning, with a Protestation devised by your Grace's Counsel here, *De non recedendo ab eodem ordine, & de proponendo easdem Conclusiones* *in*

in Consistorio, juxta eundem ordinem & non aliter. That notwithstanding the Pope's Holiness caused me to be monished again, *cum Comminatione*, that if I would not come in, *cum Advocatis*, the third day of *April*, *procederet ad ulteriora protestatione me a prævia non obstante.* Whereupon, with the advice of your said Learned Counsel, I conceived a Protestation, and the same delivered to the Pope's Holiness the said third day in the morning, protesting as it was therein contained, and causing it to be registred by the Datary; of the which Protestation your Highness shall also receive a Copy herewithal. This notwithstanding, the Pope's Holiness, the said third day in the afternoon made a Congregation, where the said Protestation was examined; and after the Treaty had upon the same, we were in conclusion remitted again to the Consistory, there to be heard, as much as the Consistory intendeth to hear, upon the Conclusions that are published; which was much more beneficial to us, than to have had all proposed in Congregations to have been kept, as is afore. And by this means the Matter was shifted off, and deferred unto the 10*th* of this month; at which time the Pope's Holiness kept the Consistory. And one Mr. *Providal*, a singular good Clerk, which came from *Bonony* for the furtherance of your Highness's Cause, very compendiously, and after good fashion and handling, to the great contentation, as appeared, of the Audience there, purposed three Conclusions, of the which two concerned the habilitation of me *Edward Karne*, to lay in the Matters Excusatory: And the third was, that the Cause ought to be committed, *extra curiam, ad locum tutum utrique parti:* Of the which Conclusions, and also his Sayings, the said 10*th* day, your Highness shall receive a Copy here-withal. And forasmuch as at the said Consistory, neither the *Imperials*, neither yet the Queens Counsel did appear; I, *Edward Karne*, with the advice of your Highness's Counsel, said to the Pope's Holiness, after the Proposition made by Mr. *Providel*, that his Holiness might perceive well, that if the Party adverse had any good matter to alledg, against such things as were deduced for the justification of the Conclusions, and matter Excusatory, and did not diffide of their part, they would not have absented themselves, or shrunken from the Disputations, which they afore had accepted and taken; wherefore I accused their contumacy and absence, desiring that it might be enacted, and thereupon departed from the Consistory, for that day dissolved.

The 14*th* of this present, the Pope's Holiness caused Intimation to be made unto me, of the Consistory to be kept the 17*th* of the same; willing me to be there, *cum Advocatis*, to dispute all the Conclusions not proposed and disputed: Upon the which Intimation, I delivered to the Datary three Conclusions, the 19, the 20, and the 21 in order, with a Protestation devised by your Learned Counsel, sent here-withal to your Highness: And in the said Consistory, Mr. *Providel* did also alledg for the justification of the Matters and Conclusions; and over that answered to such Objections as he thought the Party adverse to make foundation upon, and that very compendiously, being sorry that the *Imperials*, and Queen's Counsel, did not come in to dispute the said Conclusions, and the sayings of the said Mr. *Providel* in the said Consistory, with my Protestation also, in not agreeing to the term, as *peremptory*, your Highness shall perceive in writing sent here-withal.

As

As concerning the ſeven Concluſions yet remaining undiſputed, we think the Pope's Holineſs will hear us no further in the Conſiſtory; ſaying, that the Part adverſe will not abide the Diſputations, nor come in to the ſame; Nevertheleſs to take otherwiſe out of the Conſiſtory, with the Cardinals Information, his Holineſs is well contented.

And verily, Sir, to ſtudy, labour, ſet forward, and call upon ſuch things as may confer to the advancement of the Matter, and your Highneſs's Purpoſe, there ſhall not want, neither good will, neither diligenc to the uttermoſt, that we can excogitate or deſire, as hitherto ſurely neither Party hath failed; truſting in God that thereby, if Juſtice be not oppreſſed, ſome good effect ſhall follow, to the good contentation of your Highneſs. With theſe Preſents, your Highneſs ſhall alſo receive a Copy of all things that were ſpoken, as well for your Highneſs's behalf, as by the Party adverſe, in the Conſiſtory, the 20*th* day of *March*.

And thus moſt humbly we commend us to your Highneſs, beſeeching Almighty God long to continue the ſame in his moſt Royal Eſtate. At *Rome*, the 29*th* of *April*.

Your Highneſs's moſt humble Subjects,

and poor Servants,

Edward Karne.

Edmond Bonner.

XLVI. *A Letter from* Benet *and* Caſſali *about the Proceſs.* *An Original.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 13.

SEreniſſime & Invictiſſime Domine noſter Supreme, ſalutem. Tribus Superioribus Conſiſtoriis ante vacationes habitis, de Cauſa Excuſatoria actum fuit; ſed quid illud fuerit quod in primo egerunt reſcire non potuimus, quia Cardinales pœna Excommunicationis prohibiti fuerant quicquam revelare. Secundo etiam aliquid ſuper eadem cauſa tractarunt, quod itidem nos celaverunt. Sed ultimo illo, quod die octavo Julii Congregatum fuit, ita ut inferius patebit, conſtituerunt. Quum ergo poſtero die Pontificem adiviſſemus, ut quod decretum foret cognoſceremus, ab eo ſic accepimus; nolle ſe ore ſuo, propterea quod Juriſperitus non ſit, Conſiſtorii deliberationem pronunciare; quocirca die ſequenti ad ipſum rediremus, quoniam vellet Cardinales Montem & Anconitanum id ipſum nobis proferre: Et nihilominus idem quod deinde ex ipſis Cardinalibus audivimus tunc explicavit, noluit tamen nobis eſſe Reſponſi loco. Igitur ſicut dixerat, redivimus, & nobis duo illi Cardinales ſic retulerunt ſummum Dominum & Cardinales decreviſſe, literas Exhortatorias cum a Pontifice, tum a Collegio Cardinalium, Majeſtati veſtræ ſcribendas

bendas esse, quibus vestram Majestatem adhortarentur, ut velit hic ad Causam Procuratorem constituere, idq; per totum Octobrem proximum facere. Pontifex praeterea suadebat ut ad idem nos Majestatem Vestram cohortaremur, iidemq; fecerunt Cardinales, volentes omnes ambiguitates & dubitationes tollere. Respondimus, velle quod nobis injungebatur Majestati Vestrae scribere; verum illud non posse reticere quod erga Majestatem Vestram inique actum videbatur; quum neq; Excusator admissus, neq; ipsius allegationes forent probatae ac receptae, id quod tam saepe instantissime petitum fuerat. Praeterea non posse nos non valde mirari, ac etiam summopere conqueri, quod quum pro comperto haberemus juris esse id fieri, esset nihilominus denegatum; quum praesertim petendo Mandatum procuratorium, tacite viderentur rejicere Excusatorem, & per ipsum allegata. Sic autem illi nobis Responderunt, neque Excusatorem fuisse rejectum, neq; per ipsum allegata, sed in eodem, quo prius, statu permanere; hoc autem excusatorium negotium minime, ut nobis judicibus clarum, sed dubium videri. Ibiq; Anconitanus quaedam nostris contraria adduxit, quae D. Karne suis literis recenset. Dicebant quoq; in hac re favorabilius nos, quam adversarios fuisse tractatos; illud etiam addentes, quod si procuratorium mandatum mittatur, justitia optime ministrabitur, ac etiam quatenus fieri possit, favorabiliter; idque & Pontifex & Cardinales ambo constanter asseverabant. Quum vero nos saepius diceremus, excusatorem admitti debuisse, dixerunt, si recte considerare velimus, nos idem ipsum re habuisse; si enim (aibant), Procurator hic constituatur, literae Remissoriae & Compulsoriae decernentur, ad testes in partibus examinandos. Itemq; vir aliquis probus ad id delegabitur ad utramq; partem, testesque scil. examinandos, ita ut processus in partibus fiat; Atque hoc pacto nos id consequi quod desideramus, quoniam quod ad totius causae decisionem pertinet, ex eo quod de Pontificis potestate cognoscendum, & de jure Divino disceptandum sit, ac aliis etiam de causis, ipsam Decisionem Pontifici integram semper reservari nihilominus oporteret, quamvis causam alibi quam Romae cognosci permissum fuisset. Nobis certe visum est, haud parum esse quod obtinuimus, longe enim pejora timebamus, quum nemo in urbe esset, qui non crederet Excusatorem una cum suis allegationibus rejectum iri. Hunc quidem eventum rei Caesariani aegerrime tulerunt. Optime valeat Majestas Vestra. Romae die 13 Julii 1532.

Vestrae Regiae Majestatis

Hier. Episcopus Wigornien.

W. Benet.

Gregorio Cassali.

XLVII. The

XLVII. The Sentence of Divorce.

Anno Incarnationis millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo tertio, Indictione sexta, Clementis Papæ decimo, mensis Maii vicesimo tertio, in Ecclesia Conventuali Monasterii Sancti Petri Dunstabliæ, Ordinis Sancti Augustini Lincoln. Diocef. nostri Cantuarien. Provinciæ.

In an Inspeximus Rot. Pat. 25. Reg. 2d. Part.

IN Dei Nomine, Amen. Nos Thomas Permissione Divina Cantuarien. Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas, & Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus, in quadam causa inquisitionis de & super viribus Matrimonii inter Illustrissimum & Potentissimum Principem & Dominum nostrum Henricum Octavum Dei Gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Regem, Fidei Defensorem & Dominum Hiberniæ, ac Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam nobilis memoriæ Ferdinandi Hispaniarum Regis Filiam contracti & consummati, quæ coram nobis in judicio ex officio nostro mero aliquandiu vertebatur,& adhuc vertitur,& pendet indecisa,rite & legitime procedentes, visis primitus per nos & diligenter inspectis,articulis sive capitulis in dicta causa objectis & ministratis, una cum responsis eis ex parte dicti Illustrissimi & Potentissimi Principis Henrici Octavi factis & redditis, visisque & similiter per nos inspectis plurimorum Nobilium & aliorum testium fide dignorum dictis & dispositionibus in eadem causa habitis & factis, visisq; præterea & similiter per nos inspectis, quamplurium fere totius Christiani orbis Principalium Academiarum Censuris ceu Conclusionibus Magistralibus, etiam tam Theologorum quam Jurisperitorum responsis & opinionibus, utriusq; deniq; Provinciæ Anglicanæ Consiliorum Provincialium assertionibus & affirmationibus, aliisque salutaribus monitis & doctrinis super dicto matrimonio desuper respective habitis & factis; visisq; ulterius, & pari modo per nos inspectis, pactis seu fœderibus pacis & amicitiæ inter perennis famæ Henricum septimum nuper Regem Angliæ, & dictum nobilis memoriæ Ferdinandum nuper Regem Hispaniæ desuper initis & factis; visis quoque peramplius, & diligenter per nos inspectis, omnibus & singulis actis, actitatis, literis, processibus, instrumentis, scripturis, monumentis, rebusq; aliis universis in dicta causa quomodolibet gestis & factis, ac aliis omnibus & singulis per nos visis & inspectis,atq; a nobis cum diligentia & maturitate ponderatis & recensitis, servatisq; ulterius per nos in hac parte de jure servandis, necnon partibus prædictis, videlicet præfato illustrissimo & potentissimo Principe Henrico Octavo per ejus Procuratorem idoneum coram nobis in dicta causa legitime comparente, dicta vero Serenissima Domina Catharina per contumaciam absente, cujus absentia Divina repleatur præsentia, de Consilio Jurisperitorum & Theologorum, cum quibus in hac parte communicavimus, ad sententiam nostram definitivam sive finale Decretum nostrum in dicta causa ferendam sive ferendum sic duximus procedendum, & procedimus in hunc modum. Quia per acta actitata, deducta, proposita, exhibita, & allegata, probata pariter & confessata, articulataque,capitulata, partis responsa, testium depositiones, & dicta instrumenta, monumenta, literas, scripturas, censuras, conclusiones Magistrales, opiniones, consilia, assertiones, affirmationes, tractatus & fœdera pacis, processus, res alias, & cætera promissa coram nobis in dicta

dicta causa respective habita, gesta, facta, exhibita & producta; Necnon ex eisdem, & diversis aliis ex causis & considerationibus, argumentisq; & probationum generibus variis, & multiplicibus, validis quidem & efficacibus, quibus animum nostrum hac in parte ad plenum informavimus, plene & evidenter invenimus & comperimus dictum Matrimonium inter præfatos Illustrissimum & Potentissimum Principem & Dominum nostrum Henricum Octavum, ac Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam, ut præmittitur, contractum & consummatum, nullum & omnino invalidum fuisse & esse, & Divino Jure prohibente contractum & consummatum extitisse: Idcirco nos Thomas Archiepiscopus Primas & Legatus antedictus, Christi nomine primitus invocato, ac solum Deum præ oculis nostris habentes, pro nullitate & invaliditate dicti Matrimonii pronunciamus, decernimus & declaramus, ipsumq; prætensum Matrimonium fuisse & esse nullum & invalidum, ac Divino Jure prohibente contractum & consummatum, nulliusq; valoris aut momenti esse, sed viribus & firmitate juris caruisse & carere, præfatoq; Illustrissimo & Potentissimo Principi Henrico Octavo & Serenissimæ Dominæ Catharinæ non licere in eodem prætenso Matrimonio remanere, & pronunciamus, decernimus & declaramus, ipsosq; Illustrissimū & Potentissimum Principem Henricum Octavum ac Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam, quatenus de facto & non de jure dictum prætensum Matrimonium ad invicem contraxerunt & consummarunt, ab invicem separamus & divorciamus, atq; sic separatos & divorciatos, necnon ob omni vinculo Matrimoniali respectu dicti prætensi Matrimonii liberos & immunes fuisse & esse, pronunciamus, decernimus & declaramus, per hanc nostram sententiam definitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale Decretum, quam sive quod ferimus & promulgamus in his scriptis. In quorum præmissorum fidem & testimonium, has literas nostras testimoniales, sive præsens publicum sententiæ vel Decreti instrumentum, exinde fieri ac per Notarios Publicos subscriptos, scribas & actuarios nostros in ea parte specialiter assumptos, subscribi & signari, nostriq; sigilli appensione jussimus & fecimus communiri.

He likewise passed Judgment (confirming the King's Marriage with Queen Ann) *at* Lambeth, May, 28 1533. *which is in the same* Inspeximus.

Act 5. Anno Regni 25.

XLVIII. *An Act concerning the Deprivations of the Bishops of* Salisbury *and* Worcester.

WHere before this time the Church of *England*, by the King's most noble Progenitors, and the Nobles of the same, have been founded, ordained, and established, in the Estate and degree of Prelatie Dignities, and other Promotions Spiritual, to the intent and purpose that the said Prelates, and other Persons, having the said Dignities and Promotions Spiritual, continually should be abiding, and Reseants upon their said Promotions within this Realm; and also keep, use, and exercise Hospitality, Divine Services, teaching and preaching of the

Laws of Almighty God, to ſuch Perſons as were and have been within the precinct of their Promotions or Dignities, for the Wealth of the Souls of their Givers and Founders, greatly to the honour of Almighty God. Of the which ſaid Spiritual Perſons, the King's Highneſs, and his moſt noble Progenitors, have had right honourable, and well-learned Perſonages, apt, meet, and convenient, for to guide and inſtruct his Highneſs, and his moſt noble Progenitors, in their Counſels, concerning as well their Outward as Inward Affairs, to be deviſed and practiſed for the utility and preſervation of this Realm; by reaſon whereof the Iſſues, Revenues, Profits, and Treaſure, riſing and coming of the ſaid Spiritual Promotions and Dignities, were and ſhould be ſpent, employed, and converted within this Realm, to the great profit and commodity of the King's Subjects of the ſame. And where alſo by the laudable Laws and Proviſions of this Realm, before this time made, it hath been ordained, uſed, and eſtabliſhed, that no Perſon nor Perſons, of whatſoever Eſtate, Degree, or Quality he or they were, ſhould take or receive within this Realm of *England*, to Farm, by any Procuracy, Writ, Letter of Attorney, Adminiſtrations, by Indenture, or by any other Mean, any Benefice, or other Promotion within this Realm, of any Perſon or Perſons, but only of the King's true and lawful Subjects, being born under the King's Dominions. And alſo that no Perſon or Perſons, of what eſtate and degree ſoever he or they were, by reaſon of any ſuch Farm, Procuracie, Letter of Attorney, Adminiſtration, Indenture, or by any other mean, as is aforeſaid, ſhould carry, conveigh, or cauſe to be carried and conveighed out of this Realm, any Gold, Silver, Treaſure, or other Commodity, by Letter of Exchange, or by way of Merchandiſe, or otherwiſe, for any of the Cauſes aforeſaid, to the profit or commodity of any Alien, or other Stranger, being born out of this Realm, having any ſuch Promotion Spiritual within the ſame, without licenſe of the King's Highneſs, by the advice of his Council, as by the ſame Laws, Statutes, and Proviſions, more plainly at large it may appear; which ſaid laudable Laws, Statutes, and Proviſions, were made, deviſed, and ordained, by great policy and foreſight of the King's moſt noble Progenitors, the Nobles and Commons of this Realm, for the great profit, utility, and benefit of the ſame, to the intent that the Gold, Silver, Treaſure, Riches, and other Commodity of the ſame, by the occaſion aforeſaid, ſhould not be exhauſted, employed, converted, and otherwiſe tranſported out of this Realm and Dominions of the ſame, to the uſe, profit, and commodity of any Stranger being born out of this Realm, or the Dominions of the ſame; But only to be ſpent, and uſed, and beſtowed within the ſame, to the great comfort and conſolation of the Subjects of this Realm. Notwithſtanding which ſaid wholſome Laws, Statutes, and Proviſions, the King's Highneſs being a Prince of great benignity and liberality, having no knowledg, nor other due information, or inſtruction of the ſame Laws, Statutes, and Proviſions, heretofore hath nominated, and preferred, and promoted, *Laurence Campegius* Biſhop of *Sarum*, with all the Spiritual and Temporal Poſſeſſions, Promotions, and other Emoluments and Commodities in any wiſe belonging or appertaining to the ſame: And alſo hath nominated, preferred, and promoted, *Hierome*, being another Stranger, born out of the King's ſaid Realm and Dominions, to the

the See and Bishoprick of *Worcester*, with all the Spiritual and Temporal Promotions, and other Emoluments and Commodities, in any wise belonging or appertaining to the same. Which said two Bishops, and namely the Bishop of *Sarum*, nothing regarding their Duties to Almighty God, nor their Cures of the said Bishopricks, eversith or for the more part of the time of their said Promotions or Professions into the same, have been, and yet be resident, dwelling and abiding at the See of *Rome*, or elsewhere, in other parts beyond the Sea, far out and from any of the King's said Dominions; by reason whereof, the great Hospitality, Divine Service, teaching and Preaching the Laws, and Examples of good living, and the other good and necessary effects before rehearsed, have been many years by-past, and yet continually be, not only withdrawn, decayed, hindred, and minished, but also great quantity of Gold, Silver, and Treasure, to the yearly sum and value of 3000 *l.* at the least, have been yearly taken and conveighed out of this Realm, to the singular profit, and great enriching of the said Bishops, and daily is like to be conveighed, transported, and sent, contrary to the purport and effect of the said former wholsome Laws and Statutes, to the great impoverishing of this Realm, as well presently as for to come, if speedy remedy be not had therefore in brief time provided. In consideration whereof, be it enacted by the Authority of this present Parliament, that the said two several Sees and Bishopricks of *Salisbury* and *Worcester*, and either of them from henceforth, shall be taken, reputed, and accounted in the Law to be utterly void, vacant, and utterly destitute of any Incumbent, or Prelate, *&c.*

XLVIII. *A Letter from* Cromwel *to* Fisher, *about the Maid of* Kent, *Anno* 34, *or end of* 35.

MY Lord, in my right hearty wise I commend me to your Lordship, doing you to understand, that I have received your Letters dated at *Rochester*, the 18*th* day of this Month; in which ye declare what craft and cunning ye have to persuade, and to set a good Countenance upon an ill Matter, drawing some Scriptures to your purpose; which well weighed, according to the places whereout they be taken, make not so much for your purpose as ye alledge them for; and where in the first Leaf of your Letters ye write, that ye doubt nothing, neither before God nor before the World, if need shall that require, so to declare your self, whatsoever hath been said of you, that ye have not deserved such heavy words, or terrible threats, as hath been sent from me unto you by your Brother. *Cotton* Libr. *Cleopat.*E.4.

How ye can declare your self afore God and the World, when need shall require, I cannot tell; but I think verily that your Declaration made by these Letters, is far insufficient to prove that ye have deserved no heavy words in this behalf. And to say plainly, I sent you no heavy words, but words of great comfort, willing your Brother to shew you

how benign and merciful the Prince was: And that I thought it expedient for you to write unto his Highneſs, and to recognize your Offences, and deſire his pardon, which his Grace would not deny you now in your age and ſickneſs; which my counſel I would you had followed, rather than to have written theſe Letters to me, excuſing your ſelf altho there were no manner of default in you. But, my Lord, if it were in an other manner of caſe than your own, and out of the Matter which ye favour, I doubt not but that ye would think him that ſhould have done as ye have done, not only worthy heavy Words, but alſo heavy Deeds; for where ye labour to excuſe your ſelf of your Hearing, Bribing, and concealing of the Maiden's falſe and feigned Revelations, and of your manifold ſending of your Chaplains unto her, by a certain intent which ye pretend your ſelf to have had, to know by communing with her, or by ſending your Chaplains to her, whether for Revelations, Word of God, or no, alledging divers Scriptures that ye were bound to prove them, and to receive them after they were proved. My Lord, whether ye have uſed a due means to try her and her Revelations, or no, it appeareth by the proceſs of your own Letters. For where you write that ye had conceived a great opinion of the holineſs of this Woman, for many conſiderations rehearſed in your Letters, compriſed in ſix Articles; whereof the firſt is grounded upon the bruit and fame of her; the ſecond, upon her entring into Religion after her trances and diſſiguration; the third, upon rehearſal that her Ghoſtly Father being Learned and Religious, ſhould teſtify that ſhe was a Woman of great holineſs; the fourth, upon the report that divers other vertuous Prieſts, Men of good Learning and Reputation, ſhould ſo teſtify of her, with which Ghoſtly Father, and Prieſts, ye never ſpake, as ye confeſs in your Letters; the fifth, upon the praiſes of my late Lord of *Canterbury*, which ſhewed you, as ye write, that ſhe had many great Viſions; the ſixth, upon the ſaying of the Prophet *Amos*, *Non faciet Dominus Deus Verbum, niſi revelaverit ſecretum ſuum ad ſervos ſuos Prophetas.* By which Conſiderations ye were induced to the deſire to know the very certainty of this Matter, whether theſe Revelations which were pretended to be ſhewed to her from God, were true Revelations or not. Your Lordſhip in all the ſequel of your Letters, ſhew not that ye made no further trial upon the truth of her and her Revelations, but only in communing with her, and ſending your Chaplains to her with idle Queſtions, as of the 3 *Mary Magdalens*, by which your communication and ſending, ye tried out nothing of her falſhood, neither (as it is credibly ſuppoſed) intended to do as ye might have done, in any wiſe more eaſily than with communing with her, or ſending to her; for little credence was to be given to her, affirming her own feigned Revelations to be from God; for if credence ſhould be given to every ſuch lewd Perſon as would affirm himſelf to have Revelations from God, what readier way were there to ſubvert all Common-Weals and good orders in the World?

Verily, my Lord, if ye had intended to trace out the truth of her, and of her Revelations, ye would have taken an other way with you; firſt, you would not have been converted with the vain Voices of the People, making bruits of her Trances and Diſſiguration, but like a wiſe, diſcreet, and circumſpect Prelate, ye ſhould have examined (as other

other since) such sad and credible Persons as were present at her Traunces and Diffigurings, not one or two, but a good number, by whose testimony ye should have proved, whether the Bruits of her Traunces and Diffigurations were true or not. And likewise ye should have tried by what craft and persuasion she was made a Religious Woman; and if ye had been so desirous, as ye pretended, to enquire out the truth or falshood of this Woman, and of her Revelations; it is to be supposed ye would have spoken with her good, religious, and well-learned Ghostly Father e're this time, and also with the vertuous and well-learned Priest, (as they were esteemed) of whose reports ye would have been informed by them which heard them speak; or ye would also have been minded to see the Book of her Revelations, which was offered you, of which ye might have had more trial of her and her Revelations, than of a hundred communications with her, or of as many sendings of your Chaplains unto her. As for the late Lord of *Canterbury*'s saying unto you, That she had many great Visions, it ought to move you never a deal to give credence unto her or her Revelations; for the said Lord knew no more certainty of her, or of her Revelations, than he did by her own report. And as touching the saying of *Amos* the Prophet, I think verily the same moved you but a little to hearken unto her; for sithence the Consummation and the end of the Old Testament, and sithen the Passion of Christ, God hath done many great and notable things in the World, whereof he shewed nothing to his Prophets that hath come to the knowledg of Men. My Lord, all these things moved you not to give credence unto her, but only the very matter whereupon she made her false Prophesies; to which matter ye were so affected, as ye be noted to be in all matters which ye enter once into, that nothing could come amiss that made for that purpose. And here I appeal your Conscience, and instantly desire you to answer, Whether if she had shewed you as many Revelations for the confirmation of the King's Graces Marriage, which he now enjoyeth, as she did to the contrary, ye would have given as much credence to her as the same done, and would have let the trial of her and her Revelations, to overpass those many years, where ye dwelt not from her but twenty miles in the same Shire where her Traunces, and Diffigurings, and Prophesies in her Traunces were surmised, and reported. And if percase ye will say (as it not unlike but ye will say, minded as ye were wont to be) that the matter be not like, for the Law of God, in your opinion, standeth with the one and not with the other: Surely, my Lord, I suppose there had been no great cause more to trust the one more than the other; for ye know by Scriptures of the Bible, that God may by his Revelation dispense with his own Law, as with the *Israelites* spoiling the *Egyptians*, and with *Jacob* to have four Wives, and such other. Think you, my Lord, that any indifferent Man, considering the quality of the Matter, and your Affections, and also the negligent passing over of such lawful Trials as ye might have had of the said Maiden, and her Revelations, is so dull, that cannot perceive and discern that your communing, and often sending to the said Maid, was rather to hear and bruit many of her Revelations, than to try out the truth or falshood of the same. And in this Business, I suppose, it will be hard for you to purge your self before God, or the World, but that ye have been in great default in hearing, believing,

believing, and concealing ſuch things as tended to the deſtruction of the Prince; and that her Revelations were bent and purpoſed to that end, it hath been duly proved afore as great Aſſembly and Council of the Lords of this Realm, as hath been ſeen many years meet out of a Parliament. And what the ſaid Lords deemed them worthy to ſuffer, which ſaid, heard, believed, and concealed thoſe falſe Revelations, be more terrible than any threats ſpoken by me to your Brother.

And where ye go about to defend, that ye be not to be blamed for concealing the Revelations concerning the King's Grace, becauſe ye thought it not neceſſary to rehearſe them to his Highneſs, for ſix Cauſes following in your Letters; afore I ſhew you my mind concerning theſe Cauſes, I ſuppoſe that albeit you percaſe thought it not neceſſary to be ſhewed to the Prince by you, yet that your thinking ſhall not be your Trial, but the Law muſt define whether ye oughted to utter it or not.

And as to the firſt of the ſaid ſeven Cauſes; Albeit ſhe told you that ſhe had ſhewed her Revelations concerning the King's Grace to the King her ſelf; yet her ſaying, or others, diſcharged not you, but that ye were bound, by your fidelity, to ſhew to the King's Grace that thing which ſeemed to concern his Grace and his Reign ſo nighly: for how knew you that ſhe ſhewed theſe Revelations to the King's Grace, but by her own ſaying, to which ye ſhould have given no ſuch credence, as to forbear the utterance of ſo great Matters concerning a King's Weal? And why ſhould you ſo ſiniſterly judg the Prince, that if ye had ſhewed the ſame unto him, he would have thought that ye had brought that tale unto him, more for the ſtrengthening and confirmation of your Opinion, than for any other thing elſe. Verily, my Lord, whatſoever your Judgment be, I ſee daily ſuch benignity and excellent humanity in his Grace, that I doubt not but his Highneſs would have accepted it in good part, if ye had ſhewed the ſame Revelations unto him, as ye were bounden by your fidelity.

To the ſecond Cauſe; Albeit ſhe ſhewed you not that any Prince, or other Temporal Lord, ſhould put the King's Grace in danger of his Crown; yet there were ways enough by which her ſaid Revelations might have put the King's Grace in danger, as the foreſaid Council of Lords have ſubſtantially and duly conſidered: And therefore albeit ſhe ſhewed you not the means whereby the danger ſhould enſue to the King, yet ye were nevertheleſs bounden to ſhew him of the danger.

To the third; Think you, my Lord, that if any Perſon would come unto you, and ſhew you, that the King's deſtruction were conſpired againſt a certain time, and would fully ſhew you that he were ſent from his Maſter to ſhew the ſame to the King, and will ſay further unto that, he would go ſtreight to the King; were it not yet your duty to certify the King's Grace of this Revelation, and alſo to enquire whether the ſaid Perſon had done his foreſaid Meſſage or no? Yes verily, and ſo were ye bound, tho the Maiden ſhewed you it was her Meſſage from God to be declared by her to the King's Grace.

To the fourth; Here ye tranſlate the temporal Duty that ye owe to your Prince, to the ſpiritual Duty of ſuch as be bound to declare the Word of God to the People, and to ſhew unto them the ill and puniſh-

ment

ment of it in another World; the concealment whereof pertaineth to the Judgment of God, but the concealment of this Matter pertaineth to other Judges of this Realm.

To the fifth; There could no blame be imputed to you, if ye had shewed the Maidens Revelation to the King's Grace, albeit they were afterward found false, for no Man ought to be blamed doing his Duty: And if a Man would shew you secretly, that there were a great Mischief intended against the Prince, were ye to be blamed if ye shewed him of it; albeit it was a feigned talk, and the said mischief were never imagined.

To the sixth; Concerning an Imagination of Mr. *Pary*, it was known that he was beside himself, and therefore they were not blamed that made no report thereof; but it was not like in this case, for ye took not this Maiden for a mad Woman, for if ye had, ye would not have given unto her so great credence as ye did.

To the final, and seventh Cause; Where ye lay unto the charge of our Sovereign, that so hath unkindly entreated you with grievous Words, and terrible Letters, for shewing his Grace truth in his great Matter, whereby ye were discomforted to shew unto him the Maidens Revelations: I believe that I know the King's Goodness, and natural Gentleness so well, that his Grace would not so unkindly handled you, as your unkindly writings him, unless ye gave him other Causes than be expressed in your Letters. And whatsoever the King's Grace hath said or written unto you heretofore, yet notwithstanding ye were nevertheless bounden to utter to him those pernicious Revelations.

Finally; Where ye desire, for the Passion of Christ, that ye be no more twitched in this matter, for if ye be put to that strait, ye will not lose your Soul, but ye will speak as your Conscience bindeth you, with many more words of great courage. My Lord, if ye had taken my counsel sent unto you by your Brother, and followed the same, submitting your self, by your Letters, at the King's Grace, for your offences in this behalf, I would have trusted that ye should never be quykkrand in this matter more. But now, where ye take upon you to defend the whole Matter, as ye were in no default, I cannot so far promise you: And surely, my Lord, if the Matter come to trial, your own confession in this Letter, besides the Witness which be against you, will be sufficient to condemn you: Wherefore, my Lord, I will eft-soons advise you, That laying apart all such excuses as ye have alledged in your Letters, which in my opinion be of small effect, as I have declared, ye beseech the King's Grace, by your Letters, to be your Gracious Lord, and to remit unto you your negligence, over-sight, and offence, committed against his Highness in this behalf; and I dare undertake that his Highness shall benignly accept you into his gracious favour, all matters of displeasure past afore this time forgotten and forgiven. As touching the speaking of your Conscience, It is thought that ye have written and have spoken as much as ye can; and many things, as some right probably believes, against your own Conscience: and many report, that at the last Convocation, ye spake many things which ye could not well defend; and therefore it is not greatly feared what ye can say or write in that Matter, howsoever ye be qukkrane and startled. And if ye had taken, &c.

L. *A Renunciation of the Pope's Supremacy; signed by the Heads of six Religious Houses.*

QUum ea sit non solum Christianæ Religionis & pietatis ratio, sed nostræ etiam obedientiæ regula, ut Domino nostro Henrico ejus nominis pro Dominio Regio Octavo, cui uni & soli post Christum Iesum Salvatorem nostrum debentur omnia, non modo omnimodam in Christo, & eandem sinceram perpetuamq; animi devotionem, fidem, observantiam, honorem, cultum, reverentiam præstemus, sed etiam de eadem fide & observantia nostra rationem quotiescunq; postulabitur reddamus, & palam omnibus si res poscat libentissime testemur: Norint universi ad quos præsens scriptum pervenit, quod nos Priores & Conventus fratrum, viz. prædicatoris Langley Regis ordinis Sancti Dominici Minorum de Ailsbury, Ordinis Sancti Francisci prædicatorum Dunstopliæ, Ordinis antedicti Minorum de Bedford, Ordinis Sancti Francisci Fratrum Carmelitarum de Hechyng, Ordinis Beatæ Mariæ Minorum de Morea, Ordinis Sancti Francisci, uno ore,& voce, atque unanimi omnium & singulorum consensu & assensu, hoc scripto nostro sub sigillis nostris communibus, & in domibus nostris capitularibus dato, pro nobis & successoribus nostris omnibus singulis, in perpetuum profitemur, testamur & fideliter promittimus & spondemus, nos dictos Priores & Conventus & Successores nostros, omnes & singulos, integram, inviolatam, sinceram perpetuamq; fidem, observantiam & obedientiam semper præstituros erga Dominum Regem nostrum Henricum Octavum, & erga Serenissimam Reginam Annam Uxorem ejusdem, & erga castum Sanctumq; Matrimonium nuper non solum inter eosdem juste & legitime contractum, ratum & consummatum, sed etiam tam in duabus Convocationibus Cleri, quam in Parliamento Dominorum Spiritualium & Temporalium atq; Communium in eodem Parliamento Congregatorum & præsentum determinatum, & per Thomam Cantuarien. Episcopum solenniter confirmatum, & erga quamcunq; aliam ejusdem Henrici Regis nostri Uxorem, post mortem prædictæ Annæ nunc Uxoris suæ legitimæ ducendam, & erga sobolem dicti Domini Regis Henrici ex prædicta Anna legitime tam progenitam quam progignendam, & erga sobolem dicti Domini Regis ex alia quacunq; legitima Uxore post mortem ejusdem Annæ legitime progignendam, & quod eadem populo notificabimus, prædicabimus & suadebimus, ubicunq; dabitur locus & occasio. Item, quod confirmatum ratumq; habemus semperq; perpetuo habituri sumus, quod prædictus Rex noster Henricus est Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Item, quod Episcopus Romanus, qui in suis Bullis Papæ nomen usurpat & summi Pontificis Principatum sibi arrogat, nihilo majoris neq; Auctoritatis aut jurisdictionis habendus sit, quam cæteri quivis Episcopi in Anglia alibi in sua cujusq; Diocese. Item, quod soli dicto Domino Regi & Successoribus suis adhærebimus, atq; ejus & Proclamationes, insuper omnes Angliæ leges atque etiam Statuta omnia, in Parliamento & per Parliamentum decreta, confirmata, stabilita & ratificata, perpetuo manutenebimus, Episcopi Romani legibus, decretis & Canonibus, si qui contra legem Divinam & Sacram Scripturam esse invenientur, in perpetuum renunciantes. Item, quod nullus nostrum omnium in ulla vel privata vel publica concione

quicquam

quicquam ex Sacris Scripturis desumptum ad alienum sensum detorquere præsumet, sed quisquis Christum ejusq; vera, prædicabit Catholice & Orthodoxe. Item, quod unusquisq; in suis orationibus & comprecationibus de more faciendis, primum omnium Regem, tanquam Supremum Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Deo & populi precibus commendabit; deinde Reginam cum sua sobole, tum demum Archiepiscopum Cantuarien. cum cæteris Cleri Ordinibus, prout videbitur. Item, quod omnes & singuli prædicti Priores & Conventus & Successores nostri, Conscientiæ & Jurisjurandi Sacro firmiter obligamur, quod omnia & singula prædicta fideliter & in perpetuum observabimus. In cujus rei testimonium huic Instrumento, vel scripto nostro, communia sigilla nostra appendimus, & nostra nomina propria quisq; manu subscripsimus, Sacris in Domibus nostris Capitularibus, die quinto Mensis Maii, Anno Christi millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo quarto, Regni vero Regis nostri Henrici Octavi vicesimo sexto.

Ego Frater Richardus Ingerth Prior Conventus, & Prædicator Langley Regis, cum consensu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus sed sponte subscribo.

Ego Frater Joannes Cotton, Prior Conventus Prædicatorum Dunstabliæ, cum assensu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus sed sponte subscribo.

Ego Frater Joannes Sutler, Prior Conventus Carmelitarum Hicchiæ, cum Assensu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus sed sponte subscribo.

Ego Frater Edwardus Tryley Sacræ Theologiæ Bacalaureus, & Conventus Ailsberiæ, cum assensu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus sed sponte subscribo.

Ego Frater Joannes Wyatt, Sacræ Theologiæ Doctor Conventus Bed. una cum assensu omnium Fratrum, sponte hoc scribo & non coactus.

Ego Frater Joannes Chapmanus, Sacræ Theologiæ Bacalaureus, Magister immerito Conventus Mare, cum assensu omnium Fratrum, mea sponte subscribo.

Another Declaration to the same purpose, Mutatis Mutandis, *is made by the Prioress of* Bedford *in* Kent, *of the Order of St.* Dominick, *May* 4. 1534. Regn. vicesimo sexto. Rot. Clausa.

LI. *A Mandate for the Conſecration of a Suffagran Biſhop.*

Rot. Pat. 2. par. 27 Regni.

REX Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri & perdilecto Conſiliario [illegible]ſtro Thomæ Cantuarienſi Epiſcopo ſalutem. Reverendus Pater & dilectus Conſiliarius noſter Richardus Norvicenſis Epiſcopus nobis ſignificavit, quod Dioceſis ſua Epiſcopi Suffraganei ſolatio,qui ſuæ ſollicitudinis partem ſuſtinere conſuevit, deſtituta eſt & exiſtit; & ideo reverendos Patres Gregorium Abbatem Monaſterii Beatæ Mariæ de Leyſtone, & Thomam Mannynge Priorem Monaſterii Beatæ Mariæ de Butley, Norvicen. Dioc. Ordine Sacerdotali rite inſignitos, & legitimo Matrimonio natos, & in ætate legitima conſtitutos, viroſq; in Spiritualibus & Temporalibus multum circumſpectos, quibus de Canonicis nihil obviant inſtituta, quo minus (ut aſſerunt) ad Epiſcopalem Suffraganei Dignitatem admitti poſſint & deberent, nobis per ſuas literas ſuo magno ſigillo munitas præſentavit, humiliter & devote ſupplicans, quatenus nos alterum ipſorum ſic præſentatorum ad aliquam ſedem Epiſcopi Suffraganei infra Provinciam Cantuarienſem exiſtentem nominare, ipſique ſic nominato ſtylum, Titulum & Dignitatem hujuſmodi ſedis donare dignaremur: unde nos ex gratia noſtra ſpeciali & mero motu noſtris, dictum Reverendum Patrem Thomam Manynnge Priorem Monaſterii Beatæ Mariæ de Butley prædicti, alterum ex dictis, Præſentamus in Epiſcopum Suffraganeum Sedis Gips vici Norvicen. Dioceſ. antedictæ, nominamus, eique Stilum, Titulum & Dignitatem ejuſdem Sedis Epiſcopi Suffraganei damus & conferimus. Atque hæc vobis tenore præſentamus, ſignificamus, requirentes vos, quatenus eundem Patrem ſic per nos nominatum, in Epiſcopum Suffraganeum ejuſdem Sedis Gips vici conſecretis, eique Benedictionem ac omnia Epiſcopalia Inſignia conferatis; cæteraq; omnia & ſingula quæ veſtro in hac parte incumbunt officio paſtorali, juxta modum & formam Statuti Parliamenti in viceſimo ſexto Anno Regni noſtri apud Weſtmonaſterium nuper editi peragetis.

T. R. apud Weſtm. 6. die Martii 27. Regn.

Ad

Ad Librum Tertium.

I. Instructions for the General Visitation of the Monasteries.

Articuli Regiæ Inquisitionis, in Monasticam vitam agentes, exponendi, & præcipue in exemptos a jurisdictione Diocæsana, jam tantum Regiæ Majestati & ejus jurisdictioni subditos & subjectos, ac hujus inclyti sui Regni Statutis & legibus, nullisq; aliis penitus, obnoxios & astrictos.

1. IN primis; Whether Divine Service be solemnly sung, said, observed, and kept in this Monastery, according to the Number and the Abilities thereof, by Night and by Day, in due time and hours? and how many be present commonly at Mattins, and other Service, and who be absent, and so accustomed to be, without cause or sickness? *Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.*

2. *Item*; How many Monks, Cannons Regulars, or Nuns, be within this Monastery, and how many there ought to be, and whether the number be compleat according to the Founder's Will, or the Statutes, Ordinarices, and laudable custom of this House; and whether the number be augmented or diminished now of late?

3. *Item*; Who were the first Founders of this House?

Fundationem primam, secundam, tertiam, & quotquot habent, exhibeant.

4. *Item*; Whether this House hath had any encrease of Lands given to it sithence the first Foundation thereof? by whom? by how many? and when?

5. *Item*; To what Sum of Mony those Revenues and Rents of this House do extend and amount unto yearly?

6. *Item*; Whether this House was ever translated from on habit and order to another? by whose Authority? and for what Cause?

Translationem exhibeant.

7. *Item*; How the Lands and Possessions appertaining unto this Monastery, given by the first Founder, and all other Lands given sithence the first Foundation, were granted, given, and established, and so first brought to *Morte main*? whether by the only Authority of the Giver, or by the Authorization of the Prince for that time reigning, and by what tenour and form ye hold them?

Donationem & Confirmationem exhibeant.

8. *Item*; What evidence have you to shew for all and singular your Lands, Manors, Tenements, and other your Possessions Mortisate, and given unto you, and this your Monastery?

9.. *Item*; Wherefore, for what Cauſes and Conſiderations ye were exempt from your Dioceſan? and what was your Suggeſtion and Motive at the obtaining of your ſaid Exemption?

Exemptionem exhibeant.

10. *Item*; Whether ye have any private, peculiar, or local Statutes, Confirmations, Ordinances, or Rules, made only for the behoof, good order, and ſingular weal of this Houſe, beſides the Rules of your Profeſſion? and whether they were made either by your Founders before your Exemption, or by the good Fathers of this Houſe, with the whole conſent of the Brethren, being ſinneth your exemption: to what uſe they were made, and how ye obſerve them?

Statuta illa localia, & alia quotquot habent, exhibeant.

11. *Item*; By what way and form the Maſter of this Houſe was elected and choſen? And whether all the Brethren having, or ought to have by the Law, Statutes, or laudable cuſtom of this Houſe, Voices in the Election, were preſent in the ſame Election, or lawfully called or cited to it?

12. *Item*; Whether any Perſons Excommunicate, Suſpended, or Interdicted, did give Voices in the ſame Election?

13. *Item*; Within what time after the Election was made and done, the Maſter of this Houſe was confirmed? and by whom?

14. *Item*; Whether unto the Confirmation, all that had Intereſt, or that would object againſt the ſame, were lawfully cited, moniſhed, and called?

Exhibeat Electionem, Confirmationem, & Titulum ſuæ Incumbentiæ.

15. *Item*; What Rule the Maſter of this Houſe, and other the Brethren, do profeſs?

16. *Item*; How many be Profeſſed, and how many be Novices; and whether the Novices have like Habit, or uſe to wear an Habit diſtinct from the Habit of the Brethren Profeſſed?

17. *Item*; Whether ye do uſe to profeſs your Novices in due time, and within what time and ſpace after they have taken the Habit upon them?

18. *Item*; Whether the Brethren of this Houſe do know the Rule that they have profeſſed, and whether they keep their Profeſſion according to that their Rule, and Cuſtom of this Houſe; and in eſpecial, the three ſubſtantial and principal Vows, that is to ſay, *Poverty*, *Chaſtity*, and *Obedience*?

19. *Item*; Whether any of the Brethren uſe any propriety of Mony, or of Plate, in their Chambers; or of any other manner thing unware of the Maſter, and without his knowledg and licenſe, or by his ſufferance and knowledg? and for what cauſe?

20. *Item*; Whether ye do keep Chaſtity, not uſing the company of any ſuſpect Woman within this Monaſtery, or without? And whether the Maſter, or any Brother of this Houſe be ſuſpected upon Incontinency, or defamed for that he is much converſant with Women?

21. *Item*; Whether Women uſeth and reſorteth much to this Monaſtry by back-ways, or otherwiſe? and whether they be accuſtomably,

mably, or at any time lodged within the Precinct thereof?

22. *Item*; Whether the Master, or any Brother of this House, useth to have any Boys or young Men laying with him?

23. *Item*; Whether the Brethren of this House keep their Obedience, being ready at their Master's Commandment, in all things honest, lawful, and reasonable?

Sequuntur Regulæ Cæremoniales.

24. *Item*; Whether ye do keep silence in the Church, Cloister, Fraitrie, and Dormitorie, at the hours and time specified in your Rule?

25. *Item*; Whether ye do keep Fasting and Abstinence, according to your Rules, Statutes, Ordinances, and laudable Customs of this House?

26. *Item*; Whether ye abstain from Flesh in time of *Advent*, and other times declared and specified by the Law, Rules, and laudable Customs of this House?

27. *Item*; Whether ye wear Shirts and Sheets of Woollen, or that ye have any Constitution, Ordinance, or Dispensation, granted or made to the contrary, by sufficient and lawful Authority?

Profitentes Regulam Benedicti quam arctissime tenentur ad prædicta Cæremonialia observanda.

28. *Item*; Whether ye do sleep altogethers in the *Dormitorie*, under one Roof, or not?

29. *Item*; Whether ye have all separate Beds, or any one of you doth lay with an other?

30. *Item*; Whether ye do keep the Fraitry at Meals, so that two parts, or the least, the two part of the whole Covent be always there, unless the Master at every one time dispense with you to the contrary?

31. *Item*; Whether ye do wear your Religious habit continually, and never leave it off but when ye go to bed?

32. *Item*; Whether every Brethren of this House have lightly departed hence, and hath gone to any other House of like Order and Profession, without special Letters and License of their Master?

33. *Item*; Whether the Master and Brethren of this House have received and admitted any Brother of another House, without special License and Letters of his Master and Head?

34. *Item*; Whether any of you, sithence the time of your Profession, hath gone out of this House to his Friends, or otherwise?

35. *Item*; How oftimes he did so, and how long at every time ye tarried forth?

36. *Item*; Whether ye had special license of your Master so to go forth, or not?

37. *Item*; Whether at every time of your being forth, ye changed or left off your habit, or every part thereof?

38. *Item*; Whether ye, or any of you be, or hath been, in manifest Apostasy, that is to say, Fugitives or Vagabonds?

39. *Item*; For what cause or occasion ye have so gone forth and been in Apostasy? and whether the cause of your going forth was by reason of the great cruelty of your Master, or by his negligence, not calling you home to your Cloister?

40. *Item*;

40. *Item*; Whether ye be weekly shaven, and do not nourish or suffer your Hair to be long? and whether ye wear your Apparel according to the Rule, not too excessive, nor too exquisite; and in like wise the trappo's of your Horses, and other your bearing Beasts?

41. *Item*; Whether the Master and Head of this House do use his Brethren charitably, without partiality, malice, envy, grudg, or displeasure more shewed to one than to another?

42. *Item*; Whether he do use his Disciplines, Corrections, and Punishments upon his Brethren, with mercy, pity, and charity, without cruelty, rigorousness, and enormous hurt, no more favouring one than another?

43. *Item*; Whether any Brother, or Religious Person of this House, be incorrigible?

44. *Item*; Whether the Master of this House do use his Brethren charitably when they be sick and diseased? and whether in time of their sickness he do procure unto them Physicians, and all other necessaries?

45. *Item*; Whether he make his Accompts (as he ought to do) once every year before his Brethren, and chiefly the Seniors and Officers, to the intent they may be made privy to the state and condition of the House, and know perfectly the due administration thereof?

46. *Item*; Whether the Prior, Subprior, Sellerar, Kitchener, Terrure, Sacristen, or any such-like Officer, having Administration of every manner Revenues of this House, do make his whole and true Accompt, according as he is bound to do, not applying any thing by him received to his own proper use or commodity?

47. *Item*; Whether any Religious Person of this House do bear, occupy, or exercise more Offices than one, for, and to his own singular commodity, advantage, or profit, by the partial dealing of the Master?

48. *Item*; Whether all and singular the Revenues and Profits of this House be converted and employed to the behove and use thereof, and of the Brethren, and according to the Founder's mind and Giver?

49. *Item*; Whether the Master do make sufficient reparations upon his Monastery, as the Church and all other housing thereto adjoined, and also upon all other the Lands, Granges, Farms, and Tenements belonging to the same, and whether he suffer any dilapidation, decay, or ruine in any part of them?

50. *Item*; Whether there be any Inventory made of all and singular the Moveables, Goods, which from time to time have been, and yet be in this House, as of Jewels, Reliques, Ornaments, Vestiments, ready Mony, Plate, Bedding, with other Utensils; also of Corn, Chattels, and other Commodities, to the intent the state and condition of this House may be always known?

51. *Item*; That ye express truly and sincerely the whole state and condition of this House, as in Mony, Plate, Cattel, Corn, and other Goods?

52. *Item*; Whether this Monastery be indebted? to whom? and for what cause?

53. *Item*; Whether any of the Lands be sold, or mortgaged? and for what Sums?

54. *Item*; Whether any be lett to Farm by the Master of this House for term of years, and for how many years? and specially whether they

be

be letten for ſmall Sums, or for leſs Sums than they were wont to be letten for, to the intent to have great ſums of ready Mony before hand?

55. *Item*; Whether he do enforce, compel, or conſtrain his Brethren, or any of them, to conſent to the ſealing of any Leaſes, Grants, Farm-Holds, Annuities, Corrodies, or any other Alienations?

56. *Item*; Whether the Plate and Jewels, or any part or parcel thereof, or of any other moveable Goods of this Houſe be laid to pledg, ſold, or alienated for a time, or for ever? for what cauſe, and to whom? or otherwiſe imbezled, or conſumed?

57. *Item*; Whether the Maſter of this Houſe be wont to give under his Seal of Office, or Covent-Seal, Farms, Corrodies, Annuities, or Offices, to his Kinsfolk, Alliances, Friends, or Acquaintance, for term of years, or otherwiſe, to the hurt, hindrance, dammage, and impoveriſhment of this Houſe?

58. *Item*; Whether he be wont to grant any Patent, or Covent-Seal, without the conſent of his Brethren?

59. *Item*; Whether the Covent-Seal of this Houſe be ſurely and ſafely kept under three Keys; that is to ſay, one remaining and being in the cuſtody of the Maſter, and the other two in the cuſtody of two Seniours?

60. *Item*; Whether the Muniments and Evidences of the Lands, Rents, and Revenues of this Houſe, be ſafely kept from Vermine and Moiſtneſs?

61. *Item*; Whether the Maſter do keep Hoſpitality according to the ability of his Houſe, and in like manner as other Fathers hereof have done heretofore?

62. *Item*; Whether the Maſter of this Houſe, in receiving any Novice, being of willing and toward mind to enter into Religion, hath demanded or received, or convented to receive any Mony, Rewards, or any other temporal Commodities of him ſo entring, or willing to enter, or of any other his Friends? and whether for not promiſing, granting, or giving ſuch Rewards or Gifts, any hath been repelled and not received?

63. *Item*; Whether the Novices, and other received into Religion, have a Preceptor and Maſter deputed unto them to teach them Gramar and good Letters?

64. *Item*; Whether any Seniour of this Houſe be deputed to declare, inform, and inſtruct them their Rules, and whereunto they ſhall be bounden to obſerve and keep, after their Profeſſion?

65. *Item*; Whether any of you have taken upon him the Habit and Profeſſion of your Religion, chiefly for the intent, hope, or truſt to be made Head and Maſter of this Houſe?

66. *Item*; Whether the Maſter of this Houſe, in giving any Advocation, Nomination, Preſentation, or Collation of any Parſonage, Vicarage, Chapel, or Benefice of the Patronage and Gift this Houſe, do take, or uſe to take any manner Penſion, Portion, or other Commodity or Gains; or elſe doth make any Convention or Compaction, whereby any lucre may enſue to him in that behalf?

67. *Item*; Whether he do receive, or uſe to receive, the Fruits and Revenues of every ſuch Benefice vacant, or uſe to borrow any Mony of

of him to whom he intendeth to give ſuch Benefice unto, expreſly covenanting or intending, that he ſo obtaining the ſaid Benefice, ſhall freely and clearly remit the ſaid Mony ſo borrowed?

68. *Item*; What, and how many Benefices the Maſter of this Houſe doth occupy and keep in his own hands?

69. *Item*; Whether the ſame Benefices be appropriate and united to this Houſe by ſufficient authority?

70. *Item*; Whether the Maſter of this Houſe doth make diſtributions amongſt the Pariſhoners of the Benefices appropriate, and doth keep and obſerve all and ſingular other Proviſions and Ordinances ſpecified and expreſſed in the Appropriations of the ſame Benefices?

Exhibeant omnes & ſingulas Appropriationes, una cum Ordinationibus & Dotationibus Vicariatuum.

71. *Item*; Whether he do promote unto ſuch Benefices as be of his Gift, ſufficient and able Perſons in Learning, Manners, and Vertue?

72. *Item*; Whether any Brother of this Houſe do ſerve any Pariſh-Church, being appropriate and united to the ſame, and how many Churches appropriate be ſo ſerved?

73. *Item*; Whether the Maſter of this Houſe hath and poſſeſſeth any Benefice with Cure, or any other Dignity with his Abbey?

Si aliquod tale habet, Diſpenſationem exhibeat.

74. *Item*; Whether the Maſter of this Houſe at any time ſince he was firſt made Abbot, or Maſter, did know or believe that he was Suſpended, or Excommunicate, either by the Law, or by any Judg; and whether he knowing or ſuppoſing himſelf ſo to be, did ſing Maſs in the mean time, and before he was abſolved?

In Viſitatione Monialium ad Præmiſſa addantur hæc.

75. *Item*; Whether this Monaſtery hath good and ſufficient Encloſure, and whether the Doors and Windows be diligently kept ſhut, ſo that no Man can have any entry into the ſame, or any part thereof, at inconvenient times?

Propter quod neceſſarium erit Viſitatori circumire Monaſterium, ac videre & rimare diſpoſitionem ædificiorum, & an ſint aliqua loca pervia per quæ ſecrete intrari poſſit; & una ſecum habeat Abbatiſſam cum duabus aut tribus ſenioribus Monialibus, a quibus tum interroget, an oſtia Monaſterii ſingulis quibuſque noctibus ſub clavibus clauſa teneantur, & quæ earum Monialium ſenio confectarum, vel an Abbas ipſa clavium cuſtodiam tempore nocturno habeant & teneant: nam non eſt tutum clavium cuſtodiam Junioribus committere.

76. *Item*; Whether Strangers, both Men and Women, uſe commonly to have communication with the Siſters of this Houſe, without licenſe of the Abbeſs or Prioreſs, ſpecially in ſecret places, and in the abſence of their Siſters?

77. *Item*;

77. *Item*; Whether any Sister of this House were professed for any manner of compulsion of her Friends and Kinsfolks, or by the Abbess or Prioress?

78. *Item*; Whether any of the Sisters of this House useth to go forth any whither out of the Precinct thereof, without special license of their Abbess or Prioress?

79. *Item*; Whether any Sister doth use her Habit continually out of her Cell?

80. *Item*; Wherein every one of you occupieth her self, beside the time of Divine Service?

81. *Item*; Whether any Sister of this House hath any familiarity with Religious Men, Secular Priests, or Lay-Men, being not near of kin unto them?

82. *Item*; Whether any Sister of this House hath been taken and found with any such accustomably so communing, and could not shew any reasonable cause why they so did?

83. *Item*; Whether any of you doth use to write any Letters of Love, or lascivious fashion to any Person, or receive any such, or have any privy Messengers coming and resorting unto you, or any of you, with Token or Gifts, from any manner secular Person or other?

84. *Item*; Whether any of you doth use to speak with any manner of Person, by night or by day, by Grates or back Windows, or other privy Places within this Monastry, without license of your Head?

85. *Item*; Whether the Confessor of this House be a discreet Man, of good learning, vertue and honest behaviour, of good name and fame, and whether he hath been always so taken?

86. *Item*; How oftimes in the year the Sisters of this House useth to be Confessed and Communicate?

Restat pro Ecclesiis Collegiatis, Hospitalibus, Ecclesiis Cathedralibus, Parrochialibus, Ecclesiis, Episcopo, & Archiepiscopo, pro ordine Jerosolomitarum?

Exhibeant omnia scripta, munimenta, Inventaria, Scedulas quascunque, unde aliquid cognitionis eorum reformationi Monasteriorum, sive domorum utilitati, necessaria explicari, aut quoquo modo colligi possit.

II. *General Injunctions to be given on the King's Highness's behalf, in all Monastries and other Houses, of whatsoever Order or Religion they be.*

First; That the Abbot, Prior, or President, and all other Brethren of the Place that is visited, shall faithfully, truly, and heartily, keep and observe, and cause teach, and procure to be kept and observed of other, as much as in them may lie, all and singular Contents, as well in the other of the King's Highness Succession, given heretofore by them, as in a certain Profession lately sealed with the Common Seal, and subscribed and Signed with their own hands: Also that they shall *Cott.* Lib. *Cleop.* E. 4.

observe and fulfil, by all the means that they best may, the Statutes of this Realm, made, or to be made, for the suppression and taking away of the usurped and pretensed Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Rome* within this Realm: and for the assertion and confirmation of the Authority, Jurisdiction, and Prerogative of our most noble Sovereign Lord the King, and his Successors; and that they shall diligently instruct their Juniors and Youngers, and all other committed to their Cure, That the King's Power is by the Laws of God most excellent of all under God in Earth; and that we ought to obey him afore all other Powers, by God's Prescript; and that the Bishop of *Rome*'s Jurisdiction or Authority heretofore usurped, by no means is founded or established by Holy Scripture: but that the same, partly by the craft and deceit of the same Bishop of *Rome*, and by his evil and ambitious Canons and Decretals; and partly by the toleration and permission of Princes, by little and little hath grown up; and therefore now, of most right and equity, is taken away and clean expelled out of his Realm.

Also, that the Abbot, Prior, or President and Brethren, may be declared, by the King's Supream Power and Authority Ecclesiastical, to be absolved and loosed from all manner Obedience, Oath, and Profession by them heretofore perchance promised, or made, to the said Bishop of *Rome*, or to any other in his stead, or occupying his Authority; or to any other Forreign Prince, or Person: And nevertheless let it be enjoined to them, that they shall not promise or give such Oath or Profession to any such Forreign Potentate hereafter. And if the Statutes of the said Order Religious, or Place, seem to bind them to Obedience, or Subjection, or any other Recognizance of Superiority to the said Bishop of *Rome*, or to any other Forreign Power, Potentate, Person or Place, by any ways; such Statutes, by the King's Graces Visitors, be utterly annihilate, broken, and declared void and of none effect; and that they be in no case bounden or obligate to the same, and such Statutes to be forthwith utterly put forth and abolished out of the Books, or Muniments of that Religion, Order or Place, by the President and his Brethren.

Also, that no Monk, or Brother of this Monastery, by any means go forth of the Precinct of the same.

Also, that Women, of what state or degree soever they be, be utterly excluded from entring into the Limits or Circuit of this Monastery, or place, unless they first obtain license of the King's Highness, or his Visitor.

Also, that there be no entring into this Monastery but one, and that by the great fore-gate of the same, which diligently shall be watched and kept by some Porter specially appointed for that purpose, and shall be shut and opened by the same both day and night, at convenient and accustomed hours; which Porter shall repel all manner Women from entrance into the said Monastery.

Also, that all and singular Brethren, and Monks of this Monastery, take their refections altogether in a place called the *Misericorde*, such days as they eat Flesh, and all other days in their Refectory; and that at every Mess there sit four of them, not of duty demanding to them any certain, usual, or accustomed duty or portion of Meat as they were wont to do; but that they be content with such Victuals as is set before them, and there take their Refections soberly, without excess, with giving due thanks

thanks to God; and that at every such Refection, some Chapter of the New Testament, or Old, by some of the said Brethren, be read and recited to the other, keeping silence, and giving audience to the same.

Also, that the Abbot and President do daily prepare one Table for himself and his Guests thither resorting, and that not over-sumptuous, and full of delicate and strange Dishes, but honestly furnished with common Meats; At which Table, the said Abbot, or some Senior in his stead, shall sit to receive, and gently entertain the Strangers, the Guests.

Also, that none of the Brethren send any part of his Meat, or the leavings thereof to any Person, but that there be assigned an Almoner, which shall gather the Leavings, both of the Covent and Strangers Tables, after that the Servants of the House have had their convenient Refections, and distribute the same to poor People; amongst whom special consideration be had of such, before other, as be Kinsfolk to any of the said Brethren, if they be of like power and debility as other be; and also of those which endeavour themselves, with all their will and labour, to get their living with their hands, and yet cannot fully help themselves for their chargeable Houshold, and multitude of Children: yet let not them be so cherished, that they shall leave labour and fall to idleness; with consideration also specially to be had of them, which by weakness of their Limbs and Body be so impotent that they cannot labour; and by no means let such Alms be given to valiant mighty and idle Beggars and Vagabonds, as commonly use to resort about such places; which rather, as drove-Beasts and Mychers, should be driven away and compelled to labour, than in their idleness and lewdness, against the form of the King's Graces Statute in this behalf made, cherished, and maintained, to the great hindrance and damage of the Common-Weal.

Also, that all other Almses or Destributions due, or accustomed to be made, by reason of the Foundation, Statutes, or customes of this place, be made and given, as largely and as liberally as ever they were at any time heretofore.

Also, that the Abbot, Prior, or President, shall find Wood and Fewel sufficient to make Fire in the Refectory, from *Allhallow*-even to *Good-Friday*.

Also, that all the Brethren of this House, except the Abbot, and such as be sick, or evil at ease, and those that have fulfilled their *Jubilee*, lie together in the Dormitory, every one by himself, in several Beds.

Also, that no Brother, or Monk, of this House, have any Child or Boy laying, or privily accompanying with him, or otherwise haunting unto him, other than to help him to Mass.

Also, that the Brethren of this House, when they be sick, or evil at ease, be seen unto, and be kept in the Infirmary duly, as well for their sustenance of Meat and Drink, as for their good keeping.

Also, that the Abbot, or President, keep and find in some University, one or two of his Brothers, according to the Ability and Possessions of this House; which Brethren, after they be learned in good and holy Letters, when they return home, may instruct and teach their Brethren, and diligently preach the Word of God.

 Also

Alſo, that every day, by the ſpace of one hour, a Leſſon of Holy Scripture be kept in this Covent, to which all, under pain by this ſaid Preſident to be moderated, ſhall reſort; which Preſident ſhall have Authority to diſpenſe with them, that they, with a low and treatable voice, ſay their long hours, which were wont to be ſung.

Alſo, that the Brethren of this Houſe, after Divine Service done, read or hear ſomewhat of Holy Scripture, or occupy themſelf in ſome ſuch like honeſt and laudable exerciſe.

Alſo, that all and every Brethren of this Houſe ſhall obſerve the Rule, Statutes, and laudable Cuſtoms of this Religion, as far as they do agree with Holy Scripture and the Word of God. And that the Abbot, Prior, or Preſident of this Monaſtery, every day ſhall expound to his Brethren, as plainly as may be, in Engliſh, a certain part of the Rule that they have profeſſed, and apply the ſame always to the Doctrine of Chriſt, and not contrariwiſe; and he ſhall teach them, that the ſaid Rule, and other their Principles of Religion (ſo far as they be laudable) be taken out of Holy Scripture; and he ſhall ſhow them the places from whence they were derived; and that their Ceremonies, and other obſervances of Religion, be none other things than as the firſt Letters or Principles, and certain Introductions to true Chriſtianity, or to obſerve an order in the Church. And that true Religion is not contained in Apparel, manner of going, ſhaven Heads, and ſuch other marks; nor in ſilence, faſting, up-riſing in the night, ſinging, and ſuch other kind of Ceremonies, but in cleanneſs of mind, pureneſs of living, Chriſt's Faith not feigned, and brotherly Charity, and true honouring of God in Spirit and Verity: And that thoſe above-ſaid things were inſtituted and begun, that they being firſt exerciſed in theſe, in proceſs of time might aſcend to thoſe as by certain ſteps, that is to ſay, to the chief point and end of Religion: and therefore let them be diligently exhorted, that they do not continually ſtick and ſurceaſe in ſuch Ceremonies and Obſervances, as tho they had perfectly fulfilled the chief and outmoſt of the whole true Religion; but that when they have once paſt ſuch things, they endeavour themſelves to higher things, and convert their minds from ſuch external Matters, to more inward and deeper Conſiderations, as the Law of God and Chriſtian Religion doth teach and ſhow. And that they aſſure not themſelves of any Reward or Commodity any wiſe, by reaſon of ſuch Ceremonies and Obſervances, except they refer all ſuch to Chriſt, and for his ſake obſerve them; and for that they might thereby the more eaſily keep ſuch things as he hath commanded, as well to them as to all Chriſtian People.

Alſo, that the Abbot and Preſident of this Place ſhall make a full and true reckoning and accompt of his Adminiſtration every year to his Brethren, as well of his Receipts as Expences; and that the ſaid Accompt be written in a great Book remaining with the Covent.

Alſo, that the Abbot and Preſident of this Houſe ſhall make no waſte of the Woods pertaining to this Houſe, nor ſhall ſet out unadviſedly any Farmes or Reverſions, without the conſent of the more part of the Convent.

Alſo, that there be aſſigned a Book and a Regiſter that may copy out into that Book all ſuch Writings, word by word, as ſhall paſs under the Convent-Seal of this Houſe.

Alſo,

Alſo, that no Man be ſuffered to profeſs, or to wear the Habit of Religion in this Houſe e're he be 24 years of Age compleat; And that they entice nor allure no Man with ſuaſions and blandyments to take the Religion upon him.

Item, that they ſhall not ſhew no Reliques, or feigned Miracles, for encreaſe of Lucre, but that they exhort Pilgrims and Strangers to give that to the Poor, that they thought to offer to their Images or Reliques.

Alſo, that they ſhall ſuffer no Fairs, or Markets, to be kept or uſed within the limits of this Houſe.

Alſo, that every Brother of this Houſe that is a Prieſt, ſhall every day in his Maſs, pray for the moſt happy and moſt proſperous eſtate of our Sovereign Lord the King, and his moſt noble and lawful Wife Queen *Ann*.

Alſo, that if either the Maſter, or any Brother of this Houſe, do infringe any of the ſaid Injunctions, any of them ſhall denounce the ſame, or procure to be denounced, as ſoon as may be, to the King's Majeſty, or to his Viſitor-General, or his Deputy. And the Abbot, or Maſter, ſhall miniſter ſpending Mony, and other Neceſſaries, for the way to him that ſhall ſo denounce.

Other Spiritual Injunctions may be added by the Viſitor, as the place and nature of the Comperts ſhall require, after his diſcretion,

Reſerving Power to give more Injunctions, and to examine and diſcuſs the Comperts, to puniſh and reform them that be convict of any notable Crime, to ſearch and try the Foundations, Charters, Donations, Appropriations and Muniments of the ſaid Places; and to diſpoſe all ſuch Papiſtical Eſcripts as ſhall be there found, to the Right Honourable Mr. *Thomas Cromwell* General-Viſitor to the King's ſaid Highneſs, as ſhall ſeem moſt expedient to his high wiſdom and diſcretion.

III. *Some Particulars relating to the Diſſolution of Monaſteries.*

Section I.

The Preamble of the Surrender of the Monaſtery of Langden.

OMnibus Chriſti fidelibus, &c. Willielmus Dyer, Abbas Monaſterii Beatæ Mariæ Virginis & S. Thomæ Martyris de Langden, in Com. Kent, & ejuſdem loci Conventus, Ordinis Præmonſtrat. capitulum dictæ domus plene facientes, ejuſdemq; domus (quæ in ſuis fructibus, redditibus, provenien. even. & emolumen. non mediocriter deteriorata eſt, & quaſi in totum diminuta, ingentiq; ære alieno obruta, oppreſſa, & gravata extitit) ſtatum uſq; adeo matura deliberatione, & diligenti tractatu, conſiderantes, ponderantes, & penſantes, quod niſi celeri remedio, regia proviſione huic Monaſterio ſive Prioratui (quippe quod de ejus fundatione & perſonatu exiſtit) brevi ſuccuratur & provideatur, funditus

funditus in Spiritualibus & Temporalibus annihiletur, per præsentes damus & concedimus, &c.

The rest follows in the ordinary form of Law: but the ordinary Preamble in most Surrenders is.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus, &c. Nos—Salutem. Sciatis quod nos, deliberate, certa scientia, & mero motu, nostris, ex quibusdam causis, justis, & rationabilibus, nos, animas & conscientias nostras, specialiter moventibus, ultro & sponte dedisse & concessisse, Domino Regi, &c.

But it seems some few Houses, though they were prevailed with to surrender, yet would not do it with such a Preamble, for there are about twenty Surrenders without any Preamble at all, made to *John London* Clerk, *ad usum Domini Regis.*

Section II.

A List of Religious Houses, which by the King's Letters Patents were of new founded and preserved from the dissolution of Lesser Monasteries.

Anno Regni 28.

ST. Mary *of* Betlesden, Buckinghamshire, Cistercians.	17 *August.*
St. Mary *of* Huntington, Augustians.	
Chertsey, Cambridg-shire, Benedict. Nuns.	
St. Mary *in* Winton, Southamp. shire, Benedict. Nuns.	
Grace-dieu, Leicester-shire, August. Nuns.	
St. Michael Hull, York-shire, Carthusians.	27.
St. Clare *of* Denby, Cambridg-shire, Nuns.	28.
Kymme, Lincoln-shire, Augustin.	2. *September.*
St. Ann Marrick, York-shire, Benedict. Nuns.	9.
St. Mary *of* Bindon, Dorset-shire, Cistercians.	16. *November.*
St. Mary Harpa, Westmor. Præmonstrat.	16.
St. Mary *of* Hynnings, Lincoln-shire, Cisterc. Nuns.	27.
St. Mary de-la-Pray, Northamp. shire, Nuns.	13. *December.*
St. Mary *of* Kelling, York-shire, Nuns.	14.
St. Mary *of* Cockersand, Lancash. Præmonstrat. Nuns.	19.
De-la-val, York-shire, Carthus.	2. *January.*
St. Mary Newstead, Nottinghamsh. August. Nuns.	2.
Wormsley, Herefordsh. August.	27.
St. Mary *of* Alnewick, Northumb. Præmonst.	30.
Bellalanda, Yorksh. Cisterc.	30.
St. John Bapt. Egglestone, Yorksh.	30.
St. Mary de Nith, Glamorgansh. Cisterc.	30.
St. Mary Ulnestock, Leicestersh.	30.
St. Mary *of* Dale, Derbysh. August.	30.
St. Katharine of Polesloo, Devonsh. Benedict. Nuns.	30.
St. Mary Lacock, Wiltsh. August. Nuns.	30.
St. Mary Chester, Nuns.	30.
St. Mary *of* Studley, Oxfordsh. Nuns.	30.

St. Mary

St. Mary of Canon Leigh, Devonsh. Nuns. 12. February.
Cockhill, Worcestersh. August. Nuns. 5. March.
St. Bartholomew, New-Castle, Nuns. 30.
St. Mary of Wallingwells, Yorksh. April.

The Grants for these Houses are all in the 28 year of the King, to be held in perpetuam eleemosynam, *and are enrolled in the 1st, 2d, 4th, and 5th parts of the Patent Rolls for that Year.*

Section III.

A List of all the Surrenders of Abbies, which are yet extant in the Augmentation Office.

Regni 27.

Angden, Præmonst. signed by the Abbot and 10 Monks, Com. Kent. 13. *November.*
Folkeston, Benedict. the Prior, Kent. 15.
Dover, the Prior, 8 Monks, Kent. 16.
Merten, August. the Prior, and 5 Friers, Yorksh. 9. *February.*
Hornby, Premonst. the Prior and two Monks. 23.
Tilty, Cisterc. the Abbot and 5 Monks, Essex. 28.
Bilsington, the Prior and two Monks, Kent, 21.

These are all enrolled Rot. Claus. Part 1st.

Regni 28.

Furnesse, the Abbot and 30 Monks, Lancashire. 9. *April.*
Bermondsey, the Abb. Surrey. 1. *June.*
Bushlisham, Bp of St. Davids, Commendator, Berk. 5. *July.*

The Originals of these two last are lost, but enrolled Rot. Claus. Part 2d. Regn. 28.

Regni 29.

Lanthony, August. the Prior and 21 Monks, Glocestsh. 10. *May.*
Abbington, Bened. the Abbot and 25 Monks, Berksh. 29.
Charterhouse, the Prior. London. 10. *June.*
Chertsey,—the Abbot and 14 Monks, 6. *July.*
Wardon, Cisterc. the Abbot and 14 Monks, Bedfordsh. 4. *December.*
St. Austins Canterb. the Abbey-Seal. 5.
Westacre, August. the Prior and 8 Monks, Norfolk, 14. *January.*
Kingswood, Cisterc. Glocestsh. the Abbot and 13 Monks. 1. *February.*
Coxhall, Cisterc. the Abbot, Essex. 5.
St. Andrew, Bened. Northampt. the Prior and 12 Fr. 2. *March.*
Holmcultrin—the Abbot and 25 Monks, Cumberland, 6.
Butley, August, the Commend. and 8 Monks, Suffolk. 7.
Stradford-Langthorn, Cisterc. the Abbot and 14 Mon. Essex. 8.
Southwick, August. Hampsh. 7. *April.*
Kennelworth, Bened. the Prior and 16 Mon. Warwicksh. 14.
Merton, August. the Abbot and 14 Monks, Surrey, 16.
Pont-Robert, Cisterc. the Abbot and 8 Monks, Sussex, 16.
Belloloco, Cisterc. the Abbot and 19 Monks, Hampsh. 17.

Besides these, the following Surrenders are enrolled.

Lewes,

Lewes, Cluniac, Suſſex, the Prior. 16. *November.*
Caſtle-Acre, Cluniac. Norfolk, the Prior. 22.
Titchfield, Præmonſt. the Commend. Southamptſh. 18. *December.*
Muchelling, Bened. Sommerſetſh. the Abbot. 3. *January.*
Boxley, Ciſterc. Kent, the Abbot. 26.
Walden, Bened. Eſſex the Bpp. Suffr. of Colcheſter, Commend. 22. *March.*

Almoſt all theſe Abbies were above the value of two hundred pound, ſo that they were not within the Statute for ſuppreſſing the leſſer Abbies, but the Abbots were prevailed on by other Motives to ſurrender their Houſes to the King.

Regni 30.

Batle, Bened. Suſſex, the Abbot and 16 Monks. 27. *May.*
Thurgarton, Auguſt. Yorkſh. the Prior and 8 Frat. 14. *June.*
Buſhliſham, Bened. Berkſh. the Abbot and 15 Monks. 19.
Axiholm, Carthuſ. Lincolnſh. the Prior and 8 Monks. 23.
Rupa, Ciſterc. Yorkſh. the Abbot and 17 Monks. 23.
Walbeck, Præmonſt. Nottingſh. the Abbot and 18 Mon. 20.
Huntington Cannons, Aug. the Prior and 8 Cannons. 11. *July.*
Lincoln, Gilbertines the Prior, and 15 Monks. 14.
Feverſham, Cluniac. Kent, the Abbot and 8 Monks. 8.
Bordeſley, Ciſterc. Worceſtſh. the Abbot and 19 Monks. 17.
Cumbermore, Auguſt. Cheſh. the Abbot. 27.
St. Auſtins, Canterb. Bened. the Abbot and 30 Monks. 30.
St. James, Northamptonſh. Bened. the Abbot Elect and 5 Monks. 25. *Auguſt.*
Fordham, Gilbertines, Cambridgſh. the Prior and 3 Frat. 1. *September.*
Chateras, Black-Nuns, Cambridgſh. the Abbeſs & 10 Nuns. 3.
Val-royal, Cheſh. the Abbot and 14 Monks. 7.
Croxton, Premonſt. Leiceſterſh. the Abbot and 22 Mon. 8.
Haughmond, Cannons, Shropſh. the Abbot and 10 Mon. 9.
Tudburry, Bened. Staffordſh. the Prior and 8 Monks. 14.
De-la-pray, no Subſcriptions, only the Common Seal. 16.
Roſtiter, Auguſt. Staffordſh. the Abbot and 8 Monks. 16.
Crockeſden, Ciſterc. Staffordſh. the Abbot & 12 Mon. 17.
Hilton, Ciſterc. Staffordſh. the Abbot and 8 Monks. 18.
Semperingham, * Gilbertines, the Prior and 8 Monks. 18.
Sulby, Præmonſt. Northampſh. the Abbot and 11 Mon. 20.
Haberholm, Gilb. Lincolnſh. the Prior and 6 Cann. 24.
Betleſden, Ciſterc. Bedfordſh. Abbot and 11 Monks. 25.
Cately, Gilb. Lincolnſh. the Prior. 25.
Bolington, Gilb. Lincolnſh. the Prior and 9 Monks. 26.
Thelsford, the Holy Trinity, Warwickſh. Prior & 3 Mon. 26.
Sixhill, Gilb. Lincolnſh. the Commend. and 8 Monks. 27.
Thetford, Auguſt. Norfolk, the Prior. 27.
Alvinghame, Gilb. Lincolnſh. the Prior and 27 Monks. 29.
Ormesby, Gilb. the Prior and 6 Frat. 30.
Linn Carmelites, } The Prior and 10 Fra. }
Linn Dominicans, } The Prior and 11 Fra. Norfolk. } 30.
Linn Auguſt. } The Prior and 14 Fra. }

* *In the Houſes of this Order there were Cloiſters for both Sexes.* St. Gilbert *L. of* Semperingham *founded it; the Bpp. of* Landaff *was at this time Commendator of the whole Order.*

Linn,

Linn, Francisc. the Warden and 9 Frat.	1.	*October.*
Allesbury, Francisc. Buckinghamsh. the Warden & 6 Frat.	1.	
Coventry, Carm. Warwicksh. the Prior and 13 Frat.	1.	
Newstead Gilb. the Prior and 5 Monks.	2.	
Mattersey, Gilb. the Prior and 4 Monks.	3.	
Coventry, Franc. Warden and 10 Frat.	5.	
Marmond, Cannons, Cambridgsh. the Prior and 1 Monk.	5.	
Stamford, August. Lincolnsh. the Prior and 5 Frat.	6	
Stamford, Dominic. the Prior and 9 Frat.	7.	
Grinsbey, Francisc. Lincolnsh. the Prior and 5 Frat.	9.	
Miraval, Cisterc. Warwicksh. the Abbot and 9 Monks.	13.	
Shouldham, Gilb. Norfolk, the Prior, 9 Monks, 7 Nuns.	15.	
Braywood, Black-Nuns, Staffordsh. the Prioress.	16.	
Lilleshull, August. Shropsh. the Abbot and 10 Monks.	16.	
Stafford, August. the Prior and 5 Monks.	16.	
Northampton, Dominic. the Prior and 7 Frat.	16.	
Northallerton, Carmel. Yorksh. the Prior and 9 Frat.	17.	
Warwick, Dominic. the Prior and 6 Frat.	20.	
Northampton, Carmel. the Prior and 8 Frat.	20.	
Weatheral, Dominic. Cumberland, the Prior.	20.	
Chicksand, Gilb. Bedfordsh. the Prior, 6 Monks, 18 Nuns,	22.	
Darley, August. Derbysh. the Abbot and 13 Monks.	22.	
Dale, Premonst. Derbysh. the Abbot and 16 Monks.	24.	
Repton, August. Derbysh. the Subprior and 8 Monks.	25.	
Grace-dieu, August. Nuns, Leicestersh. the Prioress.	27.	
Northampton, Francisc. the Warden and 10 Frat.	28.	
Northampton, August. the Prior and 9 Frat.	28.	
Mallen Nuns, Kent, the Abbess and 10 Nuns.	29.	
Bardeny, Bened. Lincolnsh. the Abbot and 13 Monks.	1.	*November*
Barnwell, August. Can. Cambridgsh. the Prior and 6 Monks.	8.	
Leicester, Francisc. the Warden and 7 Frat.	10.	
Dominic. the Prior.	10.	
August. the Prior.	10.	
London, Dominic. the Bp of Rochest. Commend. & 15 Frat.	10.	
August. the Prior and 12 Frat.	12.	
Francisc. the Warden and 25 Frat.	12.	
Cross-Friers, 6 Frat.	13.	
Doncaster, Carm. Yorksh. the Prior and 6 Friers.	13.	
Werksop, August. Notting.sh. the Prior and 15 Friers.	14.	
Pipewell—Lincolnsh. the Abbot and 13 Monks.	15.	
Wigemore—Herefordsh. the Commend. and 10 Friers.	18.	
York, August. the Prior and 7 Friers.	18.	
Doncaster. Francisc. Guardian, 6 Friers, 3 Novices.	20.	
Monkbreton, Bened. Yorksh. the Prior and 13 Monks.	21.	
St. Helens London, a Nunnery, no hands, only the Seal.	25.	
Pomfret, Dominic. Yorksh. the Prior, 7 Friers, 1 Novice.	26.	
York, Carmel. the Prior, 9 Friers, 3 Novices.	27.	
Francisc. the Guardian, 15 Friers, 5 Novices.	27.	
Dominic. the Prior, 6 Friers, 4 Novices.	27.	
Gilbertines, the Prior, 3 Monks.	28.	
August. the Prior, 9 Friers, 4 Novices.	28.	

Bellalanda, Cisterc. Yorksh. the Abbot and 24 Monks. 30. *November.*
Dunnington, the Order of the Trinity, Berksh. the Minister. 30.
Ryeval, Cisterc. Yorksh. the Abbot and 23 Monks. 3. *December.*
St. Albans, Bened. Herfordsh. the Abbot and 37 Monks. 5.
Ansham, Bened. Oxfordsh. the Prior and 8 Monks. 4.
Kirkham, August. Yorksh. the Prior and 17 Friers. 8.
Notely——Yorksh. the Abbot and 17 Monks. 9.
Ellerton, Gilber. Yorksh. the Prior and 4 Friers. 11.
York, the H. Trin. the Minister and 10 Priests.
Yarom, Dominic. the Prior, and 5 Friers, 6 Novices.
Darby, Dominic. the Prior and 5 Friers. 3. *January.*
Semperingham, Gilber. the Commend. and 3 Monks. 6.
Newcastle, Francis. the Warden, with 8 Friers, & 2 Novices. 9.
Newcastle, August. 9.
Newcastle, Dominic. the Prior and 12 Friers. 10.
Newcastle, Carmel. the Prior, 7 Friars, and 2 Novices. 10.
Walknell, Newcastle, H. Trin. the Prior. 10.
Tinmouth, Bened. Northumberl. Prior, 15 Prebend. 3. Nov. 12.
Warwick, Bened. the Prior and 12 Monks. 15.
Coventry, Carthus. the Prior and 7 Monks. 16.
York, August. the Prior and 17 Fellows. 17.
Brednestock, Wiltsh. the Prior and 13 Monks. 18.
Richmond, Yorksh. Francis. the Prior and 14 Friers. 19.
Lacock, Wiltsh. Nunnery, the Abbess. 21.
Combe, Warwicksh. Cisterc. the *quondam* Abbot, 13 Monks. 21.
Kenisham, Sommer. sh. August. the Abbot and 10 Monks. 23.
Bolton, Yorksh. August. the Prior and 14 Friers. 29.
Cockersand, Lank. sh. Premons. the Abbot and 22 Monks. 29.
Pollsworth, Warwicksh. Nunnery, no Hands, only the Seal. 31.
Nottingham, Carmel. the Prior and 6 Friers. 5. *February.*
Francis. the Prior and 7 Friers. 5.
Athelny, Sommer. sh. Bened. the Abbot and 8 Monks. 8.
Taunton, Sommer. sh. August. the Prior and 12 Monks. 10.
Buckland, Sommer. sh. Nunnery, the Prioress. 10.
Dunkeswell, Sommer. sh. Cisterc. 12.
Polleslow, Devonsh. Nunnery, the Prioress. 14.
Witham, Sommer. sh. Carthus. the Prior and 12 Monks. 15.
Bushsham, Devonsh. 19.
Cannonleigh, Devonsh. Nunnery, no Hands but the Seal. 19.
Hartland, Devonsh. August. the Abbot and 4 Monks. 21.
Torry, Premonst. Devonsh. the Abbot and 15 Monks. 23.
Launceston, Cornwal, August. the Prior and 8 Monks. 24.
Buckfast, Devonsh. Cister. the Abbot with 10 Monks. 25.
Buckland, Devonsh. Cister. the Abbot. 27.
Bodmyn, Cornwal, August. the Prior and 8 Monks. 27.
Edingdon, Wiltsh. August. the Rector and 12 Monks. 28.
Plimptone, Canons, August. Devonsh. the Prior & 18 Monks. 1. *March.*
St. Germans, Can. Aug. Cornwal, the Prior and 7 Monks. 2.
Ford, Cister. Devon. the Abbot and 13 Monks. 8.
Midleton, Bened. Devonsh. Abbot & Bp. Suff. of Shafts. 12 Mo. 11.
Abbots-bury, Bened. Dorsetsh. the Prior and 10 Monks. 12.

Tarent

Tarent, Nunnery, Dorſetſh. the Abbeſs and 18 Nuns.	13.
Bindon, Ciſterc. Dorſetſh. the Abbot and 7 Monks.	14.
Cerne, Bened. Dorſetſh. the Abbot and 16 Monks.	15.
Sherburne, Bened. Dorſetſh. the Abbot and 16 Monks.	18. *March.*
Montecute, Cluniac. Sommer.ſh. the Abbot and 13 Monks.	20.
Tavenſtock, Bened. Sommer.ſh. the Abbot and 20 Monks.	20.
Shaftſbury Nunnery, Dorſetſh. the Abbeſs.	23.
Willton Nunnery, Wiltſh. the Abbeſs.	25.
Hinton, Carthuſ. Sommerſetſh. the Prior and 19 Monks.	31.
Brutton Cannons-Auguſt. Sõmer.ſh. the Abbot & 14 Monks.	1. *April.*
Hide, Bened. Hampſh. Bp. Bangor Commend. and 21 Mon. in *April*, but no date.	

Without date there are four.

Franciſcans Cambr. the Guardian and 23 Frat.
Dominicans Cambr. the Prior and 15 Fr.
Thetford Dominic. the Prior.
Sancta Maria de Pratis, the Abbot and 19 Monks.

Hoſpitals reſigned this Year.

St. Thomas Southwark, the Maſter and one Brother.	25. *July.*
St. John Wells, the Maſter and 3 Brothers.	3. *February.*
Bridgwater, the Maſter and 7 Brothers.	3.
St. John Exon, the Maſter and 2 Brothers.	20.

All the former Reſignations have the Covent Seals put to them, except thoſe of ſome few Houſes of Begging Friars, which perhaps had no Seals; they are alſo enrolled in the 1ſt, 2d, 3d, and 5th Clauſ. Rolls of that Year. There are likewiſe ſome few more enrolled, of which the Originals are loſt, which follow.

Hales-Owen, Premonſt. Sallop. the Abbot.	9. *June.*
Clattercott. Gilbert. the Prior.	22. *Auguſt.*
Bedford, Franciſ. the Warden.	3. *October.*
Stamford, Franciſ. the Warden.	8.
Derleyghs, Ciſterc. Staffordſh. the Abbot.	20.
Pipeldeth, Ciſterc. Northam.ſh. the Abbot.	5. *November.*
De-la-pray Nunnery, Northam.ſh. the Abbeſs.	16. *December.*
Northallerton. Carmel. Yorkſh. the Prior.	20.
Pulton Gilbert. the Prior.	16. *January.*
Newburg, Auguſt. Yorkſh.	22.
Bath Cathedral, Bened.	27.
Bruſyard Nunnery, Suffolk, the Abbeſs.	17. *February.*
Newham, Ciſterc. Devonſh. the Abbot.	8. *March.*

Here follow the Resignations made in the 31 Year of the King's Reign, of which the Originals are yet extant.

Kimme Can. August. Lincolnsh. the Prior and 9 Monks. 6. *July.*
Bevoll Carthus. Notting.sh. the Prior and 7 Monks. 8.
Irthforth Nunnery, Lincolnsh. the Prioress and 17 Nuns. 9.
Nuncotton Nunnery, Yorksh. without Subscriptions. 11.
Hynings Nunnery, Lincolnsh. no Subscriptions. 11.
Fosse Nunnery, Lincolnsh. the Prioress. 11.
Newstead Premonst. Notting.sh. the Prior and 11 Monks. 21.
St. Osith. Can. August. Essex. the Abbot and 16 Monks. 28.
Elistu Nunnery, Bedfordsh. the Abbess. 26. *Augst.*
Hamond, a Comission to the Bp. of Chester to take the Surrender of it. 31.
Swine Nunnery, Yorksh. no Subscriptions. 3. *September.*
Haughmond Can. August. Sallop. the Abbot and 10 Mon. 9.
Nunnkeling Nunnery, Yorksh. no Subscription but the Seal. 10.
Nunniton Nunnery, the Prioress, 27 Crosses for Subscript. 12.
Ulnescroft, Liecestersh. the Prior and 11 Friers. 15.
Marrick Nunnery, Yorksh. the Prioress. 15.
Burnham Nunnery, Bucks, the Abbess and 9 Nuns. 19.
St. Bartholomew Smithfield, the Prior. 25. *October.*
Edmundsbury Bened. Suffolk, the Abbot and 44 Monks. 4. *November.*
A Commission for the surrender of St. Allborrough, Chesh. 7.
Berkin Nunnery, Essex, the Abbess. 14.
Tame, Oxfordsh. Bp. * Reonen. and 16 Monks. 16.
Osney, *ibid. id.* and 12 Monks. 17.
Godstow Nunnery, Oxfordsh. subscribed by a Notary. 17.
Studley Nunnery, Oxfordsh. signed as the former. 19.
Thelsford, Norfolk, the Prior and 13 Monks. 16. *February.*
Westminster Bened. the Abbot and 27 Monks. 16. *January.*
A Commission to the Arch-Bpp. of Canterb. for taking the Surrender of Christ's-Church Canterb.
And another for the surrender of Rochester, both dated } 20. *March.*
Waltham Benedict. Essex, the Abbot and 17 Monks. 23.
St. Mary Watte, Gilber. Bpp. of Landaffe Commend. 8 Friers and 14 Nuns.

* *What this See was I cannot conjecture.*

There is also in the Augmentation-Office, a Book concerning the Resignations and Suppressions of the following Monasteries.

St. Swithins Winchester. 15. *November.*
St. Mary Winchester. 17.
Wherewell, Hampshire. 21.
Christ's Church, Twinham, the Commendator thereof is called *Episcopus Neopolitanus.* 28.
Winchelcomb. 3. *December.*
Ambrose Bury. 4.
St. Austins, near Bristol. 9.

Billerswick,

Billeswick, near Bristol.	9. *December.*
Malmesbury.	15.
Cirencester.	19.
Hales.	24.
St. Peter's, Glocester.	2. *January.*
Teuksbury.	9.

There are also several other Deeds enrolled, which follow.

St. Mary-Overhay, in Southwark.	14. *October.*
St. Michael, near Kingston upon Hull, Carthus.	9. *November.*
Burton upon Trent. Staffordsh.	14.
Hampol Nunnery, Yorksh.	19.
St. Oswald, Yorksh.	20.
Kirkstall, Yorksh.	22.
Pomfret, Yorksh.	23.
Kirkelles, Yorksh.	24.
Ardyngton, Yorksh.	26.
Fountains, Yorksh.	26.
St. Mary York.	29.
St. Leonard York.	1. *December.*
Nunnapleton Nunnery, Yorksh.	5.
St. Gelmans Selbe, Yorksh.	6.
Melsey, Yorksh.	11.
Malton, Yorksh.	11.
Whitby, Yorksh.	14.
Albalanda, Northumb.	18.
Montgrasse Carthus. Yorksh.	18.
Alnewick Premonstrat. Northumb.	22.
Gisburne August. Yorksh.	22.
Newshame, Dunelme.	29.
St. Cuthberts Cathedral of Duresme.	31.
St. Bartholomew Nunnery, in Newcastle.	3. *January.*
Eglelifton, Richmondsh.	5.
St. Mary Carlile, Cumber.	9.
Hoppa Premonst. Westmorland.	14.
St. Werburg. Chester.	20.
St. Mary Chester, a Nunnery.	21.
St. Peters Shrewsbury.	24.
St. Milburg Winlock, Salop.	26.

Section IV.

IT seems there was generally a Confession made with the Surrender: Of these some few are yet extant, though undoubtedly great care was taken to destroy as many as could be in Queen *Mary*'s time. That long and full one made by the Prior of St. *Andrews* in *Northampton*, the Preamble whereof is printed by *Fuller*, and is at large printed by *Weaver*, is yet preserved in the Augmentation-Office. There are some few more also extant, six of these I have seen, one of them follows.

For-

Forasmuch as we *Richard Green*, Abbot of our Monastery of our Blessed Lady St. *Mary* of *Betlesden*, and the Convent of the said Monastery, do profoundly consider, That the whole manner and trade of living, which we and our pretensed Religion have practised, and used many days, does most principally consist in certain dumb Ceremonies, and other certain Constitutions of the Bishops of *Rome*, and other Forinsecal Potentates, as the Abbot of *Cistins*, and therein only noseled, and not taught in the true knowledg of God's Laws, procuring always Exemptions of the Bishops of *Rome* from our Ordinaries and Diocesans: submitting our selves principally to Forinsecal Potentates and Powers, which never came here to reform such disorders of living and abuses, as now have been found to have reigned amongst us. And therefore now assuredly knowing, that the most perfect way of living, is most principally and sufficiently declared unto us by our Master Christ, his Evangelists and Apostles, and that it is most expedient for us to be governed and ordered by our Supream Head, under God, the King's most noble Grace, with our mutual assent and consent, submit our selves, and every one of us, to the most benign Mercy of the King's Majesty; and by these presents do surrender, &c.

The Surrender follows in common form, Signed by the Abbot, Subprior, and 9 Monks, 25. Septemb. Regni 30.

There are others to the same purpose Signed by the Guardian and seven Franciscans at *Alisbury*, the 1st of *October*. By the Franciscans at *Bedford* the 3d of *October*. The Franciscans in *Coventry* the 5th of *October*. And the Franciscans in *Stamford* the 8th of *October*. And the Carmelites in *Stamford* on the same day, which I shall also insert, the former four agreeing to it.

Forasmuch as we the Prior and Friers of this House of *Carmelites* in *Stamford*, commonly called the White Friers in *Stamford*, in the County of *Lincoln*, do profoundly consider that the perfection of Christian living doth not consist in some Ceremonies, wearing of a white Coat, disguising our selves after strange fashions, dockying and becking, wearing Scapulars and Hoods, and other-like Papistical Ceremonies, wherein we have been most principally practised and noseled in times past; but the very true way to please God, and to live a true Christian Man, without all hypocrisy and feigned dissimulation, is sincerely declared to us by our Master Christ, his Evangelists, and Apostles; being minded hereafter to follow the same, conforming our self to the Will and Pleasure of our Supream Head, under God, on Earth, the King's Majesty; and not to follow henceforth, the superstitious Traditions of any Forinsecal Potentate or Power, with mutual assent and consent, do submit our selves unto the Mercy of our said Sovereign Lord, and with the like mutual assent and consent do surrender, &c.

Signed by the Prior and 6 Friers.

Section

Section V.

Of the manner of suppressing the Monasteries after they were Surrendred.

THE Reader will best understand this by the following account of the Suppression of the Monastery of *Teuksbury*, copied from a Book that is in the Augmentation-Office, which begins thus:

THE Certificate of *Robert Southwell* Esquire, *William Petre*, *Edward Kairne*, and *John London*, Doctors of Law; *John Ap-rice*, *John Kingsman*, *Richard Paulet*, and *William Bernars*, Esquires, Commissioners assigned by the King's Majesty, to take the Surrenders of divers Monasteries, by force of his Grace's Commission to them, 6, 5, 4, or 3 of them, in that behalf directed; bearing date at his Highness's Palace of *Westminster*, the 7*th* day of *Novemb.* in the 31 year of the Reign of our most dread Sovereign Lord *Henry* the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, and of *France*, Defender of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and in Earth immediately under Christ Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, of all and singular their Proceedings, as well in and of these Monasteries by his Majesty appointed to be altered, as of others to be dissolved, according to the tenour, purport, and effect of his Graces said Commission; with Instructions to them likewise delivered, as hereafter ensueth.

Com. *Glocester*.

Teuksbury late Monastery	Surrendred to the use of the King's Majesty, and of his Heirs and Successors for ever made; bearing date under the Covent-Seal of the same late Monastery, the 9*th* day of *January*, in the 31 year of the Reign of our most dread victorious Sovereign Lord, King *Henry* the Eighth: and the said day and year clearly dissolved and suppressed.

		l. s. d.
The clear yearly value of all the Possessions belonging to said late Monastery.	As well Spiritual as Temporal, over and besides 136 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d.* in Fees, Annuities, and Custodies, granted to divers Persons by Letters Pattents under the Covent-Seal of the said late Monastery for term of their lives.	1595 : 15 : 06

Pensions

		l.	s.	d.	
Pensions assigned to the late Religious dispatched; that is to say, to	*John Wich*, late Abbot there	266	13	04	551 06 08
	John Beley late Prior there	16	00	00	
	J. Bromesgrove late Prior of *Delehurst*	13	06	08	
	Robert Circester Prior of St. *James*	13	06	08	
	Will. Didcote Prior of *Cranborne*	10	00	00	
	Robert Cheltenhem B. D.	10	00	00	
	Two Monks 8 *l.* a piece	16	00	00	
	One Monk	07	00	00	
	27 Monks 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* each	180	00	00	
		l.	s.	d.	
	And so remains clear	1044	08	10	

Records and Evidences	Belonging to the late Monastery	Remains in the Treasury there under the Custody of *John Whittington* Kt. the Keys whereof being delivered to *Richard Paulet* Receiver.

Houses and Buildings assigned to remain undefaced.	The Lodging called the *Newark*, leading from the Gate to the late Abbots Lodging, with Buttery, Pantry, Cellar, Kitching, Larder, and Pastry thereto adjoining. The late Abbot's Lodging, the Hostery, the great Gate entring into the Court, with the Lodging over the same; the Abbot's Stable, Bakehouse, Brewhouse and Slaughterhouse, the Almry, Barn, Derryhouse, the great Barn next *Aven*, the Maltinghouse, with the Garnees in the same, the Oxhouse in the Barton, the Barton-gate, and the Lodging over the same.	Committed to the custody of *John Whittington* Knight.
Deemed to be superfluous.	The Church, with Chappels, Cloister, Chapter-house, Misericord, the two Dormitories, the Infirmary, with Chappels and Lodgings within the same; the Work-hay, with another House adjoining to the same, the Covent-Kitching, the Library, the old Hosteory, the Chamberers Lodging, the new-Hall, the old Parlor adjoining to the Abbot's Lodging; the Cellarers Lodging, the Poultry-house, the Gardner, the Almary, and all other Houses and Lodgings not above reserved.	Committed as abovesaid.
Leads remaining upon	The Quire, Iles, and Chappels annext the Cloister Chapter-houser, Frater, St. *Michaels* Chappel, Halls, Fermory, and Gate-house, esteemed to	180 Foder.
Bells remaining	In the Steeple there are eight poize by estimation	14600 weight.

Jewels

Jewels reserved to the use of the King's Majesty.	Miters garnished with gilt, rugged Pearls, and counterfeit Stones.	2.		
Plate of Silver reserved to the same use.	Silver gilt 329 ounces, Silver parrel gilt 605 ounces. Silver white 497 ounces.	1431.		
Ornaments reserved to the said use.	One Cope of Silver Tissue, with one Clesible, and one Tunicle of the same; one Cope of Gold Tissue, with one Clesf. and two Tunicles of the same.			
Sum of all the Ornaments, Goods, and Chattels belonging to the said late Monastery.	Sold by the said Commissioners, as in a particular Book of Sales thereof made ready to be shewed, as more at large may appear.	*l.* 194	*s.* 08	*d.* 00
Payments To the late Religious & Servants dispatcht	To 38 late Religious Persons of the said late Monastery of the King's Mat. reward.	80	13	04
	To an 144 late Servants of the said late Monastery, for their Wages and Liveries.	75	10	00
Payments For debts owing by the said late Monastery,	To divers Persons for Victuals and Necessaries of them had to the use of the said Monastery, with 10 *l.* paied to the late Abbot there, for and in full paiment of 124 *l.* 5 *s.* 4 *d.* by him to be paid to certain Creditors of the said late Monastery, by Covenants made with the aforesaid Commissioners.	18	12	00
	And so remains clear ——	19	12	08

Then follows a List of some small Debts owing to and by the said Monastery.

Then follows a List of the Livings in their Gift:

Com. *Glocest.* } Four Parsonages and 10 Vicarages.

Com. *Wigorn.* } Two Parsonages and 2 Vicarages.

Com. *Warwic.* } Two Parsonages.

Com. *Will. Bristol.*	Five Parsonages and 1 Vicarage.	
Com. *Wilts.*	00	2 Vicar.
Com. *Oxon.*	One Parſ. and 2 Vicar.	
Com. *Dorſ.*	Four Parſ. and 2 Vicar.	
Com. *Sommerſ.*	Three Parſ.	
Com. *Devon.*	00	1 Vicar.
Com. *Cornb.*	00	2 Vicar.
Com. *Glamorg.* and *Morgan.*	00	5 Vicar.

In all 21 Parſonages and 27 Vicarages.

IV. *Queen* Ann Boleyn's *laſt letter to King* Henry.

S I R,

Cotton Libr. *Otho* C.10.

YOur Grace's diſpleaſure, and my Impriſonment, are things ſo ſtrange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuſe, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you ſend unto me (willing me to confeſs a Truth, and ſo obtain your favour) by ſuch an one whom you know to be mine ancient profeſſed Enemy. I no ſooner received this Meſſage by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and as if, as you ſay, confeſſing a Truth indeed may procure my ſafety, I ſhall with all willingneſs and duty perform your Command.

But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor Wife will ever be brought to acknowledg a Fault, where not ſo much as a thought thereof preceded. And to ſpeak a Truth, never Prince had Wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in *Ann Boleyn*, with which Name and Place I could willingly have contented my ſelf, if God, and your Grace's pleaſure had been ſo pleaſed. Neither did I at any time ſo far forget my ſelf in my Exaltation, or received Queenſhip, but that I always looked for ſuch an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my preferment being on no ſurer Foundation than your Grace's Fancy, the leaſt alteration, I knew, was fit and ſufficient to draw that Fancy to ſome other Subject. You have choſen me, from a low eſtate, to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my deſert or deſire. If then you found me worthy of ſuch honour, Good your Grace let not any light Fancy, or bad counſel of mine Enemies, withdraw your Princely Favour from me; neither let that Stain, that unworthy ſtain of a diſloyal heart towards your good Grace, ever caſt ſo foul a blot on your moſt dutiful Wife, and the Infant

Infant-Princess your Daughter : Try me, good King, but let me have a lawful Trial, and let not my sworn Enemies sit as my Accusers and Judges ; yea, let me receive an open Trial, for my Truth shall fear no open shame ; then shall you see, either mine innocency cleared, your suspicion and Conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the World stopped, or my Guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open censure ; and mine Offence being so lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty, both before God and Man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful Wife, but to follow your Affection, already setled, on that Party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose Name I could some good while since have pointed unto : your Grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein.

But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my Death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness ; then I desire of God, that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine Enemies, the Instruments thereof ; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his General Judgment-Seat, where both you and my self must shortly appear, and in whose Judgment I doubt not (whatsoever the World may think of me) mine Innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared.

My last and only request shall be, That my self may only bear the burthen of your Grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent Souls of those poor Gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait Imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the Name of *Ann Bolcyn* hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request ; and I will so leave to trouble your Grace any further, with mine earnest Prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your Actions. From my doleful Prison in the *Tower* this *6th* of *May*.

Your most Loyal and ever

Faithful Wife,

Ann Boleyn.

V. *The Judgment of the Convocation concerning General-Councils. Published by the L.* Herbert *from the Original.*

AS concerning General-Councils, like-as we (taught by long experience) do perfectly know that there never was, nor is, any thing devised, invented, or instituted by our Fore-Fathers, more expedient or more necessary for the establishment of our Faith, for the extirpation of Heresies, and the abolishing of Sects and Schisms ; and finally, for the reducing of Christ's People unto one perfect unity and concord in his Religion, than by the having of General-Councils. So

 that

that the same be lawfully had and congregated in *Spiritu Sancto*, and be also conform and agreeable, as well concerning the surety and indifferency of the Places, as all other Points requisite and necessary for the same, unto that wholsome and godly Institution and usage, for the which they were at first devised and used in the Primitive Church. Even so on the other side, taught by like experience, we esteem, repute, and judg, That there is, ne can be any thing in the World more pestilent and pernicious to the Common-weal of Christendom, or whereby the Truth of God's Word hath in times past, or hereafter may be sooner defaced or subverted, or whereof hath and may ensue more contention, more discord and other devilish effects, than when such General Councils have or shall be assembled, not christianly nor charitably, but for and upon private malice and ambition, or other worldly and carnal Respects and Considerations, according to the saying of *Gregory Nazianzenus*, in his Epistle to one *Procopius*, wherein he writeth this Sentence following; *Sic sentio, si verum scribendum est, omnes Conventus Episcoporum fugiendos esse, quia nullius Synodi finem vidi bonum, neque habentem magis solutionem malorum, quam incrementum: Nam cupiditates contentionum, & gloria (sed ne putes me odiosum ista scribentem) vincunt rationem.* That is to say; "I think this, if I should write truly, That all General "Councils be to be eschewed, for I never saw that they produced any "good End or Effect, nor that any Provision or Remedy, but rather "increase of Mischiefs proceeded of them. For the desire of maintenance of Men's Opinions and ambition of Glory (but reckon not that "I write this of malice) hath always in them overcomed reason. Wherefore we think that Christian Princes, especially and above all things, ought and must, with all their wills, power, and diligence, foresee and provide; *Ne Sanctissima hac in parte majorum Instituta, ad improbissimos ambitionis aut malitiæ effectus explendos, diversissimo suo fine & sceleratissimo pervertantur: Neve ad alium prætextum possint valere, & longe diversum effectum orbi producere quam Sanctissima rei facies præ se ferat.* That is to say, "Least the most noble wholsome Institutions of our El- "ders in this behalf be, perverted to a most contrary and most wicked "end and effect; that is to say, to fulfil and satisfy the wicked affecti- "ons of Men's Ambition and Malice; or, lest they might prevail for any "other colour, or bring forth any other effect than their most vertuous "and laudable countenance doth outwardly to the World shew or pre- "tend. And first of all we think that they ought principally to consider who hath the Authority to call together a General Council. Secondly, Whether the Causes alledged be so weighty and so urgent, that necessarily they require a General Council, nor can otherwise be remedied. Thirdly, Who ought to be Judges in the General Council. Fourthly, What order of proceeding is to be observed in the same, and how the Opinions or Judgments of the Fathers are to be consulted or asked. Fifthly, What Doctrines are to be allowed or defended, with diverse other things which in General Councils ought of reason and equity to be observed. And as unto the first Point, We think that neither the Bishop of *Rome*, nor any one Prince, of what estate, degree, or preheminence soever he be, may by his own Authority, call, indite, or summon any General Council without the express consent, assent, and agreement of the residue of Christian Princes, and especially such as

have

have within their own Realms and Seigniories, *Imperium merum*, that is to ſay, of ſuch as have the whole, intire, and ſupream Government and Authority over all their Subjects, without knowledging or recognizing of any other ſupream Power or Authority. And this to be true, we be induced to think, by many and ſundry, as well Examples as great Reaſons and Authority. The which, foraſmuch as it ſhould be over-long and tedious to expreſs here particularly, we have thought good to omit the ſame for this preſent. And in witneſs that this is our plain and determinate Sentence, Opinion, and Judgment, touching the Premiſſes, we the Prelates and Clergy under-written, being congregate together in the Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury*, and repreſenting the whole Clergy of the ſame, here to theſe Preſents ſubſcribed our Names the 20*th* of *July*, in the Year of our Lord, 1536. 28. *Hen.* 8.

Signed by

Thomas Cromwel, Thomas Cantuarienſis, Johannes London, with 13 Biſhops and of Abbots, Priors, Arch-Deacons, Deans, Proctors, Clerks, and other Miniſters 49.

There were then but 17 Biſhops in the Province of Canterbury, *and* Rocheſter *being vacant of the other 16, 14 did ſign this.*

VI. *Inſtructions for the King's Commiſſioners, for a new Survey, and an Inventory to be made of all the Demeſnes, Lands, Goods, and Chattels appertaining to any Houſe of Religion of Monks, Cannons, and Nuns within their Commiſſion, according to the Articles hereafter following. The number of which Houſes in every County limited in their Commiſſion, being annexed to the ſaid Commiſſion. An Original.*

Henry R.

Ex MSS. *Nob.* D. G. *Pierpoint.*

FIrſt; After the Diviſion made, one Auditor, one particular Receiver, one Clerk of the Regiſter of the laſt Viſitation, with three other diſcreet Perſons to be named by the King in every County where any ſuch Houſes be; after their repair to ſuch Houſe, ſhall declare to the Governour, and Religious Perſons of the ſame, the Statute of Diſſolution, the Commiſſion, and the cauſe and purpoſe of their repair for that time.

Item; That after the Declaration made, the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall ſwear the Governors of the Houſes, or ſuch other the Officers of the ſame Houſe, or other, as ye ſhall think can beſt declare the ſtate and plight of the ſame, to make declaration and anſwer to the Articles there under-written.

Item; Of what Order, Rule, or Religion, the ſame Houſe is, and whether it be a Cell or not; and if it be a Cell, then the Commiſſioners to deliver to the Governours of the Houſe a Privy Seal, and alſo to injoin him, in the King's Name, under a great pain, to appear without delay before the Chancellor of the Augmentations of the Revenues of the

the King's Crown and the Council; and in the mean time not to meddle with the ſame Cell, till the King's pleaſure be further known.

Item; What number of Perſons of Religion be in the ſame, and the converſation of their lives,and how many of them be Prieſts,and how many of them will go to other Houſes of that Religion; or how many will take Capacities; and how many Servants or Hinds the ſame Houſe keepeth commonly, and what other Perſons have their living in the ſame Houſe.

Item; To ſurvey the quantity or value of the Lead and Bells of the ſame Houſe, as near as they can, with the ruin, decay, ſtate, and plight of the ſame.

Item; Incontinently to call for the Covent-Seal, with all Writings and Charters, Evidences and Muniments concerning any of the Poſſeſſions to be delivered to them, and put the ſame in ſure keeping, and to take a juſt Inventory betwixt them and the Governour, or other Head-Officer, by Indenture, of the Ornaments, Plate, Jewels, Chattels, ready Mony, Stuff of Houſhold, Coin, as well ſigned as not ſigned, Stock and Store in the Farmor's hands, and the value thereof, as near as they can, which were appertaining to the ſame Houſes the firſt day of *March* laſt paſt; and what debts the Houſe doth owe, and to what Perſon; and what Debts be owing to them, and by whom.

Item; After, to cauſe the Covent, or Common-Seal, the Plate, Jewels, and ready Mony, to be put in ſafe keeping, and the reſidue of the Particulars ſpecified in the Inventory, to be left in the keeping of the Governor, or ſome other Head-Officer, without waſting or conſumption of the ſame, unleſs it be for neceſſary expence of the Houſe.

Item; That they command the Governor, or other receiver of the ſame Houſe, to receive no Rents of their Farms until they know further of the King's pleaſure, except ſuch Rents as muſt needs be had for their neceſſary Food or Suſtenance, or for payment of their Servants Wages.

Item; To ſurvey diſcreetly the Demeſnes of the ſame Houſe; that is to ſay, ſuch as have not been commonly uſed to be letten out, and to certifie the clear yearly value thereof.

Item; To examine the true yearly value of all the Farms of the ſame Houſe, deducting thereof Rents reſerved, Penſions and Portions paied out of the ſame, Synodals,and proxies; Bailiffs, Receivers, Stewards, and Auditors Fees, and the Names of them to whom they be paied and due, and to none other.

Item; What Leaſes hath been made to any Farmer, of the Farms pertaining to the ſame Houſe; and what Rent they reſerved, and to whom, and for how many years, and a Copy of the Indenture if they can get it, or elſe the Counter-pane.

Item; To ſearch and enquire what Woods, Parks, Forreſts, Commons, or other Profit belonging to any of the Poſſeſſions of the ſame Houſes, the Number of the Acres, the Age and Value, as near as they can.

Item; What Grants, Bargains, Sales, Gifts, Alienations, Leaſes of any Lands, Tenements, Woods, or Offices, hath been made by any the ſaid Governors, of any of the ſaid Houſes, within one Year next before the

the *4th* day of *February* laſt paſt, and of what things, or to what value, and to whom, and for what eſtate.

Item; If there be any Houſe of the Religion aforeſaid omitted and not certified in the *Exchequer*, then the ſaid Commiſſioners to ſurvey the ſame, and to make Certificate accordingly.

Item; That they ſtraitly command every Governor of every ſuch Houſe limited in their Commiſſion, to Sow and Till their Grounds as they have done before, till the King's pleaſure be further known.

Item; If there be any Houſe given by the King to any Perſon, in any of the ſaid ſeveral Limits of the ſaid Commiſſion, the Names whereof ſhall be declared to the ſaid Commiſſioners, Then the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall immediately take the Covent from the Governor, and take an Inventory indented of the Lead, Bells, Debts, Goods, Chattels, Plate, Jewels, Ornaments, Stock and Store, to the King's uſe; and to make ſale of the Goods, Chattels, and other Implements, Plate and Jewels only excepted.

Item; The ſaid Commiſſioners in every ſuch Houſe, to ſend ſuch of the Religious Perſons that will remain in the ſame Religion, to ſome other great Houſe of that Religion, by their diſcretion, with a Letter to a Governor for the receipt of them; And the reſidue of them that will go to the World, to ſend them to my Lord of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Chancellor for their Capacities, with the Letter of the ſame Commiſſioners.

Item; The ſaid Commiſſioners to give the ſaid Perſons that will have Capacities, ſome reaſonable Rewards, according to the diſtance of the place, by their diſcretions to be appointed.

Item; The ſaid Commiſſioners to command the Governour to reſort to the Chancellor of the Augmentation for his yearly Stipend and Penſion.

Item; If there be any Houſe diſſolved or given up to the King by their Deed, then the Commiſſioners ſhall order themſelves in every point and purpoſe, as the Houſes given by the King to any other Perſon in form aforeſaid.

Item; Every of the ſaid Commiſſioners having in charge to ſurvey more than one Shire within the Limits of their Commiſſion, immediately after they have peruſed one Shire, parcel of their Charge, in form aforeſaid, ſhall ſend to the Chancellour of the Court for the Augmentation of the Revenues of the King's Crown, a brief Certificate of all theſe Comperts, according to the Inſtructions aforeſaid, what they have done in the Premiſſes, and in every County ſo ſurveighed, then to proceed further to another County; and ſo as they paſs the ſaid Counties to make like Certificate, and ſo forth, till their Limits be ſurveighed, and there to remain till they know further of the King's pleaſure.

Item; If the ſaid Commiſſioners have but one County in charge, then to certifie the ſaid Chancellor in form aforeſaid, and there to remain till they know further of the King's pleaſure.

VII. *In-*

VII. *Injunctions given by the Authority of the King's Highness to the Clergy of this Realm.*

Register, *Craum*, fol. 47.

IN the Name of God, Amen. In the Year of our Lord God one thousand five hundred thirty six, and of the most noble Reign of our Sovereign Lord, *Henry* the Eighth, King of *England* and *France*, the 28 Year, and the day of I *Thomas Cromwel* Knight, Lord *Cromwel*, Keeper of the Privy-Seal of our said Sovereign Lord the King, and Vicegerent unto the same, for and concerning all his Jurisdictions Ecclesiastical within the Realm, visiting by the King's Highness's Supream Authority Ecclesiastical, the People and Clergy of this Deanery of by my trusty Commissary lawfully deputed and constitute for this part, have, to the glory of Almighty God, to the King's Highness's honour, the publick Weal of this his Realm, and encrease of Vertue in the same, appointed and assigned these Injunctions ensuing to be kept and observed, of the Dean, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and Stipendaries, resiant or having cure of Soul, or any other Spiritual Administrations within this Deanery, under the pains hereafter limited and appointed.

The first is; That the Dean, Parsons, Vicars, and other, having cure of Soul any-where within this Deanery, shall faithfully keep and observe, and as far as in them may lie, shall cause to be observed and kept of other, all and singular Laws and Statutes of this Realm, made for the abolishing and extirpation of the Bishop of *Rome*'s pretensed and usurped Power and Jurisdiction within this Realm. And for the establishment and confirmation of the King's Authority and Jurisdiction of the same, as of the Supream Head of the Church of *England*; and shall, to the uttermost of their Wit, Knowledg, and Learning, purely, sincerely, and without any colour or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open, for the space of one quarter of a year next ensuing, once every *Sunday*, and after that at the least-wise twice every quarter, in their Sermons and other Collations, that the Bishop of *Rome*'s usurped Power and Jurisdiction, having no establishment nor ground by the Law of God, was of most just causes taken away and abolished; and therefore they owe unto him no manner of obedience or subjection; and that the King's Power is within his Dominion the highest Power and Potentate, under God, to whom all Men within the same Dominions, by God's Commandment, owe most loyalty and obedience, afore and above all other Powers and Potentates in Earth.

Item; Whereas certain Articles were lately devised and put forth by the King's Highness's Authority, and condescended upon by the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm in Convocation, whereof part are necessary to be holden and believed for our Salvation, and the other part do concern and teach certain laudable Ceremonies, Rites, and Usages of the Church, meet and convenient to be kept and used for a decent and politick order in the same; the said Dean, Parsons, Vicars, and other Curats, shall so open and declare in their said Sermons, and other Collations,

Collations, the ſaid Articles unto them that be under their Cure, that they may plainly know and diſcern which of them be neceſſary to be believed and obſerved for their Salvation, and which be not neceſſary, but only do concern the decent and politick order of the ſaid Church: according to ſuch Commandment and Admonition as hath been given unto them heretofore, by Authority of the King's Highneſs in that behalf.

Moreover, That they ſhall declare unto all ſuch as be under their Cure, the Articles likewiſe deviſed, put forth, and authorized of late, for and concerning the abrogation of certain ſuperfluous Holy-days, according to the effect and purport of the ſame Articles: and perſwade their Pariſhioners to keep and obſerve the ſame inviolable, as things honeſty provided, decreed, and eſtabliſhed, by common conſent, and publick Authority, for the Weal, Commodity, and Profit of all this Realm.

Beſides this, to the intent that all Superſtition and Hypocriſie, crept into divers Mens hearts may vaniſh away, they ſhall not ſet forth or extol any Images, Reliques, or Miracles, for any ſuperſtition or lucre; nor allure the People by any inticements to the pilgrimages of any Saint, otherwiſe than is permitted in the Articles lately put forth by the Authority of the King's Majeſty, and condeſcended upon by the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm in Convocation; as though it were proper or peculiar to that Saint to give this Commodity, or that: ſeeing all Goodneſs, Health, and Grace, ought to be both asked and looked for only of God, as of the very Author of the ſame, and of none other, for without him it cannot be given: But they ſhall exhort, as well their Pariſhioners as other Pilgrims, that they do rather apply themſelves to the keeping of God's Commandments, and fulfilling of his Works of Charity; perſwading them that they ſhall pleaſe God more by the true exerciſing of their bodily Labour, Travail, or Occupation, and providing for their Families, than if they went about to the ſaid Pilgrimages; and that it ſhall profit more their Souls health, if they do beſtow that on the Poor and Needy, which they would have beſtowed upon the ſaid Images or Reliques.

Alſo in the ſame their *Sermons*, and other Collations, the Parſons, Vicars, and other Curats, aforeſaid, ſhall diligently admoniſh the Fathers and Mothers, Maſters and Governors of Youth, being within their Cure, to teach, or cauſe to be taught, their Children and Servants, even from their Infancy, their *Pater Noſter*, the Articles of our Faith, and the Ten Commandments, in their Mother Tongue: And the ſame ſo taught, ſhall cauſe the ſaid Youth oft to repeat and underſtand. And to the intent that this may be the more eaſily done, the ſaid Curats ſhall, in their Sermons, deliberately and plainly recite of the ſaid *Pater Noſter*, the Articles of our Faith, and the Ten Commandments, one Clauſe or Article one day, and an other another day, till thoſe be taught and learnt by little; and ſhall deliver the ſame in writing, or ſhew where printed Books containing the ſame be to be ſold, to them that can read or will deſire the ſame. And thereto that the ſaid Fathers and Mothers,

Masters and Governors, do bestow their Children and Servants, even from their Childhood, either to Learning, or some other honest Exercise, Occupation, or Husbandry: exhorting, counselling, and by all the ways and means they may, as well in their said Sermons and Collations, as otherwise, perswading the said Fathers, Mothers, Masters, and other Governors, being under their Cure and Charge, diligently to provide and foresee that the said Youth be in no manner-wise kept or brought up in idleness, lest at any time afterwards they be driven, for lack of some Mystery or Occupation to live by, to fall to begging, stealing, or some other unthriftiness; forasmuch as we may daily see, through sloth and idleness, divers valiant Men fall, some to begging, and some to theft and murder; which after brought to calamity and misery, impute a great part thereof to their Friends and Governors, which suffered them to be brought up so idely in their Youth; where if they had been well educated and brought up in some good Literature, Occupation, or Mystery, they should, being Rulers of their own Family, have profited, as well themselves as divers other Persons, to the great commodity and ornament of the Common-weal.

Also, that the said Parsons, Vicars, and other Curats, shall diligently provide that the Sacraments and Sacramentals be duly and reverently ministred in their Parishes; and if at any time it hapned them, either in any of the Cases expressed in the Statutes of this Realm, or of special license given by the King's Majesty to be absent from their Benefices, they shall leave their Cure, not to a rude and unlearned Person, but to an honest, well-learned, and expert Curate, that may teach the rude and unlearned of their Cure wholsome Doctrine, and reduce them to the right way that do err; and always let them see, that neither they, nor their Vicars, do seek more their own profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the Souls that they have under their Cure, or the Glory of God.

Also, the said Dean, Parsons, Vicars, Curats, and other Priests, shall in no wise, at any unlawful time, nor for any other cause, than for their honest necessity, haunt or resort to any Taverns or Ale-houses; And after their Dinner and Supper, they shall not give themselves to Drinking or Riot, spending their time idely, by Day or by Night, at Tables or Cards-playing, or any other unlawful Game; but at such times as they shall have such leisure, they shall read or hear somewhat of Holy Scripture, or shall occupy themselves with some other honest Exercise; and that they alway do those things which appertain to good congruence and honesty, with profit of the Common-weal, having always in mind, That they ought to excel all others in purity of life, and should be examples to all other to live well and christianly.

Furthermore; Because the Goods of the Church are called the Goods of the Poor, and at these days nothing is less seen than the Poor to be sustained with the same; all Parsons, Vicars, Pensionaries, Prebendaries, and other Beneficed Men within the Deanery, not being resident upon their Benefices, which may dispend yearly 20 *l.* or above within this Deanry, or elsewhere, shall distribute hereafter yearly amongst their

their poor Parishioners, or other Inhabitants there, in the presence of the Church-Wardens, or some other honest Men of the Parish, the fortieth part of the Fruits and Revenues of the said Benefices: lest they be worthily noted of Ingratitude; which reserving so many parts to themselves, cannot vouchsafe to impart the fortieth portion thereof amongst the poor People of that Parish, that is so fruitful and profitable unto them.

And to the intent that Learned Men may hereafter spring the more for the execution of the Premisses; Every Parson, Vicar, Clerk, or beneficed Man within this Deanry, having yearly to dispend in Benefices, and other promotions of the Church, an 100 *l.* shall give competent exhibition to one Scholar; and for as many hundred pounds more as he may dispend, to so many Scholars more, shall give like exhibition in the University of *Oxford* or *Cambridg*, or some Grammer-School; which after they have profited in good Learning, may be Partners of their Patrons Cure and Charge, as well in preaching as otherwise, in the execution of their Offices; or may, when need shall be, otherwise profit the Common-Wealth with their Counsel and Wisdom.

Also, that all Parsons, Vicars, and Clerks, having Churches, Chappels, or Mansions within this Deanry, shall bestow yearly hereafter upon the same Mansions, or Chancels of their Churches being in decay, the fifth part of their Benefices till they be fully repaired; and the same so repaired, shall always keep and maintain in good state.

All which and singular Injunctions shall be inviolably observed of the said Dean, Parsons, Vicars, Curats, Stipendiaries, and other Clerks and beneficed Men, under the pain of suspension and sequestration of the Fruits of their Benefices, until they have done their duty according to these Injunctions.

VIII. Cromwel's *Letter to* Shaxton, *Bishop of* Sarum, *taken from a Copy writ by his Secretary.*

MY Lord, after hearty Commendations, I cannot but both much *Cott.* Libr.
marvel that you whom I have taken as mine trusty Friend, *Cleop.* E. 4.
should judg me, as I perceive by your Letters you do, and also be glad that ye so frankly utter your Stomach to me. I would thank you for your plain writing and free monitions, saving that you seem fuller of suspition than it becometh a Prelate of your sort to be: and (to say that maketh me more sorry) much worse perswaded of me than I thought any of your Learning and Judgment could have been. I took a Matter out of your hands to mine, if upon considerations mine Office bind me to do so, what cause have ye to complain? if I had done this, either upon affection, or intending prejudice to your estimation, you might have expostulated with me; and yet if ye then had done it after a gentler sort, I should both sooner have amended that I did amiss,

and also have had better cause to judge your writing to me, to be of a friendly heart towards me. If ye be offended with my sharp Letters, how can your testy words (I had almost given them another Name) delight me? I required you to use no extremity in your Office, *durus est hic sermo*, ye call it; and when ye have done, ye begin again, even as tho all being said, all were still behind. If ye have used none extremity, I am, I ensure you, as glad of it as I ought to be: And though ye do not, yet upon a complaint my Office bindeth me to succour him that saith he is over-matched, and is compelled to sustain wrong. I was thus informed, and by Persons to whom I gave more credit than I intend to do hereafter, if they have abused me, as ye would make me believe they have. They thus complaining, could I do less than grant unto them such Remedies as the King's Highness and his Laws give indifferently to all his Subjects? Might I not also somewhat gather, that ye proceeded the sorer against the Reader, *Roger London*, when I had seen how much you desired the preferment of your Servant to that Revenue? My Lord, you had shewed your self of much more patience, I will not say of much more prudence, if ye had contented your self with their lawful Appeal, and my lawful Injunctions; and rather have written somewhat fully to instruct us in this Matter, than thus to desire to conquer me by shrewd words, to vanquish me by sharp threp of Scripture, which as I know to use travel, so I trust to God as great a Clerk as ye be, is done already. Thus out of their place, it becometh me not, neither yet I am wont to vaunt my self of well-doing, I know who worketh all that is well wrought by me; and whereas he is the whole Doer, I intend not to offer him this wrong, to labour, and I to take the thanks; yet as I do not cease to give thanks, that that it hath pleased his Goodness to use me as an Instrument, and to work somewhat by me, so I trust I am as ready to serve him in my Calling, to my little power, as ye are prest to write worse of me than ye ought to think. My Prayer is, That God give me no longer life, than I shall be glad to use mine Office *in ædificationem*, and not *in destructionem*, as ye bear me in hand I do. God, ye say, will judg such using of Authority, meaning flatly, that I do abuse such Power as hath pleased God and the King's Highness to set me in; God, I say, will judg such Judges as ye are, and charge also such thoughts as ye misuse: ye do not so well as I would ye should do, if ye so think of me as your Letters make me think ye do. The Crime that ye charge me withal, is greater than I may or ought to bear, untruer, I trust, than they that would fainest shall be able to prove. It is a strange thing, you say, that I neither would write, nor send you word by mouth, what ye should do with the Popish Monks of *Abington*; and that the Abbot of *Redding* could get streight-way my Letters to inhibit your just doings: That was not my mind which I wrote, I did not intend to lett your just doings, but rather to require you to do justly; neither I was swift in granting my Letters to him, albeit I am much readier to help him that complains of wrong, than prest to further on him that desireth punishment of a Person whom I am not sure hath offended. I made you no answer, a strange thing! my Lord, I thought ye had better known my Business, than for such a Matter to esteem me not your Friend; you might have better judged that I was too much cumbred with other Affairs, that those which

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sued for the Abbot, could better espy their time than you could. Some Man will think it rather utter displeasure conceived before, than that ye have any urgent occasion here to misjudg my mind towards you. As concerning your Manor, you must use your Priviledges as things lent unto you, so long as ye shall occupy them well, that is, according to the mind and pleasure of them that gave you them. I took neither the Monk's Cause, nor any other, into my hands, to be a bearer of any such whom their upright dealings is not able to bear. No, you know I think, that I love such readers of Scripture as little as ye do: would God Men of your sort were as diligent to see that in all their Diocesses good were made, as I am glad to remove things when I know them; if ye had taken even then but half the pains to send up such things against him as ye now send, neither you should have had cause, no nor occasion thus easily to divine of my good or evil-will towards you, nor I have been cumbred with this answer. My Lord, I pray you, while I am your Friend, take me to be so; for if I were not, or if I knew any cause why I ought not, I would not be afraid to show you what had alienated my mind from you; so you should well perceive that my displeasure should last no longer than there were cause. I pass over your *Nemo læditur nisi a seipso*, I pray with you this first part, *Our Lord have pity upon me*; the other part is not in my Prayers, *That God should turn my heart*, for he is my Judg, I may err in my doings for want of knowledg, but I willingly bear no misdoers, I willingly hurt none whom honesty and the King's Laws do not refuse. Undo not you your self, I intend nothing less than to work you any displeasure. If hitherto I have shewed you any pleasure, I am glad of it: I showed it to your Qualities and not to you; if they tarry with you, my good-will cannot depart from you, except your Prayer be heard, that is, *My Heart be turned*. I assure you I am right-glad ye are in the place ye are in, and will do what shall lie in me to aid you in your Office, to maintain your Reputation, to give you credit among your Flock, and elsewhere; as long as I shall see you faithful to your Duty, according to your Calling. I will not become your good Lord, as your desire is, I am and have been your Friend, and take you to be mine; cast out vain suspition, let rash Judgment rule Men of less wit and discretion; wilfulness becometh all Men better than a Bishop, which should always teach us to lack gladly our own Will, because you may not have your own Will. Here is *Christus paup. facit & ditat, cum Dominus dedit & Dominus abstulit*, to what purpose? *Sit nomen Domini benedictum*, can never lack his place, it becometh alwise in season; or else as great a Divine as ye are, I would say, it were not the best Placed here, except you wist better, you had rather lose all than any part of your will. I pray you teach Patience better in your Deeds, or else speak as little of it, as ye can. My Lord, you might have provoked an other in my place, that would have used less patience with you, finding so little in you; but I can take your Writings, and this Heat off your Stomach, even as well as I can, I trust, beware of Flatterers. As for the Abbot of *Redding*, and his Monk, if I find them as ye say they are, I will order them as I shall think good; ye shall do well to do your Duty, if you so do, ye have no cause to mistrust my Friendship; if ye do not, I must tell it you, and that somewhat after the plainest sort, To take a Cause out of your hands into

mine,

mine, I do but mine Office, you meddle further than your Office will bear you, thus roughly to handle me for using of mine. If ye do so no more, I let pass all that is past, and offer you such kindness as ye shall lawfully desire at my hands. Thus fare you well.

IX. The Sentence given out by Pope *Paul* the third, against King *Henry*.

Damnatio & Excommunicatio Henrici 8. *Regis* Angliæ, *ejusque Fautorum & Complicum, cum aliarum pœnarum adjectione.*

Paulus *Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*

Cherubini Bullarium, Tom. 2. pag. 704.

EJus qui immobilis permanens sua providentia ordine mirabili dat cuncta moveri, disponente clementia, vices, licet immeriti gerentes in terris, & in sede justitiæ constituti, juxta prophetæ quoque Hieremiæ vaticinium dicentis: Ecce te constitui super gentes & Regna, ut evellas & destruas, ædifices, plantes, præcipuum super omnes Reges Universæ Terræ cunctosq; populos obtinentes principatum: ac illum qui pius & misericors est, & vindictam ei qui illam prævenit paratam temperat, nec quos impœnitentes videt severa ultione castigat, quin prius comminetur, in assidue autem peccantes & in peccatis perseverantes, cum excessius misericordiæ fines prætereunt, ut saltem metu pœnæ ad cor reverti cogantur, justitiæ vires exercet, imitantes; ex incumbenti nobis Apostolicæ sollicitudinis studio per-urgemur, ut cunctarum personarum nostræ curæ cælitus commissarum salubri statui solertius intendamus, ac erroribus & scandalis, quæ Hostis antiqui versutia imminere conspicimus, propensius obviemus, excessusq; & enormia ac scandalosa crimina congrua severitate coerceamus, & juxta Apostolum inobedientiam ovium promptius ulciscendo, illorum perpetratores debita correctione sic compescamus, quod eos Dei iram provocasse pœniteat, & ex hoc aliis exemplum cautelæ salutaris accedat.

Sane cum superioribus diebus nobis relatum fuisset, quod Henricus Angliæ Rex, licet tempore Pontificatus fel. record. Leonis Papæ X. Prædecessoris nostri diversorum hæreticorum Errores, sæpe ab Apostolica Sede & Sacris Conciliis præteritis temporibus damnatos, & novissime nostra ætate per perditionis alumnum Martinum Lutherum suscitatos & innovatos, zelo Catholicæ Fidei, & erga dictam Sedem devotionis fervore inductus, non minus docte quam pie, per quendam librum per eum desuper compositum, & eidem Leoni Prædecessori ut eum examinaret & approbaret oblatum, confutasset, ob quod ad eodem Leone Prædecessore ultra dicti libri, cum magna ipsius Henrici Regis laude & commendatione, approbationem, titulum Defensoris Fidei reportaverit, a recta Fide & Apostolico tramite devians, ac propriæ salutis, famæ, & honoris

honoris immemor, postquam Charissima in Christo Filia nostra Catharina Angliæ Regina illustri sua progenie conjuge, cum qua publice in facie Ecclesiæ Matrimonium contraxerat, & per plures annos continuaverat: ac ex qua, dicto constante Matrimonio, prolem pluries susceperat; nulla legitima subsistente causa, & contra Ecclesiæ prohibitionem dimissa, cum quadam Anna Bolena, Muliere Anglica, dicta Catharina adhuc vivente, de facto Matrimonium contraxerat, ad deteriora prosiliens, quasdam leges ceu generales Constitutiones edere non erubuit, per quas subditos suos ad quosdam hæreticos & schismaticos Articulos tenendos, inter quos & hoc erat quod Romanus Pontifex Caput Ecclesiæ, & Christi Vicarius non erat, & quod ipse in Anglica Ecclesia supremum Caput existebat, sub gravibus etiam mortis pœnis cogebat. Et his non contentus, Diabolo sacrilegii crimen suadente, quamplures Prælatos, etiam Episcopos, aliasq; personas Ecclesiasticas, etiam Regulares, necnon Sæculares, sibi ut hæretico & schismatico adhærere, ac Articulos prædictos Sanctorum Patrum decretis & Sacrorum Conciliorum Statutis, imo etiam ipsi Evangelicæ veritati contrarios, tanquam tales alios damnatos approbare, & sequi nolentes, & intrepide recusantes, capi & carceribus mancipari. Hisq; similiter non contentus, mala malis accumulando, bonæ memoriæ Jo. H. S. Vitalis Presbyt. Cardinal. Roffen. quem ob fidei constantiam & vitæ Sanctimoniam ad Cardinalatus dignitatem promoveramus, cum dictis hæresibus & erroribus consentire nollet, horenda immanitate & detestanda sævitia, publice miserabili supplicio tradi & decollari mandaverat, & fecerat, Excommunicationis, & Anathematis, aliasq; gravissimas sententias, censuras, & pœnas in literis & constitutionibus recolendæ mem. Bonifacii VIII. Honorii III. Roman. Pontificum prædecessorum nostrorum desuper editis contentas, & alias in tales a jure latas, damnabiliter incurrendo, ac Regno Angliæ, & dominiis quæ tenebat, necnon regalis fastigii celsitudine ac præfati tituli prærogativa, & honore se indignum reddendo.

2. Nos licet ex eo, quod prout non ignorabamus, idem Henricus Rex certis censuris Ecclesiasticis, quibus a piæ memoriæ Clemente Papa VII. etiam prædecessore nostro, postquam humanissimis literis & paternis exhortationibus, multisq; nunciis & mediis, primo & postremo etiam judicialiter, ut præfatam Annam a se dimitteret, & ad prædictæ Catharinæ suæ veræ Conjugis consortium rediret, frustra monitus fuerat, innodatus extiterat, Pharaonis duritiam imitando, per longum tempus in clavium contemptum insorduerat, & insordescebat, quod ad cor rediret, vix sperare posse videremus, ob paternam tamen Charitatem, qua in minoribus constituti donec in obedientia, & reverentia Sedis prædictæ permansit, eum prosecuti fueramus, utq; clarius videre possemus, an clamor qui ad nos delatus fuerat, (quem certe etiam ipsius Henrici Regis respectu falsum esse desideramus) verus esset, statuimus ab ulteriori contra ipsum Henricum Regem processu ad tempus abstinendo, hujus rei veritatem diligentius indagare.

3. Cum autem debitis diligentiis desuper factis clamorem ad nos, ut præfertur, delatum, verum esse, simulque, quod dolenter referimus, dictum Henricum Regem ita in profundum malorum descendisse, ut de ejus resipiscentia nulla penitus videatur spes haberi posse, repererimus: Nos attendentes vetere lege, crimen adulterii notatum lapidari mandatum, ac auctores Schismatis hiatu terræ absorptos, eorumq; sequaces cœlesti

igne

igne consumptos, Elimamq; Magum viis Domini resistentem per Apostolum æterna severitate damnatum fuisse, volentesq; ne in districto examine ipsius Henrici Regis & subditorum suorum, quos secum in perditionem trahere videmus, animarum ratio a nobis exposcatur, quantum nobis ex alto conceditur, providere contra Henricum Regem, ejusque complices, fautores, adhærentes, & sequaces, & in præmissis quomodolibet culpabiles, contra quod ex eo quod excessus, & delicta prædicta adeo manifesta sunt & notoria, ut nulla possint tergiversatione celari, absq; ulteriori mora ad executionem procedere possemus, benignius agendo, decrevimus infrascripto modo procedere.

4. Habita itaq; super his cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus deliberatione matura, & de illorum consilio & assensu, præfatum Henricum Regem, ejusq; complices, fautores, adhærentes, consultores & sequaces, ac quoscunq; alios in præmissis, ceu eorum aliquo quoque modo culpabiles, tam laicos quam Clericos, etiam regulares cujuscunq; dignitatis, status, gradus, ordinis, conditionis, præeminentiæ, & excellentiæ existant, (quorum nomina & cognomina, perinde ac si præsentibus insererentur, pro sufficienter expressis haberi volumus) per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri hortamur, & requirimus in Domino, quatenus Henricus Rex a prædictis erroribus prorsus abstineat, & constitutiones, seu leges prædictas, sicut de facto eas fecit, revocet, casset, & annullet, & coactione subditorum suorum ad eas servandas, necnon carceratione, captura, & punitione illorum, qui ipsis constitutionibus seu legibus adhærere, aut eas servare noluerint, & ab aliis erroribus prædictis penitus, & omnino abstineat, & si quos præmissorum occasione captivos habeas, relaxet.

5. Complices vero, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, & sequaces dicti Henrici Regis in præmissis, & circa ea ipsi Henrico Regi super his de cætero non adsistant, nec adhæreant, vel faveant, nec ei consilium, auxilium, vel favorem, desuper præstent.

6. Alias si Henricus Rex, ac fautores, adhærentes. consultores, & sequaces, hortationibus & requisitionibus hujusmodi non annuerint cum effectu, Henricum Regem, fautores, adhærentes, consultores & sequaces, ac alios culpabiles prædictos, auctoritate Apostolica, ac ex certa nostra scientia, & de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, tenore præsentium, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, ac sub majoris Excommunicationis lata sententia, a qua etiam prætextu cujuscunq; privilegii, vel facultatis, etiam in forma confessionalis, cum quibuscunq; efficacissimis clausulis nobis & Sede prædicta quomodolibet concessis, & etiam iteratis vicibus innovatis, ab alio quam a Romano Pontifice, præterquam in mortis Articulo constituti, ita tamen, quod si aliquem absolvi contingat, qui postmodum convaluerit, nisi post convalescentiam, monitioni & mandatis nostris hujusmodi paruerit cum effectu, in eandem Excommunicationis sententiam reincidat, absolvi non possint.

7. Necnon rebellionis, & quoad Henricum Regem, etiam perditionis Regni, & Dominiorum prædictorum, & tam quoad eum, quam quod alios monitos supradictos supra & infrascriptis pœnis, quas si dictis monitioni & mandatis, ut præfertur, non paruerint, eos, & eorum singulos, ipso facto respective incurrere volumus, per præsentes monemus; eisq; & eorum cuilibet districte præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus Henricus Rex per se, vel procuratorem legitimum & sufficienti mandato suffultum,

ultum, infra nonaginta, complices vero, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, & sequaces, ac alii in præmissis quomodolibet culpabiles supradicti, Sæculares & Ecclesiastici etiam regulares, personaliter infra sexaginta dies compareant coram nobis, ad se super præmissis legitime excusandum & defendendum;alias videndum & audiendum contra eos & eorum singulos, etiam nominatim, quos sic monemus, quatenus expediat, ad omnes & singulos, actus, etiam sententiam definitivam, declaratoriam, condemnatoriam, & privatoriam, ac mandatum executivum procedi. Quod si Henricus Rex, & alii moniti prædicti intra dictos terminos eis ut præfertur, respective præfixos non comparuerint, & prædictam Excommunicationis sententiam per tres dies, post lapsum dictorum terminorum animo, quod absit, sustinuerint indurato, censuras ipsas aggravamus, & successive reaggravamus, Henricumq; ipsum, privationis Regni & Dominiorum prædictorum, & tam eum quam alios monitos prædictos, & eorum singulos, omnes & singulas alias pœnas prædictas incurrisse, ab omnibusq; Christi fidelibus, cum eorum bonis perpetuo diffidatos esse. Et si interim ab humanis decedat, Ecclesiastica debere carere sepultura, auctoritate & potestatis plenitudine prædictis decernimus, & declaramus, eosq; anathematis, maledictionis, & damnationis æternæ mucrone percutimus.

8. Necnon quæ præfatus Henricus Rex quomodolibet, & ex quavis causa tenet, habet, aut possidet, Quamdiu Henricus Rex, & alii moniti prædicti, & eorum singuli in aliis per dictum Henricum Regem non tentis, habitis, aut possessis permanserint, & triduo post eorum inde recessum, & alia quæcunq; ad quæ Henricum Regem, & alios monitos prædictos, post lapsum dictorum terminorum declinare contigerit, Dominia, civitates, terras, castra, villas, oppida, Metrapolitanasque, & alias Cathedrales, cæterasq; inferiores Ecclesias, necnon Monasteria, Prioratus, Domos, Conventus, & loca religiosa, vel pia cujuscunque, etiam S. Benedict. Cluniacen. Cistercien. Præmonstraten. ac Prædicatorum, Minorum, Eremitarum S. Augustini Carmelitarum, & aliorum Ordinum, ac Congregationum, & Militiarum quaruncunq; in ipsis Dominiis, Civitatibus, terris, castris, villis, oppidis, & locis existentia, Ecclesiastico supponimus Interdicto, ita ut illo durante in iis etiam prætextu cujuscunque Apostolici indulti, Ecclesiis, Monasteriis, Prioratibus, Domibus, Conventibus, locis, ordinibus, aut personis, etiam quacunq; dignitate fulgentibus concessi, præterquam in casibus a jure permissis, ac etiam in illis alias quam clausis janius, & Excommunicatis & interdictis exclusis, nequeant Missæ, aut alia divina officia celebrari.

9. Et Henrici Regis, complicumque, fautorum, adhærentium, consultorum, sequacium, & culpabilium prædictorum filii, pænarum, ut hic in hoc casu par est, participes sint, omnes & singulos ejusdem Henrici Regis ex dicta Anna, ac singulorum aliorum prædictorum filios natos, & nascituros, aliosq; descendentes, usq; in eum gradum, ad quem jura pœnas in casibus hujusmodi extendunt (nemine excepto, nullaq; minoris ætatis, aut sexus, vel ignorantiæ, vel alterius cujusvis causæ habita ratione) dignitatibus, & honoribus in quibus quomodolibet constituti existunt, seu quibus gaudent, utuntur, potiuntur, aut muniti sunt, necnon privilegiis, concessionibus, gratiis, indulgentiis, immunitatibus, remissionibus, libertatibus, & indultis, ac dominiis, civitatibus, castris, terris, villis, oppidis, & locis, etiam Commendatis, vel in Gubernium

 concessis,

concessis, & quæ in feudum, emphyteusim, vel alias a Romanis, vel aliis Ecclesiis, Monasteriis, & locis Ecclesiasticis, ac secularibus Principibus, Dominiis, Potentatibus, etiam Regibus & Imperatoribus, aut aliis privatis, vel publicis personis quomodolibet habent, tenent, aut possident, cæterisq; omnibus bonis, mobilibus & immobilibus, juribus & actionibus, eis quomodolibet competentibus privatos, dictaq; bona feudalia, vel emphyteutica, & alia quæcunq; ab aliis quomodolibet obtenta, ad directos dominos, ita ut de illis libere disponere possint, respective devoluta, & eos qui Ecclesiastici fuerint, etiamsi religiosi existant, Ecclesiis etiam Cathedralibus, & Metropolitanis, necnon Monasteriis & Prioratibus, præposituris, præpositatibus, dignitatibus, personatibus, Officiis, Canonicatibus & Præbendis, aliisq; beneficiis Ecclesiasticis per eos quomodolibet obtentis privatos, & ad illa ac alia in posterum obtinenda inhabiles esse, similiter decernimus & declaramus; eosq sic respective privatos ad illa, & alia quæcunq; similia; ac dignitates, honores, administrationes, & officia, jura, ac feuda in posterum obtinenda, auctoritate & scientia, ac plenitudine similibus inhabilitamus.

10. Ipsiusq; Henrici Regis, ac Regni omniumq; aliorum dominiorum, civitatum, terrarum, castrorum, villarum, fortalitiorum, arcium, oppidorum, & locorum suorum, etiam de facto obtentorum Magistratus, judices, Castellanos, Custodes & Officiales quoscunque, necnon Communitates, Universitates, Collegia, Feudatarios, vassallos, subditos, cives, incolas, & habitatores etiam forenses, dicto Regi de facto obedientes, tam sæculares, quam si qui rationis alicujus temporalitatis ipsum Henricum Regem in superiorem recognoscant, etiam Ecclesiasticos, a præfato rege, seu ejus complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, consultoribus, & sequacibus supradictis deputatis, a juramento fidelitatis, jure vassallitico, & omni erga Regem, & alios prædictos subjectione absolvimus, ac penitus liberamus. His nihilominus sub Excommunicationis pœna mandantes, ut ab ejusdem Henrici Regis, suorumq; officialium, judicum, & magistratuum quorumcunq; obedientia pœnitus & omnino recedant, nec illos in superiores recognoscant, neque illorum mandatis obtemperent.

11. Et ut alii eorum exemplo perterriti discant ab hujusmodi excessibus abstinere, eisdem auctoritate, scientia, & plenitudine, volumus, ac decernimus, quod Henricus Rex & complices, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, sequaces, & alii in præmissis culpabiles, postquam alias pœnas prædictas, ut præfertur, respective incurrerint, necnon præfati descendentes, ex tunc infames existant, & ad testimonium non admittantur, testamenta, & codicillos, aut alias dispositiones, etiam inter vivos concedere, & facere non possint, & ad alicujus successionem ex testamento, vel ab intestato, necnon ad jurisdictionem, seu judicandi potestatem, & ad Notoriatus Officium, omnesq; actus legitimos quoscunq; ita ut eorum processus, sive instrumenta atq; alii actus quicunque, nullius sint roboris vel momenti, inhabiles existant, & nulli ipsis, sed ipsi aliis super quocunque debito & negotio, tam civili, quam criminali, de jure respondere teneantur.

12. Et nihilominus omnes, & singulos Christi fideles, sub Excommunicationis, & aliis infrascriptis pœnis, monemus, ut monitos, Excommunicatos, aggravatos, interdictos, privatos, maledictos, & damnatos prædictos evitent, & quantum in eis est, & ab aliis evitari faciant,

faciant, nec cum eisdem, seu præfati Regis Civitatum, Dominiorum, Terrarum, Castrorum, Comitatuum, Villarum, Fortalitiorum, Oppidorum, & locorum prædictorum civibus, incolis, vel habitatoribus aut subditis & vassallis, emendo, vendendo, permutando, aut quamcunque mercaturam, seu negotium exercendo, commercium, seu aliquam conversationem, seu communionem habeant: aut vinum, granum, sal, seu alia victualia, arma, pannos, merces vel quasvis alias mercantias, vel res per mare in eorum navibus, triremibus, aut aliis navigiis, sive per terram cum mulis, vel aliis animalibus, deferre aut conducere, seu deferri aut conduci facere, vel delata per illos recipere, publice vel occulte, aut talia facientibus auxiliũ, consiliũ, favorem publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, quovis quæsito colore, per se, vel alium, seu alios quoquo modo præstare præsumant. Quod si fecerint, ultra Excommunicationis prædictæ, etiam nullitatis contractuum quos inirent, necnon perditionis mercium, victualium, & bonorum omnium delatorum, quæ capientium fiant, pœnas similiter eo ipso incurrant.

13. Cæterum quia convenire non videtur, ut cum his qui Ecclesiam contemnunt, dum præsertim ex eorum pertinacia spes corrigibilitatis non habetur, hi qui divinis obsequiis vacant, conversentur, quod etiam illos tuto facere non posse dubitandum est, omnium & singularum Metropolitanarum & aliarum Cathedralium, cæterarumq; inferiorum Ecclesiarum & Monasteriorum, domorum & locorum Religiosorum, & piorum quorumcumque, etiam S. Augustini, S. Benedicti, Cluniacen. Cistercien. Præmonstraten. ac Prædicatorum, Minorum, Carmelitarum, aliorumque quorumcumq; ordinum, & Militiarum, etiam Hospitalis Hierosolymitani, Prælatis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Præceptoribus, Præpositis, Ministris, Custodibus, Guardianis, Conventibus, Monachis & Canonicis, necnon Parochialium Ecclesiarum Rectoribus, aliisq; quibuscunq; personis Ecclesiasticis in Regno & Dominiis prædictis commorantibus, sub Excommunicationis ac privationis Administrationum & regiminum Monasteriorum, dignitatum, personatuum, administrationum, ac officiorum, Canonicatuumque, & Præbendarum, Parochialium Ecclesiarum, & aliorum beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum quorumcumq; quomodolibet qualificatorum, per eos quomodolibet obtentorum, pœnis mandamus, quatenus infra quinq; dies, post omnes & singulos terminos prædictos elapsos, de ipsis Regno, & Dominiis, dimissis tamen aliquibus Presbyteris in Ecclesiis quarum curam habuerint, pro administrando baptismate parvulis, & in pœnitentia decedentibus, ac aliis Sacramentis Ecclesiasticis, quæ tempore Interdicti ministrari permittuntur, exeant & discedant, neque ad Regnum, & Dominia prædicta revertantur; donec moniti, & Excommunicati, aggravati, reaggravati, privati, maledicti, & damnati prædictis monitionibus, & mandatis nostris hujusmodi obtemperaverint, meruerint a censuris hujusmodi absolutionis beneficium obtinere, seu Interdictum in Regno, & Dominiis prædictis, fuerit sublatum.

14. Præterea si præmissis non obstantibus, Henricus Rex, Complices, Fautores, adhærentes, consultores, & sequaces prædicti in eorum pertinacia perseveraverint, nec conscientiæ stimulus eos ad cor reduxerit, in eorum forte potentia, & armis confidentes, omnes & singulos Duces, Marchiones, Comites, & alios quoscunq; tam Seculares, quam Ecclesiasticos etiam forenses, de facto dicto Henrico Regi obedientes, sub ejusdem Excommunicationis, ac perditionis bonorum suorum (quæ, ut infra dicitur, similiter capientium fiant) pœnis, requirimus & monemus;

quatenus omni mora, & excusatione postposita, eos, & eorum singulos, ac ipsorum milites & stipendiarios, tam equestres quam pedestres, aliosq; quoscumque, qui eis cum armis faverint, de Regno & Dominiis prædictis, etiam vi armorum, si opus fuerit, expellant: ac quod Henricus Rex, & ejus complices, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, & sequaces, mandatis nostris non obtemperantes prædicti, de Civitatibus, Terris, Castris, Villis, Oppidis, Fortalitiis, aut aliis locis Regni & Dominii prædictorum se non intromittant, procurent: eis sub omnibus & singulis pœnis prædictis inhibentes, ne in favorem Henrici, ejusque complicum, fautorum, adhærentium, consultorum, & sequacium aliorumq; monitorum prædictorum, mandatis nostris non obtemperantium, arma cujusslibet generis offensiva, vel defensiva, Machinas quoq; bellicas, seu tormenta (artellarias nuncupata) sumant aut teneant, seu illis utantur, aut armatos aliquos præter consuetam familiam parent, aut ab Henrico Rege, complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, consultoribus, & sequacibus, vel aliis in Regis ipsius favorem paratos, quomodolibet, quavis occasione vel causa, per se vel alium seu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte teneant, vel receptent, aut dicto Henrico Regi, seu illius complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, consultoribus, & sequacibus prædictis, consilium, auxilium, vel quomodolibet ex quavis causa, vel quovis quæsito colore sive ingenio, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expresse, per se vel alium seu alios præmissis, vel aliquo præmissorum præstent, seu præstari faciant quoquomodo.

15. Præterea ad dictum Henricum Regem facilius ad sanitatem, & præfatæ Sedis obedientiam reducendum, omnes & singulos Christianos Principes, quacumq; etiam Imperiali & Regali dignitate fulgentes, per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri (cujus causa agitur) hortamur & in Domino requirimus, eis nihilominus, qui Imperatore & Rege inferiores fuerint, quos propter excellentiam dignitatis a censuris excipimus, sub Excommunicationis pœna mandantes, ne Henrico Regi ejusq; complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, consultoribus, & sequacibus, vel eorum alicui, per se vel alium seu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expresse, etiam sub prætextu confœderationum aut obligationum quocumq; etiam juramento, aut quavis alia firmitate roboratarum, & sæpius geminatarum, a quibus quidem obligationibus & juramentis omnibus, nos eos & eorum singulos eisdem auctoritate & scientia ac plenitudine per præsentes absolvimus, ipsasq; confœderationes & obligationes tam factas, quam in posterum faciendas, quas tamen (in quantum Henricus Rex & complices, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, & sequaces prædicti circa præmissa, vel eorum aliquod se directe vel indirecte juvare possent) sub eadem pœna fieri prohibemus, nullius roboris vel momenti, nullasque, irritas, cassas, inanes, ac pro infectis habendas fore decernimus & declaramus, consilium, auxilium, vel favorem quomodolibet præstent, quinimo si qui illis, aut eorum alicui ad præsens quomodolibet assistant, ab ipsis omnino & cum affectu recedant. Quod si non fecerint postquam præsentes publicatæ & executioni demandatæ fuerint, & dicti termini lapsi fuerint, omnes & singulas civitates, terras, oppida, castra, villas, & alia loca eis subjecta, simili Ecclesiastico Interdicto supponimus, volentes ipsum Interdictum donec ipsi Principes a Consilio, auxilio, & favore Henrico Regi & complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, consultoribus & sequacibus prædictis præstando destiterint, perdurare.

16. Insuper

16. Insuper tam Principes prædictos, quam quoscumq; alios, etiam ad stipendia quorumcumq; Christi fidelium militantes, & alias quascumq; personas, tam per mare, quam per terras, armigeros habentes, similiter hortamur & requirimus, & nihilominus eis in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ mandantes, quatenus contra Henricum Regem, complices, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, & sequaces prædictos, dum in erroribus prædictis, ac adversus Sedem prædictam, rebellione permanserint, armis insurgant, eosq; & eorum singulos persequantur, ac ad unitatem Ecclesiæ, & obedientiam dictæ Sedis redire cogant & compellant; & tam eos quam ipsorum subditos & vassallos, ac civitatum, terrarum, castrorum, oppidorum, villarum, & locorum suorum incolas, & habitatores, aliosque omnes & singulas personas supradictis mandatis nostris, ut præfertur, non obtemperantes, & quæ præfatum Henricum Regem, postquam censuras, & pœnas prædictas incurrerit, in Dominum quomodolibet, etiam de facto recognoverint, vel ei quovis modo obtemperare præsumpserint, aut qui eum, ac complices, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, sequaces, ac alios non obtemperantes prædictos, ex Regno & Dominiis prædictis, ut præfertur, expellere noluerint, ubicunq; eos invenerint, eorumque bona, mobilia & immobilia, mercantias, pecunias, navigia, credita, res, & animalia, etiam extra territorium dicti Henrici Regis ubilibet consistentia, capiant.

17. Nos enim eis bona, mercantias, pecunias, navigia, res, & animalia prædicta sic capta, in proprios eorum usus convertendi, eisdem auctoritate, scientia, & potestatis plenitudine, plenariam licentiam, facultatem & auctoritatem concedimus, illa omnia ad eosdem capientes plenarie pertinere, & spectare, & personas ex Regno & Dominiis prædictis originem trahentes, seu in illis domicilium habentes, aut quomodolibet habitantes, mandatis nostris prædictis non obtemperantes, ubicunq; eos capi contigerit, capientium servos fieri decernentes: præsentesq; literas quoad hoc ad omnes alios cujuscunq; dignitatis, gradus, status, ordinis, vel conditionis fuerint, qui ipsi Henrico Regi, vel ejus complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, consultoribus, & sequacibus, aut aliis monitionibus, & mandatis nostris hujusmodi quoad commercium non obtemperantibus, vel eorum alicui victualia, arma, vel pecunias subministrare, aut cum eis commercium habere, seu auxilium, consilium, vel favorem, per se vel alium, seu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, quovis modo contra tenorem præsentium præstare præsumpserint, extendentes.

18. Et ut præmissa facilius iis quos concernunt innotescant, universis & singulis Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, & Patriarchalium Metropolitan. & aliarum Cathedralium, & Collegiatarum Ecclesiarum Prælatis, Capitulis, aliisq; personis Ecclesiasticis, Sæcularibus ac quorumvis ordinum Regularibus, necnon omnibus & singulis, etiam mendicantium ordinum Professoribus, exemptis & non exemptis, ubilibet constitutis, per easdem præsentes sub Excommunicationis & privationis Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, ac aliorum Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, graduum quoq; & officiorum, necnon privilegiorum, & indultorum quorumcumq; etiam a Sede prædicta quomodolibet emanatorum pœnis ipso facto incurrendis, præcipimus & mandamus, quatenus ipsi ac eorum singuli, si, & postquam vigore præsentium desuper requisiti fuerint, infra tres dies immediate sequentes, præfatum Henricum Regem, omnesq;

alios

alios & singulos, qui supradictas censuras & pœnas incurrerint, in eorum Ecclesiis, Dominicis & aliis festivis diebus, dum major inibi populi multitudo ad divina convenerit, cum Crucis vexillo, pulsatis campanis, & accensis, ac demum extinctis, & in terram projectis, & conculcatis candelis, & aliis in similibus servari solitis cæremoniis servatis, Excommunicatos publice nuncient, & ab aliis nuntiari, ac ab omnibus arctius evitari faciant & mandent, necnon sub supradictis censuris & pœnis, præsentes literas, vel earum transumptum, sub forma infrascripta confectum, infra terminum trium dierum, postquam, ut præfertur, requisiti fuerint, in Ecclesiis, Monasteriis, Conventibus, & aliis eorum locis, publicari & affigi faciant.

19. Volentes, omnes & singulos cujuscumq; status, gradus, conditionis, præeminentiæ, dignitatis, aut excellentiæ fuerint, qui quo minus præsentes literæ, vel earum transumpta, copiæ, seu exemplaria, in suis civitatibus, terris, castris, oppidis, villis, & locis legi & affigi, ac publicari possint, per se, vel alium, seu alios, publice vel occulte, directe, vel indirecte impediverint, easdem censuras & pœnas, ipso facto incurrere. Et cum fraus & dolus nemini debeant patrocinari, ne quisquam ex his, qui alicui regimini & administrationi deputati sunt, infra tempus sui regiminis seu administrationis prædictas sententias, censuras & pœnas sustineat, quasi post dictum tempus sententiis, censuris & pœnis prædictis amplius ligatus non existat, quemcunq; qui dum in regimine, & administratione existens, monitioni & mandato nostris, quoad præmissa vel aliquid eorum obtemperare noluerit, etiam deposito regimine, & administratione hujusmodi, nisi paruerit, eisdem censuris & pœnis subjacere decernimus.

20. Et ne Henricus Rex ejusq; complices, & fautores, adhærentes, consultores, & sequaces, aliiq; quos præmissa concernunt, ignorantiam earundem præsentium literarum, & in eis contentorum prætendere valeant, literas ipsas (in quibus omnes & singulos, tam juris, quam facti, etiam solemnitatum, & processuum, citationumq; ommissarum defectus, etiam si tales sint, de quibus specialis, & expressa mentio facienda esset, propter notorietatem facti, auctoritate, scientia, & potestatis plenitudine similibus, supplemus) in Basilicæ Principis Apostolorum, & Cancellariæ Apostolicæ de urbe, & in partibus in Collegiatæ B. Mariæ Burgen. Tornacen. & Parochialis de Dunikerke oppidorum Morinensis diæcesis, Ecclesiarum valvis affigi, & publicari mandamus: Decernentes quod earundem literarum publicatio sic facta, Henricum Regem, ejusq; complices, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, & sequaces, omnesq; alios, & singulos quos literæ ipsæ quomodolibet concernunt, perinde eos arctent, ac si literæ ipsæ eis personaliter lectæ, & intimatæ fuissent, cum non sit verisimile, quod ea, quæ tam patenter fiunt, debeant apud eos incognita remanere.

21. Cæterum quia difficile foret præsentes literas ad singula quæque loca, ad quæ necessarium esset deferri, singula volumus & dicta auctoritate decernimus, quod earum transumptis manu publici Notarii confectis, vel in alma urbe impressis, ac sigillo alicujus personæ in dignitate Ecclesiastica constitutæ munitis, ubiq; eadem fides adhibeatur, quæ originalibus adhiberetur, si essent exhibitæ vel ostensæ.

22. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ monitionis, aggravationis, reaggravationis, declarationis, percussionis, suppositionis, inhabilitationis, absolutionis, liberationis, requisitionis, inhibitionis,

sionis, hortationis, exceptionis, prohibitionis, concessionis, extensionis, suppletionis, mandatorum, voluntatis, & decretorum, infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Marcum. Anno Incarnationis Domini 1535. 3 Kal. Sept. Pont. nostri Anno 1.

Sequitur Suspensio Executionis dictæ Bullæ, et tandem ejus revocatio, & Executio.

Paulus *Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*

CUm Redemptor noster ideo illum qui ipsum negaverat, Petrum, viz. Universæ Ecclesiæ præficere voluerit, ut in sua culpa disceret aliis esse miserendum, non immerito Romanus Pontifex qui ipsius Petri in dignitate Successor existit, debet etiam in Officio exercendæ misericordiæ ipsius esse Successor. Sed cum in eum dirigitur misericordia, qui ex hoc sit insolentior, & obstinatior, aliosq; secum trahit in perditionem, debet ipse Romanus Pontifex, postposita in eum misericordia, omnem severitatem adhibere, quo membrum illud putridum ita a corpore separetur, ut reliqua membra absq; metu contagionis salva remaneant, præsertim cum pluribus curis adhibitis, & multo tempore in hoc consumpto morbum quotidie magis invalescere, ipsa experientia comprobat.

1. Alias cum nobis relatum fuisset, quod Henricus Angliæ Rex, præter ea quæ Matrimonium de facto, & contra prohibitionem Ecclesiæ temerarie contractum concernebant, quasdam leges, seu generales constitutiones subditos suos ad hæresim, & schisma trahentes ediderat, & bonæ memoriæ Joann. tit. Sancti Vitalis Presbyterum Cardinalem Roffen. publice damnari & capite puniri, ac alios quamplures Prælatos, necnon alias personas Ecclesiast. Hæresi & Schismati hujusmodi adhærere nolentes, carceribus mancipari fecerat; Nos, licet illi qui talia nobis retulerant tales essent, ut nullo modo de veritate suorum dictorum ambigendum esset, cupientes tamen respectu ipsius Henrici Regis, quem antequam in has insanias incideret, peculiari quadam charitate prosequebamur, prædicta falsa reperiri, de eis informationem ulteriorem habere procuravimus, & invenientes clamorem ad nos delatum verum esse, ne nostro Officio deessemus, contra eum procedere decrevimus, juxta formam quarundam literarum nostrarum, quarum tenor sequitur. Et est talis, &c.

Omittitur insertio, quia bulla ipsa est quæ præcedit.

2. Dum autem postea ad dictarum literarum executionem deveniendum esse statuissemus, cum nobis per nonnullos principes, & alias insignes personas persuaderetur, ut ab executione hujusmodi per aliquantum

tum temporis superſederemus, ſpe nobis data, quod interim ipſe Henricus Rex ad cor rediret & reſipiſceret; nos qui, ut hominum natura fert, facile credebamus quod deſiderabamus, dictam executionem ſuſpendimus, ſperantes (ut ſpes nobis data erat) ex ipſa ſuſpenſione, correctionem & reſipiſcentiam, non autem pertinaciam & obſtinationem, ac majorem delirationem, ut rei effectus edocuit, proventuram.

3. Cum itaq; reſipiſcentia & Correctio hujuſmodi quam tribus fere annis expectavimus, non ſolum poſtea ſequuta non ſit, ſed ipſe Henricus Rex quotidie magis ſe in ſua feritate, ac temeritate confirmans, in nova etiam ſcelera proruperit, quippe cum non contentus vivorum Prælatorum & ſacerdotum crudeliſſima trucidatione, etiam in mortuos, & eos quidem quos in ſanctorum numerum relatos Univerſalis Eccleſia pluribus ſœculis venerata eſt, feritatem exercere non expavit, Divi enim Thomæ Cantuarien. Archiepiſcopi, cujus oſſa, quæ in dicto Regno Angliæ potiſſimum, ob innumera ab omnipotenti Deo illic perpetrata miracula, ſumma cum veneratione in arca aurea in Civitate Cantuarien. ſervabantur, poſtquam ipſum Divum Thomam, ad majorem Religionis contemptum, in judicium vocari, & tanquam contumacem damnari ac proditorem declarari fecerat, exhumari, & comburi, ac cineres in ventum ſpargi juſſit, omnem plane cunctarum gentium crudelitatem ſuperans, cum ne in bello quidem hoſtes victores ſævire in mortuorum cadavera ſoliti ſunt; adhæc omnia ex diverſorum Regum etiam Anglorum, & aliorum Principum liberalitate donaria, ipſi arcæ appenſa, quæ multa, & maximi pretii erant, ſibi uſurpavit, nec putans ex hoc ſatis injuriæ religionis intuliſſe, Monaſterium Divo illi Auguſtino, a quo Chriſtianam fidem Angli acceperunt, in dicta civitate dicatum, omnibus Theſauris, qui etiam multi & magni erant, ſpoliavit, & ſicut ſe in belluam tranſmutavit, ita etiam belluas quaſi ſocias ſuas honorare voluit, feras videlicet in dicto Monaſterio, expulſis Monachis, intromittendo, genus quidem ſceleris non modo Chriſti fidelibus, ſed etiam Turcis inauditum & abominandum.

4. Cum itaq; morbus iſte a nullo quantumvis peritiſſimo medico alia cura ſanari poſſit, quam putridi membri abſciſſione, nec valeret cura hujuſmodi, abſq; eo, quod nos apud Deum cauſam hanc noſtram efficiamus, ulterius retardari, ad dictarum literarum (quas ad hoc ut Henricus Rex, ejuſq; Complices, Fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, & ſequaces, etiam ſuper exceſſibus per eum noviſſime, ut præfertur, perpetratos, intra terminum eis, quoad alia, per alias noſtras literas prædictas reſpective præfixas, ſe excuſare, alias pœnis ipſis literis contentas incurrant, extendimus & ampliamus) publicationem, & deinde, Deo duce, ad executionem procedere omnino ſtatuimus. Et quia a fide dignis accepimus, quod ſi ipſarum & præſentium literarum publicatio Diep Rothomagen. vel Boloniæ Ambianen. Diœc. Oppidis in Franciæ, aut Civitate Sancti Andreæ, ſeu in Oppido Calliſtren. Sancti Andreæ Diœc. in Scotiæ Regnis, vel in Thuamien. & Antiferten. Civitatibus, vel Diœc. Dominii Hiberniæ fiat, non ſolum tam facile, ut ſi in locis in dictis literis expreſſis fieret, ſed facilius ipſarum literarum tenor, ad Henrici, & aliorum quos concernunt, præſertim Anglorum, notitiam deveniret; Nos volentes in hoc opportune providere, motu, ſcientia, & poteſtatis plenitudine prædictis decernimus, quod publicatio literarum ſuperius inſertarum, quarum inſertioni ſuperius factæ, ac ipſis Originalibus quoad validitatem

validitatem publicationis, seu executionis præsentium, fidem adhiberi Volumus, in duobus ex locis præsentibus literis expressis, alias juxta supra insertarum, & præsentium literarum tenore facta, etiam si in locis extra Romanam Curiam in dictis præinsertis literis specificatis, hujusmodi publicatio non fiat, perinde Henricum Regem, & alios quos concernunt præsertim Anglos afficiat, ac si Henrico Regi & aliis prædictis præsertim Anglis personaliter intimatæ fuissent.

5. Quodq; præsentium transumptis, juxta modum in præinsertis literis expressum factis, tam in judicio quam extra, eadem fides adhibeatur, quæ Originalibus adhiberetur, si forent exhibitæ, vel ostensæ.

6. Non obstantibus Constitutionibus & Ordinationibus Apostolicis, necnon omnibus illis, quæ in dictis literis voluimus non obstare, cæterisq; contrariis quibuscunque.

7. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostri Decreti, & voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum.

Dat. Romæ apud S. Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ 1538. decimo sexto Kal. Januarii, Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

X. *The Judgment of some Bishops concerning the King's Supremacy. An Original.*

Ex MSS. D. *Stillingfleet.*

THe words of St. *John* in his 20*th* Chap. *Sicut misit me Pater, & ego mitto vos, &c.* hath no respect to a King's or a Princes Power, but only to shew how that the Ministers of the Word of God, chosen and sent for that intent, are the Messengers of Christ, to teach the Truth of his Gospel, and to loose and bind sin, *&c.* as Christ was the Messenger of his Father. The words also of St. *Paul*, in the 20*th* Chap. of the *Acts*; *Attendite vobis & universo gregi, in qua vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit Episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei*, were spoken to the Bishops and Priests, to be diligent Pastors of the People, both to teach them diligently, and also to be circumspect that false Preachers should not seduce the People, as followeth immediately after in the same place. Other places of Scripture declare the highness and excellency of Christian Princes Authority and Power; the which of a truth is most high, for he hath power and charge generally over all, as well Bishops, as Priests, as other. The Bishops and Priests have charge of Souls within their own Cures, power to minister Sacraments, and to teach the Word of God; to the which Word of God Christian Princes knowledg themselves subject; and in case the Bishops be negligent, it is the Christian Princes Office to see them do their duty.

T. Cantuarien.
Joannes London.
Cuthbertus Dunelmen.
Jo. Batwellen.
Thomas Elien.
Nicolaus Sarisburien.
Hugo Wygorn.
J. Roffen.

XI. *Injunctions to the Clergy made by* Cromwell.

Regist. *Cranmer.*

IN the Name of God, Amen. By the Authority and Commission of the excellent Prince *Henry*, by the Grace of God, King of *England* and of *France*, Defensor of the Faith; Lord of *Ireland*; and in Earth Supream Head, under Christ, of the Church of *England*. I *Thomas* Lord *Cromwel*, Privy Seal, and Vice-gerent to the King's said Highness, for all his Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical within this Realm, do, for the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, encrease of Vertue, and discharge of the King's Majesty, give and exhibit unto you these Injunctions following, to be kept, observed, and fulfilled, upon the pains hereafter declared.

First; That ye shall truly observe and keep all and singular the King's Highness Injunctions, given unto you heretofore in my Name, by his Graces Authority; not only upon the pains therein expressed, but also in your default after this second monition continued, upon further punishment to be straitly extended towards you by the King's Highness Arbitriment, or his Vice-gerent aforesaid.

Item; That ye shall provide on this side the Feast of next coming, one Book of the whole Bible of the largest Volume in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said Church that ye have Cure of, whereas your Parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same and read it; the charge of which Book shall be ratably born between you the Parson and the Parishioners aforesaid, that is to say, the one half by you, and the other half by them.

Item; That you shall discourage no Man privily or apertly from the reading or hearing of the said Bible, but shall expresly provoke, stir, and exhort every Person to read the same, as that which is the very lively Word of God, that every Christian Man is bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if he look to be saved; admonishing them nevertheless to avoid all contention, altercation therein, and to use an honest sobriety in the inquisition of the true sense of the same, and refer the explication of the obscure places to Men of higher judgment in Scripture.

Item; That ye shall every *Sunday* and Holy-day through the Year, openly and plainly recite to your Parishioners, twice or thrice together, or oftner, if need require, one particle or sentence of the *Pater Noster*, or *Creed*, in English, to the intent they may learn the same by Heart: And so from day to day, to give them one little lesson or sentence of the same, till they have learned the whole *Pater Noster* and *Creed*, in English, by rote. And as they be taught every sentence of the same by rote, ye shall expound and declare the understanding of the same unto them, exhorting all Parents and Housholders to teach their Children and Servants the same, as they are bound in Conscience to do. And that done, ye shall declare unto them the *Ten Commandments*, one by one

one, every Sunday and Holy-day, till they be likewise perfect in the same.

Item; That ye shall in Confessions every *Lent* examine every Person that cometh to Confession unto you, whether they can recite the Articles of our Faith, and the *Pater Noster* in English, and hear them say the same particularly; wherein if they be not perfect, ye shall declare to the same, That every Christian Person ought to know the same before they should receive the blessed Sacrament of the Altar; and monish them to learn the same more perfectly by the next year following, or else, like-as they ought not to presume to come to God's Board without perfect knowledg of the same, and if they do, it is to the great peril of their Souls; so ye shall declare unto them, that ye look for other Injunctions from the King's Highness by that time, to stay and repel all such from God's Board as shall be found ignorant in the Premisses; whereof ye do thus admonish them, to the intent they should both eschew the peril of their Souls, and also the worldly rebuke that they might incur after by the same.

Item; That ye shall make, or cause to be made, in the said Church, and every other Cure ye have, one Sermon every quarter of the year at least, wherein ye shall purely and sincerely declare the very Gospel of Christ, and in the same exhort your Hearers to the Works of Charity, Mercy, and Faith, especially prescribed and commanded in Scripture, and not to repose their trust or affiance in any other Works devised by Mens fantasies beside Scripture; as in wandring to Pilgrimages, offering of Mony, Candels, or Tapers, to Images, or Reliques; or kissing or licking the same over, saying over a number of Beads, not understanded or minded on, or in such-like superstition; for the doing whereof, ye not only have no promise of reward in Scripture, but contrariwise great threats and maledictions of God, as things tending to Idolatry and Superstition, which of all other Offences God Almighty doth most detest and abhor, for that the same diminisheth most his honour and glory.

Item; That such feigned Images as ye know in any of your Cures to be so abused with Pilgrimages or Offerings of any thing made thereunto, ye shall, for avoiding of that most detestable offence of Idolatry, forthwith take down, and without delay; and shall suffer from henceforth no Candles, Tapers, or Images of Wax to be set afore any Image or Picture, but only the Light that commonly goeth a-cross the Church by the Rood-loft, the Light before the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Light about the Sepulchre; which for the adorning of the Church, and Divine Service, ye shall suffer to remain: still admonishing your Parishioners, that Images serve for none other purpose, but as to be Books of unlearned Men, that ken no Letters, whereby they might be otherwise admonished of the lives and conversation of them that the said Images do represent; which Images if they abuse, for any other intent than for such remembrances, they commit Idolatry in the same, to the great danger of their Souls: And therefore the King's Highness graciously tendring the weal of his Subjects Souls, hath in part already, and more will

hereafter, travail for the abolishing of such Images as might be an occasion of so great an offence to God, and so great a danger to the Souls of his loving Subjects.

Item; That all in such Benefices, or Cures, as ye have, whereupon ye be not your self Resident, ye shall appoint such Curats in your stead, as can both by their hability, and also promptly, execute these Injunctions, and do their duty, otherwise that ye are bounden in every behalf accordingly, and may profit them, no less with good Examples of living, than with declaration of the Word of God, or else their lack and defaults shall be imputed unto you, who shall straitly answer for the same if they do otherwise.

Item; That ye shall admit no Man to preach within any your Benefices or Cures, but such as shall appear unto you to be sufficiently licensed thereunto by the King's Highness, or his Grace's Authority, by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, or the Bishop of this Diocess; and such as shall be so licensed, ye shall gladly receive to declare the Word of God, without any resistance or contradiction.

Item; If ye have heretofore declared to your Parishioners any thing to the extolling or setting forth of Pilgrimages, feigned Reliques, or Images, or any such superstitions, that you shall now openly afore the same recant and reprove the same, shewing them (as the truth is) that ye did the same upon no ground of Scripture, but as one led and seduced by a common Error and Abuse crept into the Church, through the sufferance and avarice of such as felt profit by the same.

Item; If ye do or shall know any Man within your Parish, or elsewhere, that is a Letter of the Word of God to be read in English, or sincerely preached, or of the execution of these Injunctions; or a favourer of the Bishop of *Rome*'s pretensed Power, now by the Laws of this Realm justly rejected and extirped; ye shall detect and present the same to the King's Highness, or his honourable Council, or to his Vicegerent aforesaid, or the Justice of Peace next adjoining.

Item; That you, and every Parson, Vicar, or Curat within this Diocess, shall for every Church keep one Book or Register, wherein he shall write the day and year of every Wedding, Christening, and Burying, made within your Parish for your time, and so every Man succeeding you likewise; and also there insert every Person's Name that shall be so wedded, christened, and buried; and for the safe keeping of the same Book, the Parish shall be bound to provide, of their common charges, one sure Coffer with two Locks and Keys, whereof the one to remain with you, and the other with the Wardens of every such Parish wherein the said Book shall be laid up; which Book ye shall every *Sunday* take forth, and in the presence of the said Wardens, or one of them, write and record in the same, all the Weddings, Christenings, and Buryings, made the whole week afore; and that done, to lay up the Book in the said Coffer, as afore: And for every time that the same shall be omitted, the Party that shall be in the fault thereof, shall forfeit to the said Church

Church 3 *s.* 4 *d.* to be employed on the reparation of the said Church.

Item; That ye shall every quarter of a year read these and the other former Injunctions, given unto you by the Authority of the King's Highness, openly and deliberately before all your Parishioners, to the intent that both you may be the better admonished of your duty, and your said Parishioners the more incited to ensue the same for their part.

Item; Forasmuch as by a Law established, every Man is bound to pay the Tithes; no Man shall, by colour of duty, omitted by their Curats, detain their Tithes, and so redouble one wrong with another, or be his own Judg, but shall truly pay the same, as hath been accustomed, to their Parsons and Curats, without any restraint or diminution; and such lack or default as they can justly find in their Parsons and Curats to call for reformation thereof at their Ordinaries, and other Superiors hands, who, upon complaint, and due proof thereof, shall reform the same accordingly.

Item; That no Person shall from henceforth alter or change the order and manner of any Fasting-day that is commanded and indicted by the Church, nor of any Prayer, or of Divine Service, otherwise than is specified in the said Injunctions, until such time as the same shall be so ordered and transported by the Kings Highness's Authority; The Eves of such Saints, whose Holy-days be abrogated be only excepted, which shall be declared henceforth to be no Fasting-days; excepted also the commemoration of *Thomas Becket*, some-time Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, which shall be clean omitted, and in the stead thereof, the Ferial Service used.

Item; That the knolling of the Avies after Service, and certain other times, which hath been brought in and begun by the pretence of the Bishop of *Rome*'s pardon, henceforth be left and omitted, lest the People do hereafter trust to have pardon for the saying of their Avies, between the said knolling, as they have done in times past.

Item; Where in times past Men have used in divers places in their Processions, to sing *Ora pro nobis* to so many Saints, that they had no time to sing the good Suffrages following, as *Parce nobis Domine*, and *Libera nos Domine*, it must be taught and preached, that better it were to omit *Ora pro nobis*, and to sing the other Suffrages.

All which and singular Injunctions I minister unto you and your Successors, by the King's Highness Authority to me committed in this part, which I charge and command you by the same Authority to observe and keep upon pain of Deprivation, Sequestration of your Fruits, or such other coercion as to the King's Highness, or his Vice-gerent for the time being shall seem convenient.

These are also in the Bp. of London's *Register, Fol.* 29, 30. *with* Bonner's *Mandate to his Arch-Deacons for observing them*, 30 Sept. 1541. Anno Regn. 32.

XII. *Injunctions*

XII. *Injunctions given by* Thomas *Arch-Bishop of* Canterbury, *to the Parsons, Vicars, and other Curats in his Visitation, kept* (sede vacante) *within the Dioceß of* Hereford, Anno Domini 1538.

I.

FIrst; That ye, and every one of you, shall, with all your diligence and faithful obedience, observe, and cause to be observed, all and singular the King's Highneß Injunctions, by his Graces Commissaries given in such places as they in times past have visited.

II.

Item; That ye, and every one of you shall have, by the first day of *August* next coming, as well a whole Bible in *Latin* and *English*, or at the least a *New Testament* of both the same Language, as the Copies of the King's Highneß Injunctions.

III.

Item; That ye shall every day study one Chapter of the said Bible, or New Testament, conferring the *Latin* and *English* together, and to begin at the first part of the Book, and so to continue until the end of the same.

IV.

Item; That ye, or none of you, shall discourage any Lay-Man from the reading of the Bible in *English* or *Latin*, but encourage them to that, admonishing them that they so read it, for reformation of their own Life, and knowledg of their Duty; and that they be not bold or presumptuous in judging of Matters afore they have perfect knowledg.

V.

Item; That ye, both in your Preaching and secret Confession, and all other works and doings, shall excite and move your Parishioners unto such Works as are commanded expresly of God, for the which God shall demand of them a strict reckoning; and all other Works which Men do of their own Will or Devotion, to teach your Parishioners that they are not to be so highly esteemed as the other; and that for the not doing of them God will not ask any accompt.

VI.

Item; That ye, nor none of you, suffer no Friar, or Religious Man, to have any Cure or Service within your Churches or Cures, except they be lawfully dispensed withal, or licensed by the Ordinary.

VII.

Item; That ye, and every one of you, do not admit any young Man or Woman to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, which never received it before, until that he or she openly in the Church, after Maß, or evening Song, upon the Holy-day, do recite, in the vulgar Tongue, the *Pater Noster*, the *Creed*, and the *Ten Commandments*.

VIII.

Item; That ye, and every one of you, shall two times in a quarter declare to your Parishioners the Band of Matrimony, and what great danger it is to all Men that useth their Bodies but with such Persons as they lawfully may by the Law of God. And to exhort in the said

Time

Times your Parishioners, that they make no privy Contracts, as they will avoid the extream pain of the Laws used within the King's Realm, by his Graces Authority.

XIII. *A Letter of* Cromwell's *to the Bishop of* Landaff, *directing him how to proceed in the Reformation. An Original.*

After my right hearty Commendations to your Lordship, ye shall herewith receive the King's Highness Letters addressed unto you, to put you in remembrance of his Highness travels, and your duty touching order to be taken for Preaching, to the intent the People may be taught the Truth, and yet not charged at the beginning with over-many Novelties; the publication whereof, unless the same be tempered and qualified with much wisdom, do rather breed Contention, Division, and contrariety in Opinion in the unlearned Multitude, than either edify, or remove from them, and out of their hearts, such abuses as by the corrupt and unsavoury teaching of the Bishop of *Rome* and his Disciples have crept in the same. The effect of which Letters albeit I doubt not, but as well for the honesty of the Matter, as for your own discharge, ye will so consider and put in execution, as shall be to his Graces satisfaction in that behalf: Yet forasmuch as it hath pleased his Majesty to appoint and constitute me in the room and place of his Supream and Principal Ministry, in all Matters that may touch any thing his Clergy, or their doings, I thought it also my part, for the exoneration of my Duty towards his Highness, and the rather to answer to his Graces Expectation, Opinion, and Trust conceived in me, and in that amongst other committed to my fidelity, to desire and pray you, in such substantial sort and manner, to travel in the execution of the Contents of his Graces said Letters; namely, for avoiding of Contrariety in preaching, of the pronunciation of Novelties, without wise and discreet qualification, and the repression of the temerity of those, that either privily, or apertly, directly or indirectly, would advance the pretended Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*; as I be not for my discharge enforced to complain further, and to declare what I have now written unto you for that purpose, and so to charge you with your own fault; and to devise such remedy for the same, as shall appertain: desiring your Lordship to accept my meaning herein, tending only to an honest, friendly, and Christian Reformation, for avoidage of further inconvenience, and to think none unkindness, tho in this Matter, wherein it is almost more than time to speak, I write frankly, compelled and enforced thereunto, both in respect of my private Duty, and otherwise, for my discharge; forasmuch as it pleaseth his Majesty to use me in the lieu of a Counsellour, whose Office is as an Eye to the Prince, to foresee, and in time to provide remedy for such Abuses, Enormities, and Inconveniences, as might else with a little sufferance engender more evil in Publick Weal, than could be after recovered, with much labour, study, diligence,

Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.

ligence, and travails. And thus most heartily fare you well. From the *Rolls*, the *6th* of *January*.

Your Lordship's Friend,

Thomas Cromwell.

XIV. The Commission by which *Bonner* held his Bishoprick of the King.

Licentia Regia concessa Domino Episcopo ad exercendam Jurisdictionem Episcopalem.

Regist. *Bonner.* fol. *primo.*

HEnricus Octavus, Dei Gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, Dominus Hiberniæ, & in Terra Supremum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sub Christo Caput, Reverendo in Christo Patri Edmundo Londonensi Episcopo Salutem. Quandoquidem omnis jurisdicendi Autoritas, atq; etiam jurisdictio omnimoda, tam illa quæ Ecclesiastica dicitur quam Sæcularis, a Regia Potestate velut a Supremo Capite, & omnium infra Regnum nostrum Magistratuum fonte & scaturigine, primitus emanavit, sane illos qui jurisdictionem hujusmodi antehac non nisi præcario fungebantur, beneficium hujusmodi sic eis ex liberalitate Regia indultum gratis animis agnoscere, idq; Regiæ Munificentiæ solummodo acceptum referre, eique, quotiens ejus Majestati videbitur, libenter concedere convenit. Quum itaq; nos per dilectum Commissarium nostrum Thomam Cromwell Nobilis Ordinis Garterii Militem, Dominum Cromwell & de Wymolden nostri privati Sigilli Custodem, nostrumq; ad quascunq; causas Ecclesiasticas nostra Authoritate, uti Supremi Capitis dictæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, quomodolibet tractand. sive ventiland. vicem gerentem, Vicarium Generalem & Officialem Principalem, per alias Literas Patentes sigillo nostro Majori communitas, constituerimus & præfecerimus. Quia tamen ipse Thomas Cromwell nostris & hujus Regni Angliæ tot & tam arduis negotiis adeo præpeditus existit, quod ad omnem jurisdictionem nobis, uti Supremo Capiti hujusmodi competentem, ubiq; locorum infra hoc Regnum nostrum præfatum, in his quæ moram commode non patiuntur, aut sine nostrorum subditorum injuria differri non possunt, in sua persona expediend. non sufficiet. Nos tuis in hac parte supplicationibus humilibus inclinati, & nostrorum subditorum commodis consulere cupientes, Tibi vices nostras sub modo & forma inferius descriptis committendas fore, Teq; licentiandum esse decernimus, ad ordinandum igitur quoscunq; infra Dioc. tuam London. ubicunq; oriundos, quos moribus & literatura prævio diligenti & rigoroso examine idoneos fore comperceris, ad omnes etiam Sacros & Presbyteratus ordines promovendum, præsentatosq; ad beneficia Ecclesiastica quæcunq; infra Dioc tuam London. constituta, si ad curam beneficiis hujusmodi imminentem sustinend. habiles reperti fuerunt & idonei, admittendum ac in & de iisdem instituendum & investigandum; Ac etiam si res ita exigat destituendum

tuendum, beneficiaq; Ecclesiastica quæcunq; ad tuam collationem sive dispositionem spectantia & pertinentia personis idoneis conferendum, atq; approbandum testamenta & ultimas voluntates quorumcunq; tuæ Diocæseos, bona, jura, sive credita non ultra summam centum librarum in bonis suis vitæ & mortis suarum temporibus habend. necnon administrationes quorumcunq; subditorum nostrorum tuæ Dioc. ab intestato decedend. quorum bona, jura, sive credita non ultra summam prædictam vitæ & mortis suarum temporibus sese extendent, quatenus hujusmodi testatorum approbatio atq; administrationis commissio sive concessio per prædecessores tuos aut eorum alicujus respective Commissarios retroactis temporibus fiebat ac fieri & committi potuit, & non aliter committendum, Calculumq; ratiocinium & alia in ea parte expedienda, causasq; lites & negotia coram te aut tuis deputatis pendend. indecis. necnon alias sive alia, quascunq; sive quæcunq; ad forum Ecclesiasticum pertinentia ad te aut tuos deputatos sive deputand. per viam querelæ aut appellationis sive ex officio devolvend. sive deducend. quæ extra legum nostrarū & statutorū Regni nostri offens. coram te aut tuis Deputatis agitari, aut ad tuam sive alicujus Commissariorū per te vigore hujus Commissionis nostræ deputandorum cognitionem devolvi aut deduci valeant & possint, examinand. & decidend. Ad visitandum insuper Capitulum Ecclesiæ tuæ Cathedral. London. civitatemq; London. necnon omnia & singula Monasteria, Abbatias & Prioratus, Collegia & alia loca pia, tam Religiosa quam Hospitalia, quæcunq; clerumq; & populum dict. Dioc. London. quatenus Ecclesiæ, Monasterii, Abbatiæ, per te sive Prædecessores tuos London. Episcopos visitatio hujusmodi temporibus retroactis exerceri potuit, ac per te sive per eosdem de legibus & statutis ac juribus Regni nostri exerceri potuit & potest, & non aliter: Necnon ad inquirendū per te, vel alium seu alios ad id per te deputandū sive deputandos, tam ex officio mero mixto quam promoto super quorumcunq; excessibus, criminibus seu delictis quibuscunq; ad forum Ecclesiasticum spectantibus infra Dioc. London. ac dilinquentes sive criminosos, juxta comperta per te in ea parte per Licita Juris remedia pro modo culpæ, prout natura & qualitas delicti poposcerit, coercendum & puniendum, cæteraq; omnia & singula in Præmissis ceu aliquo præmissorum, aut circa ea necessaria seu quomodolibet opportuna, ac alia quæcunq; Autoritatem & Jurisdictionem Episcopalem quovismodo respiciend. & concernend. præter & ultra ea quæ tibi ex Sacris Literis divinitus commissa esse dignoscantur, vice, nomine, & Autoritate nostris exequendum, Tibi, de cujus sana doctrina, conscientiæ puritate, vitæq; & morum integritate, ac in rebus gerendis fide & industria plurimum confidimus, vices nostras cum potestate alium vel alios, Commissarium vel Commissarios, ad præmissa seu eorum aliqua surrogandi & substituendi, eosdemq; ad placitum revocand. tenore præsentium committimus, ac liberam facultatem concedimus; Teq; licentiam per præsentes ad nostri beneplaciti duntaxat duraturas, cum cujuslibet congruæ & Ecclesiasticæ coercionis potestate quacunq; inhibitione in te datam præsentium emanata in aliquo non obstante Tuam Conscientiam coram Deo strictissime onerantes, & ut summo omnium judici aliquando rationem reddere, & coram nobis tuo cum periculo corporali respondere intendis: te admonentes ut interim tuum officium juxta Evangelii normam pie & sancte exercere studeas, & nequem ullo tempore unquam vel ad sacros ordines promoveas, vel ad

curam animarum gerend. quovis modo admittas, nisi eos duntaxat quos ad tanti & tam venerabilis Officii functionem vitæ & morum integritas, certissimis testimoniis approbata, literarum scientiæ & aliæ qualitates requisitæ ad hoc habiles & idoneos clare & luculenter ostenderint & declaraverint; Nam ut maxime compertum cognitumq; habemus morum omnium, & Maxime Christianæ Religionis corruptelam a malis Pastoribus in populum emanasse, sic ut veram Christi Religionem, vitæq; & morum emendationem a bonis Pastoribus iterum delectis & assumptis in integrum restitutum iri haud dubie speramus. In cujus rei testimonium præsentes Literas nostras inde fieri, & Sigilli nostri quoad Causas Ecclesiasticas utimur appensione jussimus Communiri. Dat. 12. die mensis Novemb. Anno Dom. 1539. & Regni nostri Anno 31.

XV. *The King's Letters Patents for printing the Bible in* English.

Rot.Pat.31. *Hen.* 8.

HEnry the Eighth, &c. To all and singular Printers and Sellers of Books within this our Realm, and all other Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, these our Letters hearing or seeing, Greeting. We let you wit, That being desirous to have our People at all times convenient, give themselves to the attaining the knowledg of God's Word, whereby they will the better honour him, and observe and keep his Commandments; and also do their Duties better to us, being their Prince and Sovereign Lord: And considering that this our Zeal and Desire cannot by any mean take so good effect, as by the granting to them the free and liberal use of the Bible in our own natural *English* Tongue: so unless it be foreseen that the same pass at the beginning by one Translation to be perused and considered; The frailty of Men is such, that the diversity thereof may breed and bring forth manifold Inconveniences; as when wilful and heady Folk shall confer upon the diversity of the said Translations. We have therefore appointed our right trusty and well-beloved Counsellor, the Lord *Cromwell*, Keeper of our Privy-Seal, to take for us, and in our Name, special care and charge, that no manner of Person, or Persons, within this our Realm, shall enterprise, attempt, or set in hand to print any Bible in the English Tongue of any manner of Volum, during the space of five years next ensuing after the Date hereof, but only all such as shall be deputed, assigned, and admitted by the said Lord *Cromwell*.

The 13 *Novemb. Tricesimo primo Regni.*

XVI. The

XVI. The Attainder of *Thomas Cromwell.*

Item quædam alia petitio, formam cujuſdam actus attincturæ in ſe continens, exhibita eſt ſuæ Regiæ Majeſtati in Parliamento prædicto, cujus tenor ſequitur in hæc verba.

Parliament Rolls. Act 60. *Anno Regni triceſimo ſecundo.*

IN their moſt humble-wiſe ſhewing to your moſt Royal Majeſty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and all your moſt loving and obedient Subjects, the Commons in this your moſt High Court of Parliament aſſembled; That where your moſt Royal Majeſty, our Natural Sovereign Lord, is juſtly, lawfully, and really entituled to be our ſole Supream Head and Governour, of this your Realm of *England*, and of the Dominions of the ſame; to whom, and to none other under God, the Kingly Direction, Order, and Governance, of your moſt loving and obedient Subjects, and People of this your Realm, only appertaineth and belongeth. And the which your moſt loving and obedient Subjects, your Highneſs prudently and quietly, without any manner of diſturbance, by a long time moſt graciouſly hath preſerved, ſuſtained, and defended: And your Highneſs, for the Quietneſs, Wealth, and Tranquillity of your ſaid humble and obedient Subjects, hath made, and ordained, divers and many moſt godly, vertuous, and wholſome Laws; and for due execution of the ſame, hath not deſiſted to travel in your own moſt Royal Perſon, to ſupport and maintain, as well the Laws of Almighty God, as the Laws by your Highneſs made and ordained, by due and condign execution of the ſame Laws upon the Tranſgreſſors offending contrary to the ſame: And your Majeſty hath always moſt vertuouſly ſtudied and laboured, by all ways, and all means, to and for the ſetting forth thereof, in ſuch wiſe as it might be moſt to the Honour, Glory, and Pleaſure of Almighty God; and for the common accord and wealth of this your Realm, and other your Dominions: And for the true execution of the ſame, hath elected, choſen, and made divers, as well of your Nobles, as others, to be of your moſt honourable Council, as to the honour of a Noble Prince appertaineth. And where your Majeſty hath had a ſpecial truſt and confidence in your ſaid moſt truſty Counſellors, that the ſame your Counſellors, and every of them, had minded and intended, and finally purpoſed to have followed and purſued your moſt Godly and Princely Purpoſe, as of truth the more number hath moſt faithfully done; Yet nevertheleſs *Thomas Cromwell*, now Earl of *Eſſex*, whom your Majeſty took and received into your truſty Service, the ſame *Thomas* then being a Man of very baſe and low degree, and for ſingular favour, truſt, and confidence, which your Majeſty bare and had in him, did not only erect and advance the ſame *Thomas* unto the State of an Earl, and enriched him with many-fold Gifts, as well of Goods, as of Lands and Offices, but alſo him, the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, did erect and make one of your moſt truſty Counſellors, as well concerning your Grace's Supream Juriſdictions Eccleſiaſtical, as your moſt high ſecret Affairs Temporal. Nevertheleſs your Majeſty now of late hath found, and tried, by a large number of Witneſſes, being your faithful Subjects, and Perſonages of great Honour,

 Worſhip,

Worſhip, and Diſcretion, the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, contrary to the ſingular truſt and confidence which your Majeſty had in him, to be the moſt falſe and corrupt Traitor, Deceiver, and Circumventor againſt your moſt Royal Perſon, and the Imperial Crown of this your Realm, that hath been known, ſeen, or heard of in all the time of your moſt noble Reign: Inſomuch that it is manifeſtly proved and declared, by the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes aforeſaid, That the ſame *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, uſurping upon your Kingly Eſtate, Power, Authority, and Office; without your Grace's Commandment or Aſſent, hath taken upon him to ſet at liberty divers Perſons, being convicted and attainted of Miſpriſion of High Treaſon; and divers other being apprehended, and in Priſon, for Suſpection of High Treaſon; and over that, divers and many times, at ſundry places, in this your Realm, for manifold Sums of Mony to him given, moſt traiterouſly hath taken upon him, by ſeveral Writings, to give and grant, as well unto Aliens, as to your Subjects, a great number of Licenſes for conveighing and carrying of Mony, Corn, Grain, Beans, Beer, Leather, Tallow, Bells, Mettals, Horſes, and other Commodities of this your Realm, contrary to your Highneſs's moſt Godly and Gracious Proclamations made for the Common-Wealth of your People of this your Realm in that behalf, and in derogation of your Crown and Dignity. And the ſame *Thomas Cromwell*, elated, and full of pride, contrary to his moſt bounden Duty, of his own Authority and Power, not regarding your Majeſty Royal; And further, taking upon him your Power, Sovereign Lord, in that behalf, divers and many times moſt traiterouſly hath conſtituted, deputed, and aſſigned, many ſingular Perſons of your Subjects to be Commiſſioners in many your great, urgent, and weighty Cauſes and Affairs, executed and done in this your Realm, without the aſſent, knowledg, or conſent of your Highneſs. And further alſo, being a Perſon of as poor and low degree, as few be within this your Realm; pretending to have ſo great a ſtroak about you, our, and his natural Sovereign Liege Lord, that he letted not to ſay publickly, and declare, That he was ſure of you; which is deteſtable, and to be abhorred amongſt all good Subjects in any Chriſtian Realm, that any Subject ſhould enterprize or take upon him ſo to ſpeak of his Sovereign Liege Lord and King. And alſo of his own Authority and Power, without your Highneſs's conſent, hath made, and granted, as well to Strangers as to your own Subjects, divers and many Paſs-ports, to paſs over the Seas, with Horſes, and great Sums of Mony, without any ſearch. And over that, moſt Gracious Soveraign Lord, amongſt divers other his Treaſons, Deceits, and Falſhoods, the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, being a deteſtable Heretick, and being in himſelf utterly diſpoſed to ſett and ſow common Sedition and Variance among your true and loving Subjects, hath ſecretly ſet forth and diſperſed into all Shires, and other Territories of this your Realm, and other your Dominions, great numbers of falſe Erroneous Books, whereof many were printed and made beyond the Seas, and divers other within this Realm, compriſing and declaring, amongſt many other Evils and Errors, manifeſt Matters to induce and lead your Subjects to diffidence, and refuſal of the true and ſincere Faith and Belief, which Chriſtian Religion bindeth all Chriſtian People to have, in the moſt Holy and Bleſſed

Sacrament

Sacrament of the Altar, and other Articles of Christian Religion, most graciously declared by your Majesty, by Authority of Parliament: And certain Matters comprised in some of the said Books, hath caused to be translated into our maternal and English Tongue: And upon report made unto him by the Translator thereof, that the Matter so translated hath expresly been against the said most Blessed and Holy Sacrament; Yet the same *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, after he had read the same Translation, most heretically hath affirmed the same material Heresie so translated, to be good; and further hath said, that he found no fault therein; and over that, hath openly and obstinately holden Opinion, and said, That it was as lawful for every Christian Man to be a Minister of the said Sacrament, as well as a Priest. And where also your most Royal Majesty, being a Prince of Vertue, Learning, and Justice, of singular Confidence and Trust, did constitute and make the same *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, your Highness's Vicegerent within this your Realm of *England*; and by the same, gave unto him Authority and Power, not only to redress and reform all, and all manner of Errors, and Erroneous Opinions, insurging and growing among your loving and obedient Subjects of this your Realm, and of the Dominions of the same, but also to order and direct all Ecclesiastical and Spiritual Causes within your said Realm and Dominions; the said *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, not regarding his Duty to Almighty God, and to your Highness, under the Seal of your Vicegerent, hath, without your Grace's assent or knowledg, licensed and authorized divers Persons, detected and suspected of Heresies, openly to teach and preach amongst your most loving and obedient Subjects, within this your Realm of *England*. And under the pretence and colour of the said great Authorities and Cures, which your Majesty hath committed unto him in the Premisses, hath not only, of his corrupt and damnable Will and Mind, actually, at some time, by his own Deed and Commandment, and at many other times by his Letters, expresly written to divers worshipful Persons, being Sheriffs, in sundry Shires of this your Realm, falsly suggesting thereby your Grace's Pleasure so to have been, caused to be set at large many false Hereticks, some being there indicted, and some other being thereof apprehended, and in ward: and commonly, upon complaints made by credible Persons unto the said *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, of great and most detestable Heresies committed and sprung in many places of this your Realm, with declaration of the Specialities of the same Heresies, and the Names of the Offenders therein, the same *Thomas Cromwel*, Earl of *Essex*, by his crafty and subtil means and inventions, hath not only defended the same Hereticks from Punishment and Reformation; but being a fautor, maintainer, and supporter of Hereticks, divers times hath terribly rebuked divers of the said credible Persons being their Accusers, and some others of them hath persecuted and vexed by Imprisonment and otherwise. So that thereby many of your Grace's true and loving Subjects have been in much dread and fear, to detect or accuse such detestable known Hereticks; the particularities and specialities of which said abominable Heresies, Errors, and Offences, committed and done by the said *Thomas Cromwell*, being over-tedious, long, and of too great number here to be expressed, declared, or written. And to the intent to have those damnable

damnable Errors and Heresies, to be inculcated, impressed, and infixed in the Hearts of your Subjects, as well contrary to God's Laws, as to your Laws and Ordinances. Most Gracious Soveraign Lord, the same *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, hath allured and drawn unto him by Retainours, many of your Subjects sunderly inhabiting in every of your said Shires and territories, as well erroneously perswading and declaring to them the Contents of the false erroneous Books, above-written, to be good, true, and best standing with the most Holy Word and Pleasure of God; as other his false and heretical Opinions and Errors; whereby, and by his Confederacies therein, he hath caused many of your faithful Subjects to be greatly infected with Heresies, and other Errors, contrary to the right Laws and Pleasure of Almighty God. And the same *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, by the false and traiterous means above-written, supposing himself to be fully able, by force and strength, to maintain and defend his said abominable Treasons, Heresies, and Errors, not regarding his most bounden Duty to Almighty God, and his Laws, nor the natural Duty of Allegiance to your Majesty, in the last day of *March*, in the 30 year of our most gracious Reign, in the Parish of *St. Peter the Poor*, within your City of *London*, upon demonstration and declaration then & there made unto him, that there were certain new Preachers, as *Robert Barnes* Clerk, and other, whereof part been now committed to the *Tower* of *London* for preaching and teaching of leud Learning against your Highness's Proclamations; the same *Thomas* affirming the same preaching to be good, most detestably, arrogantly, erroneously, wilfully, maliciously, and traiterously, expresly against your Laws and Statutes, then and there did not lett to declare, and say, these most traiterous and detestable words ensuing, amongst other words of like matter and effect; that is to say, That *if the King would turn from it, yet I would not turn; And if the King did turn, and all his People, I would fight in the Field in mine own Person, with my Sword in my hand, against him and all others*; and then, and there, most traiterously pulled out his Dagger, and held it on high, saying these words, *Or else this Dagger thrust me to the heart, if I would not die in that Quarrel against them all: And I trust, if I live one year or two, it shall not lie in the King's Power to resist or lett it if he would.* And further, then and there swearing by a great Oath, traiterously affirmed the same his traiterous saying and pronunciation of words, saying, *I will do so indeed*, extending up his Arm, as though he had had a Sword in his Hand; to the most perrilous, grievous, and wicked Example of all other your loving, faithful, and obedient Subjects in this your Realm, and to the peril of your most Royal Person. And moreover, our most Gracious Soveraign Lord, the said *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, hath acquired and obtained into his possession, by Oppression, Bribery, Extort, Power, and false Promises made by him, to your Subjects of your Realm, innumerable Sums of Mony and Treasure; and being so enriched, hath had your Nobles of your Realm in great disdain, derision, and detestation, as by express words by him most opprobriously spoken hath appeared. And being put in remembrance of others, of his estate, which your Highness hath called him unto, offending in like Treasons, the last day of *January*, in the 31 year of your most noble Reign, at the Parish of *St. Martin in the Field*, in the County of *Middlesex*, most arrogantly, willingly,

willingly, maliciously, and traiterously, said, published, and declared, That *if the Lords would handle him so, that he would give them such a Break-fast as never was made in* England, *and that the proudest of them should know*; to the great peril and danger, as well of your Majesty, as of your Heirs and Successors: For the which his most detestable and abominable Heresies and Treasons, and many other his like Offences and Treasons, over-long here to be rehearsed and declared. Be it Enacted, Ordained, and Established by your Majesty, with the Assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That the said *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, for his abominable and detestable Heresies and Treasons, by him most abominably, heretically, and traiterously practised, committed, and done, as well against Almighty God, as against your Majesty, and this your said Realm, shall be, and stand, by Authority of this present Parliament, convicted and attainted of Heresie and High Treason, and be adjudged an abominable and detestable Heretick and Traitor; and shall have and suffer such pains of death, losses, and forfeitures of Goods, Debts, and Chattels, as in cases of Heresie and High Treason, or as in cases of either of them, at the pleasure of your most Royal Majesty. And that the same *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, shall, by Authority abovesaid, lose, and forfeit to your Highness, and to your Heirs and Successors, all such his Castles, Lordships, Mannors, Mesuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, Remainders, Services, Possessions, Offices, Rights, Conditions, and all other his Hereditaments, of what names, natures, or qualities soever they be, which he the said *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, or any other to his use had, or ought to have had, of any Estate of Inheritance, in Fee-Simple or Fee-Tail, in Reversion or Possession, at the said last day of *March*, in the said thirtieth Year of your most Gracious Reign, or at any time sith or after, as in Cases of High Treason. And that all the said Castles, Lordships, Mannors, Lands, Mesuages, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, Remainders, Services, Possessions, Offices, and all other the Premisses forfeited, as is abovesaid, shall be deemed, invested, and adjudged, in the lawful, real, and actual possession of your Highness, your Heirs, and Successors for ever in the same, and such estate, manner, and form, as if the said Castles, Lordships, Mannors, Mesuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, Remainders, Services, Possessions, Offices, and other the Premisses, with their Appurtenances, and every of them, were specially or particularly founden, by Office or Offices, Inquisition or Inquisitions, to be taken by any Escheator, or Escheators, or any other Commissioner or Commissioners, by virtue of any Commission or Commissions to them, or any of them, to be directed in any County or Counties, Shire or Shires, within this your Realm of *England*, where the said Castles, and other the Premisses, or any of them, been, or do lay, and returned into any of your Majesties Courts. Saving to all and singular, Person and Persons, Bodies politick and corporate, their Heirs and Successors, and their Successors and Assignes of every of them, other than the said *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, and his Heirs, and all and every other Person and Persons, claiming by the same *Thomas Cromwell*, and to his use, all such Right, Title, Entrie, Possession, Interest, Reversions, Remainders,

Lease,

Leafe, Leafes, Conditions, Fees, Offices, Rents, Annuities, Commons, and all other Commodities, Profits, and Hereditaments whatfoever they or any of them might, fhould, or ought to have had, if this Act had never been had nor made. Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforefaid, that this Act of Attainder, ne any Offence, ne other thing therein contained, extend not unto the Deanery of *Wells*, in the County of *Sommerfet*; nor to any Mannors, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments thereunto belonging; nor be in any wife prejudicial or hurtful unto the Bifhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, nor to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of St. *Andrew* of *Wells*, nor to any of them, nor to any of their Succeffors; but that the faid Bifhop, Dean, and Chapters, and their Succeffors, and every of them, fhall and may have, hold, ufe, occupy, and enjoy, all and fingular their Titles, Rights, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverfions, and Services, and all and fingular other their Hereditaments, Commodities, and Profits, of what nature, kind, or quality, or condition foever they be, in as ample and large manner and form, as tho this Act of Attainder, or any Offence therein mentioned, had never been had, committed, nor made; and that from hence-forth the Dean, and his Succeffors, Deans of the faid Cathedral Church that hereafter fhall be prefected, elected, and admitted to the fame, Shall, by the Authority aforefaid, be Dean of the faid Cathedral Church, fully and wholly incorporated with the Chapter of the fame, in as ample, large, and like manner and form, to all intents and purpofes, as the Deans before this time hath been and ufed to be, with the faid Chapter of the faid Cathedral Church of *Wells*. And that the fame Dean and Chapter, and their Succeffors, fhall have, occupy, and enjoy, all and fingular their fuch Poffeffions, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverfions, and Services, and all and fingular their Hereditaments, of what nature, kind, name or names they be called or known. And fhall be adjudged and deemed in actual and real poffeffion and feafon of, and in the fame Premiffes, to all intents and purpofes, according to their old Corporation, as tho this Act of Attainder, or any thing, claufe, or matter therein contained had never been had, committed, nor made. This faid Act of Attainder, or any other Act, Provifion, or any thing heretofore had or made to the contrary notwithftanding. *Cui quidem petitioni cum provifione prædict. perlect. & intellect. per dictum Dominum Regem ex Authoritate & confenfu Parliamenti prædicti fic Refponfum eft,*

Soit faict come il eft defiro.

XVII.

XVII. Cromwell's *Letter to the King concerning his Marriage with* Ann *of* Cleve. *An Original.*

To the King, my most Gracious Sovereign Lord his Royal Majesty.

Most Merciful King, and most Gracious Sovereign Lord, may it please the same to be advertised, That the last time it pleased your benign Goodness to send unto me the Right Honourable Lord Chancellor, the Right Honourable Duke of *Norff.* and the Lord Admiral, to examine, and also to declare unto me divers things from your Majesty; among the which, one special thing they moved, and thereupon they charged me, as I would answer before God at the dreadful day of Judgment, and also upon the extreme danger and damnation of my Soul and Conscience, to say what I knew in the Marriage, and concerning the Marriage, between your Highness and the Queen. To the which I answered as I knew, declaring unto them the Particulars, as nigh as I then could call to remembrance. Which when they had heard, they, in your Majesty's Name, and upon like charge as they had given me before, commanded me to write to your Highness the truth, as much as I knew in that Matter; which now I do, and the very truth, as God shall save me, to the uttermost of my knowledg. First; After your Majesty heard of the Lady *Ann* of *Cleves* arrival at *Dover*, and that her Journies were appointed toward *Greenwich*, and that she should be at *Rochester* on New-years Even at night, your Highness declared to me, that you would privily visit her at *Rochester*, upon New-years-day, adding these words, *To nourish love*; which accordingly your Grace did upon New-years-day, as is above-said. And the next day, being *Friday*, your Grace returned to *Greenwich*, where I spake with your Grace, and demanded of your Majesty, How ye liked the Lady *Ann*: your Highness answered, as me thought, heavily, and not pleasantly, *Nothing so well as she was spoken of*; saying further, *That if your Highness had known as much before as ye then knew, she should not have come within this Realm*; saying, as by the way of lamentation, *What Remedy?* Unto the which I answered and said, I know none but was very sorry therefore; and so God knoweth I was, for I thought it a hard beginning. The next day after the receipt of the said Lady, and her entry made unto *Greenwich*, and after your Highness had brought her to her Chamber, I then waited upon your Highness into your Privy-Chamber; and being there, your Grace called me unto you, saying to me these words, or the like, *My Lord, is it not as I told you? say what they will, she is nothing so fair as she hath been reported; howbeit she is well and seemly.* Whereunto I answered and said, By my Faith, Sir, ye say truth; adding thereunto, that I thought she had a Queenly manner; and nevertheless was sorry that your Grace was no better content: And thereupon your Grace commanded me to call together your Council, which were these by name; The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and

Cotton Libr. Otho. C.10.

Suffolk, my Lord Admiral, and my Lord of *Duresme*, and my self, to commune of these Matters, and to know what Commissions the Agents of *Cleves* had brought, as well touching the performance of the Covenants sent before from hence to Dr. *Wotton*, to have been concluded in *Cleves*, as also in the declaration how the Matters stood for the Covenants of Marriage, between the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son, and the said Lady *Ann*. Whereupon *Olisleger* and *Hogeston* were called, and the Matters purposed; whereby it plainly appeared, that they were much astonished and abashed, and desired that they might make answer in the next morning, which was *Sunday*: And upon the *Sunday* in the morning your said Counsellors and they met together early, and there eft-soons was proposed unto them, as well touching the Commission for the performance of the Treaty and Articles sent to Mr. *Wotton*, as also touching the Contracts and Covenants of Marriage between the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son, and the Lady *Ann*, and what terms they stood in. To which things so proposed, they answered as Men much perplexed, That as touching Commission, they had none to treat concerning the Articles sent to Mr. *Wotton*. And as to the Contract and Covenants of Marriage they could say nothing, but that a Revocation was made, and that they were but Spousals. And finally, after much reasoning, they offered themselves to remain Prisoners, until such time as they should have sent unto them from *Cleves* the first Articles ratified under the Duke their Masters Sign and Seal, and also the Copy of the Revocation made between the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son and the Lady *Ann*. Upon the which Answers, I was sent to your Highness by my Lords of your Council, to declare to your Highness their Answer; and came to you, by the Privy Way, into your Privy Chamber, and declared unto the same all the Circumstances, wherewith your Grace was very much displeased, saying, *I am not well handled*; insomuch that I might well perceive that your Highness was fully determined not to have gone through with the Marriage at that time, saying unto me these words, or the like in effect; *That if it were not that she is come so far unto my Realm, and the great Preparations that my States and People have made for her, and for fear of making a ruffel in the World; that is, to mean to drive her Brother into the hands of the Emperor and the French King's hands, being now together, I would never have ne married her.* So that I might well perceive your Grace was neither content with the Person, ne yet with the Proceedings of the Agents; And at after-dinner, the said *Sunday*, your Grace sent for all your said Counsellors in, repeating how your Highness was handled, as well touching the said Articles, as also the said Matter of the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son. It might, and I doubt not, did appear unto them how loth your Highness was to have married at that time. And thereupon, and upon the Considerations aforesaid, your Grace thought that it should be well done that she should make a Protestation before your said Counsellors and Notaries to be present, that she was free from all Contracts; which was done accordingly. And thereupon I repairing to your Highness, declared how that she had made her Protestation. Whereunto your Grace answered in effect these words, or much like; *Is there none other Remedy, but that I must needs, against my Will, put my Neck in the Yoke*; and so departed, leaving your Highness in a study or pensiveness. And yet your Grace determined the next morning

Morning to go through; and in the morning, which was *Monday*, your Majesty preparing your self towards the Ceremonies; There was one Question, Who should lead to the Church? And it was appointed that the Earl of *Essex* deceased, and an Earl that came with her, should lead her to the Church. And thereupon one came to your Highness, and said to you, That the Earl of *Essex* was not come; whereupon your Grace appointed me to be one that should lead her: And so I went into her Chamber, to the intent to have done your Commandment; and shortly after I came into her Chamber, the Earl of *Essex* was come: Whereupon I repaired back again into your Graces Privy Chamber, and shewed your Highness how he was come; and thereupon your Majesty advanced towards the Gallery out of your Privy Chamber; and your Grace being in and about the midst of your Chamber of Presence, called me unto you, saying these words, or the like in sentence; *My Lord, if it were not to satisfy the World, and my Realm, I would not do that I must do this day for none earthly thing*; and therewith one brought your Grace Word that she was coming; and thereupon your Grace repaired into the Gallery towards the Closet, and there paused for her coming, being nothing content that she so long tarried as I judged then. And so consequently she came, and your Grace afterward proceeded to the Ceremonies; and they being finished, travelled the day as appertained, and the night after the custom. And in the morning, on *Tuesday*, I repairing to your Majesty into your Privy-Chamber, finding your Grace not so pleasant as I trusted to have done, I was so bold to ask your Grace how you liked the Queen? Whereunto your Grace soberly answered, saying, *That I was not all Men, surely, as ye know, I liked her before not well, but now I like her much worse; for*, quoth your Highness, *I have felt her Belly, and her Breasts, and thereby, as I can judg, she should be no Maid; which strook me so to the Heart when I felt them, that I had neither will nor courage to proceed any further in other Matters*; saying, *I have left her as good a Maid as I found her*: Which me thought then ye spake displeasantly, which made me very sorry to hear; Your Highness also after *Candlemass*, and before *Showstie*, once or twice said, That *ye were in the same case with her as ye were afore, and that your Heart could never consent to meddle with her carnally.* Notwithstanding your Highness alledged, that ye for the most part used to lay nightly, or every second night by her, and yet your Majesty ever said, *That she was as good a Maid for you, as ever her Mother bare her, for any thing ye had ministred to her.* Your Highness shewed to me also in *Lent* last passed, at such time as your Grace had some communication with her of my Lady *Mary*, how that she began to wax stubborn and willful, ever lamenting your fate, and ever verifying that ye never had any carnal knowledg with her: And also after *Easter*, your Grace likewise, at divers times, and in the *Whitsun*-week, in your Grace's Privy-Chamber at *Greenwich*, exceedingly lamented your fate, and that your greatest grief was, That *ye should surely never have any more Children for the comfort of this Realm, if ye should so continue*; assuring me, *that before God ye thought she was never your lawful Wife.* At which time your Grace knoweth what answer I made; which was, that I would for my part do my utmost to comfort and deliver your Grace of your Afflictions; and how sorry I was both to see and hear your Grace God knoweth. Your Grace divers times

 sithen

sithen *Whitsuntide*, ever alleadging one thing, and also saying, That *ye had as much to do to move the consent of your Heart and Mind as ever did Man, and that you took God to witness*; *but ever*, you said, *the Obstacle could never out of your Mind*. And, Gracious Prince, after that you had first seen her at *Rochester*, I never thought in my heart that ye were or would be contented with that Marriage. And, Sir, I know now in what case I stand, in which is only the Mercy of God and your Grace; if I have not, to the uttermost of my remembrance, said the Truth, and the whole Truth in this Matter, God never help me. I am sure there is, as I think, no Man in this your Realm that knew more in this than I did, your Highness only excepted. And I am sure, my Lord Admiral calling to his remembrance, can shew your Highness, and be my Witness what I said unto him after your Grace came from *Rochester*, yea, and after your Grace's Marriage: And also now of late, sithence *Whitsuntide*, and I doubt not but many and divers of my Lords of your Council, both before your Marriage and sithence, have right-well perceived that your Majesty hath not been well pleased with your Marriage. And as I shall answer to God, I never thought your Grace content, after you had once seen her at *Rochester*. And this is all that I know, most gracious and most merciful Sovereign Lord, beseeching Almighty God, who ever hath in all your Causes counselled, preserved, opened, maintained, relieved, and defended your Highness; So he will now vouchsafe to counsel you, preserve you, maintain you, remedy you, relieve and defend you, as may be most to your Honour, with Prosperity, Health, and Comfort of your Hearts desire. For the which, and for the long Life, and prosperous Reign of your most Royal Majesty, I shall, during my Life, and whiles I am here, pray to Almighty God, that he of his most abundant Goodness will help, aid, and comfort you, after your continuance of *Nestor*'s Years: that that most noble Imp, the Princes Grace, your most dear Son, may succeed you to Reign long, prosperously, and feliciously to God's pleasure: beseeching most humbly your Grace to pardon this my rude writing, and to consider that I a most woful Prisoner, ready to take the Death, when it shall please God and your Majesty; and yet the frail flesh inciteth me continually to call to your Grace for Mercy and Grace for mine Offences; and thus Christ save, preserve, and keep you.

Written at the *Tower* this *Wednesday*, the last of *June*, with the heavy Heart, and trembling hand, of your Highness's most heavy and most miserable Prisoner, and poor Slave,

Thomas Cromwell.

Most Gracious Prince, I cry for Mercy, Mercy, Mercy.

XVIII. *The*

XVIII. The King's own Declaration concerning it. An Original.

First; I depose and declare, That this hereafter written is meerly the verity intended, upon none sinister affection, nor yet upon none hatred nor displeasure, and herein I take God to witness. Now to the Matter I say and affirm; That when the first communication was had with me for the Marriage of the Lady *Ann of Cleves*, I was glad to hearken to it, trusting to have some assured Friend by it; I much doubting that time, both the Emperor, *France*, and the Bishop of *Rome*; and also because I heard so much, both of her excellent Beauty and vertuous Conditions. But when I saw her at *Rochester*, the first time that ever I saw her, it rejoiced my heart that I had kept me free from making any Pact or Bond before with her till I saw her my self; for then I adsure you I liked her so ill, and so far contrary to that she was praised, that I was woe that ever she came into *England*; and deliberated with my self, that if it were possible to find means to break off, I would never enter Yoke with her. Of which misliking, both the great Master, the Admiral that now is, and the Master of the Horses, can and will here record. Then after my repair to *Greenwich*, the next day after I think, and doubt not, but that the Lord of *Essex* well examined, can, and will, or hath declared what I then said to him in that case; not doubting, but since he is a Person which knoweth himself condemned to die by Act of Parliament, will not damn his Soul, but truly declare the Truth, not only at that time spoken by me, but also continually till the day of Marriage; and also many times after, whereby my lack of consent, I doubt not, doth or shall well appear; And also lack enough of the Will and Power to consummate the same; wherein both he, my Physicians, the Lord Privy Seal that now is, *Hennage* and *Denny* can, and I doubt not will testify according to truth, which is, That I never for love to the Woman consented to marry; nor yet if she brought Maiden-head with her, took any from her by true Carnal Copulation. This is my brief, true, and perfect Declaration.

Cotton Libr. Otho C.10.

XIX. The Judgment of the Convocation for annulling of the Marriage with Ann of Cleve.

Tenor vero Literarum Testimonialum hujusmodi sequitur, & est talis. Excellentissimo in Christo Principi, &c. Thomas Cantuarien. & Edwardus Eboracen. Archiepiscopi, cæteriq; Episcopi & reliquus vestri Regni Angliæ clerus, Autoritate Literarum Commissionalium Vestræ Majestatis, Congregati ac Synodum universalem repræsentantes, cum obsequio, reverentia & honore debitis, salutem & fœlicitatem. Cum nos humillimi & Majestatis Vestræ devotissimi subditi, Convocati & Congregati sumus virtute Commissionis Vestræ magno sigillo Vestro

Regist. Cranmer.

sigillat.

figillat. dat.6 Julii Anno fœliciffimi Regni Veftri tricefimò fecundo, quam accepimus in hæc quæ fequitur verba.

Henricus Octavus Dei Gratia Angliæ, &c. Archiepifcopis Cantuarien. & Eborac. ac cæteris Regni noftri Angliæ Epifcopis, Decanis, Archidiaconis, & univerfo Clero, falutem. Egerunt apud nos Regni noftri proceres & populus, ut cum nuper quædam emerferint, quæ ut illi putant ad nos Regniq; noftri fucceffionem pertineant, inter quæ præcipua eft, caufa & conditio Matrimonii quod cum Illuftri & Nobili Fœmina Domina Anna Clevenfi propter externam quidem conjugii fpeciem, perplexum alioqui etiam multis ac variis modis ambiguum videtur; Nos ad ejufdem Matrimonii difquifitionem ita procedere dignaremur ut opinionem Veftram qui in Ecclefia noftra Anglicana fcientiam Verbi Dei & Doctrinam profitemini exquiramus, vobifq; difcutiendum Autoritatem ita demandemus, ut fi animis Veftris fuerit perfuafum Matrimonium cum præfata Domina Anna minime confiftere aut cohærere debere; nos ad Matrimonium contrahend. cum alia liberos effe, Veftro, Patrum ac reliquæ deinde Ecclefiæ fuffragio pronuncietur & confirmetur. Nos autem qui Veftrum in reliquis Ecclefiæ hujus Anglicanæ negotiis gravioribus quæ Ecclefiafticam Oeconomiam & Religionem fpectant judicium amplecti folemus, ad veritatis explicandæ teftimonium omnino neceffarium rati fumus Caufæ hujufmodi Matrimonialis feriem & circumftantias vobis exponi & communicari curare, ut quod vos per Dei Leges licere decreveritis id demum totius Ecclefiæ noftræ Autoritate innixi licite facere & exequi audeamus. Vos itaq; Convocari & in Synodum Univerfalem noftra Autoritate convenire volentes, vobis conjunctim & divifim committimus atq; mandamus, ut infpecta hujus negotii veritate, ac folum Deum præ oculis habentes, quod verum, quod juftum, quod honeftum, quod fanctum eft, id nobis de communi Concilio fcripto annuncio renuncietis, & de communi confenfu licere definiatis: Nempe hoc unum a vobis noftro jure poftulamus, ut tanquam fida & proba Ecclefiæ membra caufæ huic Ecclefiafticæ, quæ maxima eft, in juftitia & veritate adeffe velitis, & eam maturime juxta Commiffionem vobis in hac parte factam abfolvere & expedire. In cujus rei Teftimonium has Literas noftras fieri fecimus Patentes, Tefte meipfo apud Weftmon. fexto die Julii Anno Regni noftri tricefimo fecundo. Nos tenorem & effectum Veftræ Commiffionis per omnia fequentes, poftquam matura deliberatione perpendimus & confideravimus omnes Matrimonii prætenfi inter Veftram Majeftatem Illuftriffimam & Nobilem fœminam Dominam Annam Clevenfem circumftantias, nobis multis modis expofitas, cognitas & perfpectas, tandem ad definitionem & determinationem fequentem, quam communi omnium confenfu juftorumq; animorum noftrorum judicio ac recto confcientiæ dictaminæ protulimus, proceffimus, in hunc modum & (quod tenor Veftræ Commiffionis exigit) Veftræ Nobiliffimæ Majeftati in hoc præfenti fcripto referend. duximus, & fignificamus prout fequitur.

Primum itaq; comperimus & confideravimus Matrimonium inter Majeftatem Veftram & Nobilem fœminam Dominam Annam Clevenfem prætenfam præcontracto quodam five fponfaliorum, five Matrimonii, inter dictam Dominam Annam & Marchionem Lotharingiæ conclufo ambiguum, plane impeditum & perplexum reddi; Annimadvertimus enim quod quamvis Veftra Majeftas in prima hujus Matrimonii prætenfi tractatione

tractatione præcontractus prædicti, & de quo tum sermo multus habebatur, discussionem & declarationem ante solemnizandum cum dicta Domina Anna Matrimonium tanta instantia exegerit, ut pro conditione contrahendi deinde Matrimonii fuisse merito existimari possit, qua conditione defecta nihil ageretur; atq; hæc cum ita se haberent tamen neque ante solemnizationem illa de præcontractu ambiguitas expedita & declarata est, cum idipsum tum temporis Majestas Vestra denuo exposceret & efflagitaret, cui clara jam & expedita esse omnia falso renunciabatur, neq; postea quicquam efficax ut promissum ab Oratoribus fuerat, huc transmissum est, quo scrupulus ille ex præcontractu natus eximeretur, tolleretur aut amoveretur, adeo quidem ut prætensum Matrimonium inter Maiestatem Vestram & Dominam Annam prædictam non modo ex conditionis defectu corruerit, sed si nulla conditio hujusmodi omnino fuisset, certe quidem Matrimonium hujusmodi prætensum ex sola præcontractus hujusmodi causa non explicata in suspenso manserit, in eum etiam casum nullius vigoris omnino ac valoris pronunciandum, quo præcontractum illum verbis de præsenti factum fuisse constiterit, id quod multis de causis est verisimilius & merito suspectum haberi potest.

Consideravimus præterea ex his quæ allegata, affirmata & probata nobis fuerunt, quod prætensum Matrimonium inter Majestatem vestram & Dominam Annam prædictam internum, purum, perfectum & integrum consensum non habuit: Imo contra quemadmodum inter ipsa tractationis initia, cum de hoc Matrimonio ageretur, plurimus illecebrarum fucus adhibitus est, & magnus laudationum acervus supra fidem cumulatus, ut hic perduceretur & obtruderetur ignota, ita solemnizationis actus qui instabat a Majestate Vestra animo reluctante & dissentiente exortus est, causis maximis & gravissimis urgentibus & prementibus quæ animum invitum & alienum perpellere merito possent.

Consideravimus etiam carnalem Copulam inter Majestatem Vestram & prædictam Dominam Annam minime secutam esse, nec cum ea justo impedimento intercedente consequi deinde posse. Quæ omnia ex his quas audivimus probationibus vera & certa esse existimamus. Postremo illud quoq; Consideramus, quod & nobis ab aliis propositum etiam nos verum esse fatemur, agnoscimus & approbamus, viz. ut si Majestas Vestra (modo ne fiat divinæ jussioni præjudicium) in libertate contrahendi Matrimonii cum alia esse declaretur, maxime totius Regni beneficio id futurum. Cum quidem Regni fœlicitas omnis & conservatio, tum in Regia Vestra persona ad Dei honorem & divinarum legum executionem conservandam consistit, tum in vitandis etiam sinistris omnibus opinionibus & scandalis quæ de Majestatis Vestræ progenie post natam nobis ex prætenso Matrimonio sobolem suborirentur, si præcontractus ille de quo diximus, & cujus declaratio nulla secuta est, prædictæ Dominæ Annæ objiceretur. His itaq; de causis & considerationibus aliisq; multis non necessariis quæ exprimantur, cum separatim singulis, tum conjunctim omnibus consideratis & perpensis, Nos Archiepiscopi & Episcopi, cum Decanis, Archiadiaconis, & reliquo hujus Regni Clero nunc congregato, circumstantias facti ejusq; veritatem ut antedictum est considerantes, tum vero quid Ecclesia in hujusmodi casibus & possit facere & sæpenumero antehac fecerit perpendentes, tenore præsentium declaramus & definimus, Majestatem Vestram prædicto Matrimonio prætenso, utpote nullo & invalido, non alligari, sed alio desuper judicio non expectato,

Ecclesiæ

Ecclesiæ suæ Autoritate fretam posse arbitrio suo ad contrahend. & consummand. Matrimonium cum quavis fœmina, divino jure vobiscum contrahere non prohibita, procedere, prætenso illo cum Domina Anna prædicta Matrimonio non obstante.

Similiter Dominam Annam prædictam non obstante Matrimonio prætenso cum Majestate Vestra, quod nullo pacto obstare debere Decernimus, posse arbitrio suo cum quavis alia persona divino jure non prohibita Matrimonium contrahere. Hæc Nos Clerum & doctam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ partem repræsentantes, tum vera, justa, honesta & sancta esse Affirmamus, tum eisdem qui perfectissime, integerrime & efficacissime ad omnem intentionem, propositum & effectum a nobis exigi potest, Consentimus & Assentimur per præsentes. In quorum omnium & singulorum testimonium hæc scripta manuum nostrarum subscriptione, communimus, utriusq; etiam Archiepiscopi sigillo apposito. Dat. Westmon. nono die mensis Julii Anno Dom. 1540.

XX. Ann *of* Cleve's *Letter to her Brother.*

BROTHER,

Cotton Libr. *Otho.* C. 10.

BEcause I had rather ye knew the Truth by mine Advertisement, than for want thereof ye should be deceived by vain Reports, I write these present Letters unto you, by which ye shall understand, That being advertised how the Nobles and Commons of this Realm desired the King's Highness here to commit the examination of the Matter of Marriage, between me and his Majesty, to the determination of the Clergy: I did the more willingly consent thereunto, and since the determination made, have also allowed, approved, and agreed unto the same, wherein I have more respect, as becometh me, to Truth and good Pleasure, than any worldly Affection that might move me to the contrary. I account God pleased with that is done, and know my self to have suffered no wrong or injury; but being my Body preserved in the integrity which I brought into this Realm, and I truly discharged from all band of Consent, I find the King's Highness, whom I cannot justly have as my Husband, to be nevertheless as a most kind, loving, and friendly Father and Brother, and to use me as honourably, and with as much humanity and liberality as you, I my self, or any of our Kin or Allies could wish or desire; wherewith I am, for mine own part, so well content and satisfied, that I much desire my Mother, You, and other mine Allies so to understand it, accept, and take it; and so to use your self towards this Noble and Vertuous Prince, as he may have cause to continue his friendship towards you, which on his behalf shall nothing be empaired or altered for this Matter; for so hath it pleased his Highness to signify unto me, that like as he will shew me always a most fatherly and brotherly kindness, and has so provided for me; so will he remain with you, and other, according to such terms as have passed in the same knot of Amity which between you hath been concluded, this Matter notwithstanding, in such wise as neither I, ne you, or any of our Friends shall have just cause of miscontentment. Thus much I have

thought

thought necessary to write unto you, lest for want of true knowledg ye might otherwise take this Matter than ye ought, and in other sort care for me than ye should have cause. Only I require this of you, That ye so use your self, as for your untowardness in this Matter, I fare not the worse; whereunto I trust you will have regard.

XXI. *The Resolutions of several Bishops and Divines, of some Questions concerning the* Sacraments; *by which it will appear with what maturity and care they proceeded in the Reformation, taken from the Originals, under their own hands. Only in copying them, I judged it might be more acceptable to the Reader to see every Man's Answer set down after every Question; and therefore they are published in this method.* Ex MSS. D. Stilling-fleet.

The first Question.

What a Sacrament is by the Scripture?

THe Scripture sheweth not what a Sacrament is, nevertheless where in the Latin Text we have *Sacramentum*, there in the Greek we have *Mysterium*; and so by the Scripture, *Sacramentum* may be called *Mysterium*, *id est*, *res occulta sive arcana*. *Canterbury.*

To the first; In Scripture we neither find Definition nor Description of a Sacrament. *York.*

Without prejudice to the Truth, and saving always more better Judgment, *Cum facultate etiam melius deliberandi in hac parte.* *London.*

To the first Question; I think that the Scriptures do use this word *Sacrament*, in divers places, according to the Matter it treateth upon, *Tobi.* 12. *Rev.* 1. *Wisd.* 2. 6. 12. *Dan.* 2. *Ephes.* 1. 3, 5. *Col.* 1. 1 *Tim.* 10. *Rev.*17. as also it doth divers other words: Yet, what a *Sacrament* is by definition, or description of Scripture, I cannot find it explicated openly. Likewise as I cannot find the definition or description of the *Trinity*, nor yet such-like things. Mary what other Men can find, being daily and of long season exercised in Scripture, I cannot tell, referring therefore this thing to their better knowledg.

I think that where this word, *Sacramentum*, is found in the Scripture in the Latin Translation, there in the Greek is found this word μυςήριον, that is to say, a Mystery, or a secret thing. *Rochester.*

What the word *Sacrament* betokeneth, or what is the definition, description, or notification thereof, I have found no such plainly set out by Scripture. But this I find, that it should appear by the same Scripture, that the Latin word *Sacramentum*, and the Greek word *Mysterium*, *Carlile.*

be in manner always used for one thing; as much to say as, *Absconditum*, *Occultatum*, *vel in occulto*.

Dr. *Robertson.* *Thomas Robertson.* Ad Quæstiones.
Ad primam Respondeo, vocem Sacramenti, mihi in Sacris Literis non reperiri in hac significatione, nisi quatenus ad Matrimonium applicatur a Paulo, ubi tamen Græce habetur Mysterium: & proinde ex meris Scripturis expresse definiri non posse.

Dr. *Cox.* I find not in Scripture, the definition of a *Sacrament*, nor what a *Sacrament* is.

Dr. *Day.* I find no definition in Scripture of this word *Sacramentum*; howbeit wheresoever it is found in Scripture, the same is in the Greek *Mysterium*; which signifieth a Secret, or Hid thing.

Dr. *Oglethorp.* Non habetur in Scripturis, quid Sacramentum proprie sit, nisi quod subinde Mysterium dicitur: varia enim, & in Scripturis, & in Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus reperitur ejus nominis significatio; ideoq; definiri non potest.

Dr. *Redmayn.* I find no definition of this word *Sacrament*, in the Scripture, nor likewise of this word *Gratia*, or *Lex*, with innumerable more; and yet what they signify, it is known; so the signification of this word *Sacrament* is plain, it is nothing else but a secret Hid thing, or any Mystery.

Dr. *Edgeworth* Like as *Angelus*, *Cœlum*, *Terra*, be spoken of in Scripture, yet none of them defined: So altho *Sacrumentum* be spoken of in Scripture, yet it hath no definition there, but is taken divers ways, and in divers significations.

Dr. *Symmons.* This word, *Sacrament*, in Scripture is not defined.

Dr. *Tresham.* I say this word, *Sacrament*, taken in his common signification, betokeneth a Mystery, and hid, or a secret thing: But if ye understand it, in his proper signification, as we use to apply it only to the Seven Sacraments, the Scripture sheweth not what a Sacrament is. And yet lest any Man might be offended, thinking, that because the Scripture sheweth not what a Sacrament is, therefore the same is a light thing, or little to be esteemed: Here may be remembred, that there are some weighty and godly things, being also of our Belief, which the Scripture sheweth not expresly what they are. As for Example; We believe the Son is consubstantial to the Father: *Item*; that the Father is unbegotten, yet the Scripture sheweth not what is consubstantial, nor what is unbegotten, neither maketh any mention of the words. Likewise it is true, Baptism is a Sacrament, Pennance is a Sacrament, *&c.* yet the Scripture sheweth not what a Sacrament is.

Edwardus

Edwardus Leyghton. Dr. *Leyghton.*

Responsions unto the Questions.

To the first Question, I say; That in Holy Scripture I never found, and I think there is no Man that will find a definition or description of this word *Sacramentum*; which is as much to say in English, as, a Mystery, a secret, or a hid thing.

I do read no definition of this word, *Sacramentum*, in Scripture; but sometimes it is used in Scripture, to signify a thing secret or hid. Dr. *Coren.*

In primo articulo conveniunt omnes, non satis constare ex Scriptura, quid sit Sacramentum; Pleriq; tamen dicunt Græce appellari, Mysterium, (i. e.) a secret, or a hid thing. *Conveniunt.*

In the Answer unto the first Question, They do all agree, that it is not evident by Scripture, what a *Sacrament* is, but *Mysterium*, that is, a secret, or a hid thing. *Agreement.*

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2. Question.

What a Sacrament is by the Ancient Authors?

Answers.

THe Ancient Doctors call a Sacrament, *Sacræ rei Signum, viz. visibile Verbum, Symbolum, atque pactio qua sumus constricti.* *Canterbury.*

To the second; Of St. *Augustin*'s words, this Description following of a *Sacrament* may be gathered; *Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiæ, visibilis forma.* And this thing, that is such visible form or sign of invisible Grace in Sacraments, we find in Scripture, altho we find not the word *Sacrament*, saving only in the Sacrament of Matrimony. *York.*

To the second; I find in Authors this Declaration, *Sacramentum est Sacræ rei signum.* Also, *Invisibilis Gratiæ Visibilis Forma.* Also, *Visibilis Forma Invisibilis Gratiæ imaginem gerens & causa existens.* And of the verity and goodness of this Description or Declaration, I refer me to the Divines, better acquainted with this Matter than I am. *London.*

I think that this word *Sacrament*, as it is taken of the Old Authors, hath divers and sundry significations, for sometimes it is extended to all holy Signs, sometimes to all Mysteries, sometimes to all Allegories, *&c.* *Rochester.*

Thomas Waldensis, who writeth a solemn Work *de Sacramentis*, causeth me to say, that this word, *Sacramentum in Communi*, is defined of the Ancient Authors; who after that he had shewed how that *Wycliff*, and before him *Berengarius* hath said, that *Augustine* defineth *Sacramentum* thus; *Sacramentum est sacrum Signum*; and *Signum* in this wise, *Carlile.*

De Doctrina Christiana. *Signum est res præter speciem quam sensibus ingerit aliquid aliud ex se faciens in cogitationem venire.* He himself, with Ancient Authors, as he saith, defineth it thus; *Sacramentum est invisibilis Gratiæ visibilis Forma, vel, Sacramentum est Sacræ rei Signum:* Both these Descriptions (saith he) be of the Ancient Fathers.

Dr. *Robertson.* Sacramentum a vetustioribus, quemadmodum fert Hugo de S. Victore, & Thomas Aquinas, nondum reperiri definitum, nisi quod Augustinus interdum vocet Sacramenta, Sacra signa aut signacula, interdum similitudines earum rerum, quarum sunt Sacramenta. Et Rabanus, Sacramentum dicitur, quod sub tegumento rerum corporalium, virtus Divina secretius salutem eorundem Sacramentorum operatur, unde & a secretis virtutibus vel Sacris, Sacramenta dicuntur.

Dr. *Cox.* The Ancient Authors commonly say, That a Sacrament is, *Sacræ rei Signum*, or *Sacrosanctum Signaculum*; but they do not utterly and properly define what it is.

Dr. *Day.* The Ancient Doctors take this word, *Sacramentum*, diversly, and apply it to many things.

Dr. *Oglethorpe.* Ex Augustino & aliis colligitur, Sacramentum posse dici, Sacræ rei Signum, vel, invisibilis gratiæ visibilis Forma, quanquam hæc posterior definitio non conveniat omnibus Sacramentis, sciz. tantum septem istis usitatis; sed nec his quoq; ex æquo, cum non æqualem conferant gratiam.

Dr. *Redmayn.* Generally it is taken to signify every secret Mystery, and *Sacraments* be called, *Sacrarum rerum signa*, or, *Sacra signacula:* And as this word *Sacrament* particularly is attributed to the chief Sacraments of the Church, this definition of a Sacrament may be gathered of St. *August.* *Invisibilis Gratiæ visibilis Forma.* And also that a Sacrament, is a mystical or secret Work which consisteth *ex Verbo & elemento.* And *Cyprian* saith, *Verborum solennitas & sacri invocatio nominis, & signa institutionibus Apostolicis Sacerdotum Ministeriis Attributa, visibile celebrant Sacramentum, rem vero ipsam Spiritus Sanctus format & efficit.*

Dr. *Edgeworth* By the Ancient Authors, *Sacramentum* hath many significations, sometimes it is called a Secret Counsel. *Tob.* 12. *Sacramentum Regis abscondere bonum est.* *Nebuchadnezar's* Dream was called *Sacramentum*, Dan. 2. The Mystery of Christ's Incarnation, and of our Redemption, is so called, *Ephes.* 3. and 1 *Tim.* 3. So that every secret thing having some privy sense or signification, is called *Sacramentum*, generally extending the Vocable: Notwithstanding in one signification, *Sacramentum* accordeth properly to them that be commonly called the *Seven Sacraments*; and hath this definition taken of St. *August.* and others, *Invisibilis gratiæ visibilis Forma, ut ipsius imaginem gerat & quodammodo causa existat.*

Dr. *Symmons.* The Ancient Authors of Divinity use this word *Sacrament* in divers significations, for they call it *Mysterium*; and so the Scripture useth

it in many places, as 1 *Tim.* 3. *Tobie* 12. *Wisd.* 2. *Dan.* 2. *Eph.* 1. & 3. The word *Sacrament* is alſo uſed for a Figure or a Sign of the Old Teſtament, ſignifying *Chriſt*, as the *Paſchal Lamb*, and the *Braſen Serpent*, and divers other Holy Signs. It is alſo taken of the Holy Authors, to be an Holy Sign, which maketh to the ſanctification of the Soul, given of God againſt ſin for our Salvation, as it may be gathered of them; for this word *Sacrament* is called by them, *Sacrum Signum*; but I have not read any expreſs definition common to all Sacraments.

This word *Sacrament*, in the Ancient Authors, is oft-times uſed in this general ſignification, and ſo (as is before-ſaid) it is a Myſtery, or ſecret thing; and ſometimes the ſame word is uſed as appliable only unto the Seven Sacraments; and is thus deſcribed, A viſible Form of an inviſible Grace: and thus alſo, a thing by the which, under the covering of viſible things, the godly Power doth work our health. Dr. *Treſham.*

To the ſecond, I ſay; That *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, is one of the moſt Ancient Authors that I ever could perceive, took upon him to define or deſcribe a *Sacrament*: Howbeit, I ſuppoſe, that this common deſcription which the Schoolmen uſe, after the Maſter of the Sentences, *viz. Sacramentum eſt inviſibilis Gratiæ viſibilis ſeu ſenſibilis Forma*, may be gathered of St. *Auſtin*, and divers other Ancient Author's words in many places of their Works. Dr. *Leyghton.*

I do find no definition plainly ſet forth in old Authors, notwithſtanding this definition, *Inviſibilis Gratiæ viſibilis Forma*, may be gathered out of St. *Auguſtine.* Dr. *Coren.*

In ſecundo Articulo conveniunt omnes, Sacramentum eſſe ſacræ rei ſignum. Treſham, Oglethorpus, & Edgworth, dicunt hanc definitionem, Sacramentum eſt inviſibilis gratiæ viſibilis Forma, his ſeptem convenire. Thurlebeus ait, non convenire omnibus ſeptem, & æque pluribus poſſe attribui atq; ſeptem. *Con.*

In the ſecond they put many Deſcriptions of a *Sacrament*, as the ſign of a holy Thing, a viſible Word, *&c.* But upon this one definition, a Sacrament is a viſible Form of inviſible Grace, they do not all agree: for Doctors, *Edgworth*, *Treſham*, and *Oglethorpe* ſay, That *it is applicable only and properly unto the word* Sacrament, *as it ſignifieth the Seven Sacraments uſually received.* My Lord Elect of *Weſtminſter* ſaith, That *it agreeth not unto all the Seven, nor yet more ſpecially unto the Seven, than unto any other.* *Agreem.*

3. Queſtion.

3. Question.

How many Sacraments there be by the Scripture?

Answers.

Canterbury. THe Scripture sheweth not how many Sacraments there be, but *Incarnatio Christi* and *Matrimonium*, be called in the Scripture *Mysteria*, and therefore we may call them by the Scripture *Sacramenta.* But one *Sacramentum* the Scripture maketh mention of, which is hard to be revealed fully, as would to God it were, and that is *Mysterium Iniquitatis*, or *Mysterium Meretricis magnæ & Bestiæ.*

York. To the third; In Scripture we find no precise number of Sacraments.

London. To the third; I find not set forth the express number, with express declaration of this many and no more; nor yet of these expresly by Scripture which we use, especially under the name of *Sacraments*, saving only of Matrimony.

Rochester. I think that in the Scripture be innumerable Sacraments, for all Mysteries, all Ceremonies, all the Facts of Christ, the whole Story of the *Jews*, and the Revelations of the *Apocalypse*, may be named Sacraments.

Carlile. The certain number of Sacraments, or Mysteries, contained within Scripture, cannot be well expressed or assigned; for Scripture containeth more than infallibly may be rehearsed.

Dr. *Robertson.* De istis septem, quæ usitate vocamus Sacramenta, nullum invenio nomine Sacramenti appellari, nisi Matrimonium. Matrimonium esse Sacramentum, probat Eckius, Homi. 73. & conferre gratiam, ibid.

Dr. *Cox.* There be divers Sacraments by the Scripture, as in *Tobie* 12. *Sacramentum Regis*, the King's Secret. Also *Nebuchadnezars* Dream, *Dan.* 2. is called, *Sacramentum. Incarnatio Christi*, *Sacramentum*, Ephes. 3. *Matrimonium*, *Sacramentum.*

Dr. *Day.* Taking for Sacraments any thing, that this word, *Sacramentum*, doth signify, there be in Scripture a great number of Sacraments more than Seven.

Dr. *Oglethorpe.* Non habetur determinatus Sacramentorum numerus in Scripturis, sunt enim innumera fere illic, quæ passim vocantur Sacramenta; cum omnis allegoria, omneq; Mysterium, dicatur Sacramentum. Quin et somnia, ac secreta, subinde Sacramenta vocantur. Tobiæ 2. Sacramentum Regis abscondere bonum est; & Dan. 2. Imploremus misericordias Dei Cœli super Sacramento isto, & somnio. Paulus etiam Epist. 2. vocat Mysterium Incarnationis Christi Sacramentum : Et in Apoc. 1. vocat Sacramentum septem Stellarum. Ac hoc præcipue observandum venit, nullum

nullum a ſeptem Sacramentis receptis, hoc nomine appellari, præter ſolum Matrimonium.,

As many as there be Myſteries, which be innumerable; but by Scripture, I think, the Seven which be named Sacraments, may principally bear the name. Dr. *Redmayn.*

Speaking of Sacraments generally, they be innumerable ſpoken of in Scripture; but properly to ſpeak of Sacraments, there be but Seven that may be ſo called, of which Matrimony is expreſly called *Sacramentum*, Epheſ. 5. and as I think, in the germane and proper ſignification of a Sacrament; ſo that the indiviſible knot of the Man and his Wife in one Body, by the Sacrament of Matrimony, is the Matter of this Sacrament; upon which, as on the literal verity the Apoſtle foundeth this allegorical ſaying, *Ego autem dico in Chriſto & in Eccleſia*; for the myſtical ſenſe preſuppoſeth a verity in the Letter on which that is taken. Six more there be to which the definition doth agree, as manifeſtly doth appear by the Scriptures with the expoſition of the Ancient Authors. Dr. *Edgewoath*

In the Scripture there is no certain number of Sacraments. Dr. *Symmons.*

I find no more of the ſeven, called expreſly Sacraments, but only Matrimony, but extending the name of Sacrament in his moſt general acception; there are in Scripture a great number of Sacraments, whereof the Apoſtle ſaith, *Si noverint Myſteria omnia, &c.* Dr. *Treſham.*

To the third; I ſay, that I find not in Scripture any of theſe ſeven which we commonly call Sacraments, called *Sacramentum*, but only *Matrimonium*. But I find divers and many other things called Sacraments in Scripture, as in the 21 of *Tobie*, *Sacramentum Regis abſcondere bonum eſt. Item Apoc.* 17. *Dicamus tibi Sacramentum. Item*, 1 *Tim.* 3. *Magnum eſt pietatis Sacramentum, &c.* Dr. *Leyghton.*

I cannot tell how many Sacraments be, by Scripture, for they be above one hundred. Dr. *Coren.*

In tertio conveniunt ſatis: non eſſe certum numerum Sacramentorum per Scripturas. Redmaynus addit, But by Scripture I think the ſeven which be named Sacraments, may principally bear the name. *Idem ſentit Edgworth, & ſeptem tantum. Matrimonium in Scripturis haberi ſub nomine Sacramenti pleriq; dicunt.* Con.

In the third they do agree, That there is no certain number of Sacraments by Scripture, but even as many as there be Myſteries; and none of theſe ſeven called Sacraments, but only Matrimony in Scripture. *Agreement.*

4. Queſtion.

4. Queſtion.

How many Sacraments there be by the Ancient Authors?

Anſwers.

Canterbury BY the Ancient Authors there be many Sacraments more than ſeven, for all the Figures which ſignifie Chriſt to come, or teſtifie that he is come, be called Sacraments, as all the Figures of the Old Law, and in the New Law; *Euchariſtia, Baptiſmus, Paſcha, Dies Dominicus, lotio pedum, ſignum Crucis, Chriſma, Matrimonium, Ordo, Sabbatum, Impoſitio manuum, Oleum, Conſecratio Olei, Lac, Mel, Aqua, Vinum, Sal, Ignis, Cinis, adapertio Aurium, veſtis candida*, and all the Parables of Chriſt, with the Propheſies of the *Apocalyps*, and ſuch others, be called by the Doctors, *Sacramenta.*

York. To the fourth; There is no preciſe number of Sacraments mentioned by the Ancient Authors, taking the word *Sacrament*, in his moſt general ſignification.

London. To the fourth; I find that St. *Auſtine* ſpeaketh *de Baptiſmo, de Eucharistia, de Matrimonio, de Ordinatione clericorum, de Sacramento Chriſmatis & Unctionis:* Alſo I find in the ſaid St. *Auſtine*, that in the Old Law there were many Sacraments, and in the New Law few.

Rocheſter. I think that in the Doctors be found many more Sacraments than ſeven, *viz. Panis Catechumenorum, ſignum Crucis, Oleum, Lac, Sal, Mel, &c.*

Carlile. That Scripture containeth, by the ſame Holy Ghoſt which is Author thereof, the Holy Doctors, and Ancient Fathers expoundeth; So that where in Scripture the number of Sacraments is uncertain, it cannot be among them certain.

Dr. *Robertſon.* Apud Auguſtinum lego Sacramentum Nuptiarum, Sacramentum Baptiſmi, Sacramentum Euchariſtiæ, quod & altaris ſive panis vocat; Sacramentum Ordinationis; Sacramentum Chriſmatis, quod datur per manus impoſitionem Baptizatis; Sacramentum Unctionis.

Dr. *Cox.* I find in the Ancient Authors, that *Baptiſm* is called *Sacramentum, Eucharistia, Sacramentum, Matrimonium Sacramentum, Ordo Sacramentum, Chriſma Sacramentum, Impoſitio Manuum per Baptiſmum Sacramentum, Dilectio Sacramentum, Lotio pedum Sacramentum, Oleum, Mel, Lac, Sacramenta*; and many others.

Dr. *Day.* There be a great ſort of Sacraments found in the Doctors, after the acception above-ſaid, more than ſeven.

Dr. *Oglethorp.* Apud Scriptores Eccleſiaſticos reperiuntur multo plura Sacramenta quam hæc ſeptem.

Taking

Taking this word Sacrament univerſally for Myſteries, or all ſecret Tokens, there be more Sacraments than can be reckoned; but the ſeven by old Authors may ſpecially obtain the name. *Lotio pedum* is ſpoken of in old Authors as a ſpecial Sacrament uſed then in the Church, and as it appeareth, having a great ground in the Scripture; and I think it were better to renew that again, and ſo to have eight Sacraments, rather than to diminiſh the number of the ſeven now uſed. Dr. *Redmayn.*

Even like as to the next Queſtion before. Dr. *Edgeworth*

The ancient Authors acknowledg many more than ſeven; for they call in their Writings all Rites and Ceremonies, Sacraments. Dr. *Symmons.*

Generally, as many as Myſteries, ſpecially ſeven, and no more of like nature to them; for although I find not expreſs mention where Penance is called a Sacrament, yet I think it may be deduced and proved by *Cyprian*, in his Sermon *de Paſſione Chriſti*, in theſe words. *Deniq; quicunq; fiunt Sacramentorum Miniſtri, per operationem authoritas in figura Crucis omnibus Sacramentis largitur effectum, & cuncta peragit nobis quod omnibus nominibus eminet a Sacramentorum vicariis invocatum: At licet indigni ſint qui accipiunt, Sacramentorum tamen reverentia & propinquiorem ad Deum parat acceſſum, & ubi redierint ad cor conſtat ablutionis donum, & redit effectus munerum, nec alias quæri aut repeti neceſſe eſt ſalutiferum Sacramentum*; in theſe words, *redit effectus munerum*; and, *nec alias repeti neceſſe eſt ſalutiferum Sacramentum*, muſt needs be underſtood Penance, and alſo that Penance is a Sacrament: For as our firſt acceſs to God is by the Sacrament *Baptiſm*, which *Cyprian* there following called *Ablutionem primam*; ſo if we fall by deadly ſin, we cannot *repetere* God again, but by Penance; which repeting (*i. e.*) Penance, *Cyprian* calleth *Salutiferum Sacramentum.* Dr. *Treſham.*

To the fourth, I ſay; That I find in ancienter Authors, every one of theſe ſeven, which we call commonly Sacraments, called *Sacramentum*; as in *Auſtin* every one of them is called *Sacramentum* but only Penance, which *Cyprian* calleth *Sacramentum.* Alſo I find in the ancienter Authors divers other things (beſides the ſeven) called Sacraments, as *Lotio pedum* in *Cyprian*, &c. Dr. *Leyghton.*

More Sacraments be found in old Authors than Seven. Dr. *Coren.*

In quarto conveniunt, plura eſſe Sacramenta quam ſeptem apud Authores: Redman addit; But the ſeven, by old Authors, may ſpecially obtain the name. *Idem putat Edgworth*, and *Treſham. Lotio pedum*, he thinketh were better to be renewed, and ſo made 8. Sacraments, than the number of the ſeven to be diminiſhed. *Treſhamus citat Cyprianum in Serm. de Paſſione Chriſti pro pœnitentia, quod dicatur Sacramentum, cum alii fere omnes nuſquam appellari aiunt Sacramentum apud Authores, & hic locus aperte agit de Baptiſmo, quod vocat donum ablutionis, & Sacramentum Salutiferum.* *Con.*

In the fourth they agree, That there is no determinate number of Sacraments ſpoken of in the old Authors; but that my Lord of *York*, *Agreement.*

and *Edgworth*, *Tresham*, *Redman*, *Crayford*, and *Simmons*, say, That those seven, by old Authors, may specially obtain the name of Sacraments. The Bishop of St. *Davids* saith, That there be but four Sacraments in the old Doctors most chiefly spoken of, and they be *Baptism*, the Sacrament of the *Altar*, *Matrimony*, and *Pennance*.

5. Question.

Whether this word Sacrament, *be and ought to be attributed to the seven only? and whether the seven Sacraments be found in any of the old Authors?*

Answers.

Canterbury I Know no cause why this word, *Sacrament*, should be attributed to the seven only; for the old Authors never prescribed any certain number of Sacraments, nor in all their Books I never read these two words joined together, *viz.* *septem Sacramenta.*

York. To the fifth; To the first part of this Question, this word, *Sacrament*, is used and applied in Scripture, to some things that be none of the seven Sacraments. To the second part; The seven Sacraments be found in some of the ancient Authors.

London. To the fifth, I answer; That this word, *Sacrament*, in our Language commonly hath been attributed to the seven customably called Sacraments, not for that yet, that the word Sacrament cannot be applied to any more, but for that the seven have been specially of very long and ancient season received, continued and taken for things of such sort.

Rochester. I think that the name of a Sacrament, is and may be attributed to more than seven, and that all the seven Sacraments be found in the old Authors, tho all peradventure be not found in one Author. But I have not read Pennance called by the name of a Sacrament in any of them.

Carlile. Certain it is, that this word Sacrament, neither is nor ought to be attributed to seven only, for both Scripture and ancient Authers otherwise applieth it, but yet nothing letteth, but that this word Sacrament may most especially, and in a certain due preheminence, be applied to the seven Sacraments, of most ancient name and usage among Christian Men. And that the ancient Authors have so used and applied it, affirmeth the said *Thomas Walden.* convincing *Wycliffe* and *Berengarius* who enforced the contrary, from *Cyprian*, and also *Augustine*, with other holy Doctors, they may so well be gathered.

Dr. *Robertson.* Vocabulum, Sacramenti, in Sacris Literis, nulli Sacramentorum quod sciam tribuitur, nisi Matrimonio: a vetustis Scriptoribus tribuitur Ceremoniis & umbris legis, Incarnationi Christi, figuris, allegoriis, & festivitatibus:

vitatibus: Apud Paulum legitur divinitatis, voluntatis divinæ, & pietatis Sacramentum. Cæterum loquendo de Sacramentis his, quæ sunt invisibilis gratiæ collatæ in Ecclesia Christi visibilia signa, opinor non plura quam septem inveniri, hisq; magis proprie quam reliquis, sub hac ratione, tribui nomen Sacramenti.

This word Sacrament is not, nor ought not to be attributed to these seven only. Those that we call seven Sacraments, be found in old Authors, although some of them be seldom found called by this name Sacrament. Dr. *Cox.*

This word, *Sacramentum*, neither is, nor ought to be so attributed unto these seven, but that it is, and may be attributed to many more things, and so the ancienter Doctors use it. The seven Sacraments be found in ancient Doctors under the name of Sacrament, saving that I remember not that I have read in them *Pennance* called a Sacrament. Dr. *Day.*

Nomen commune est multis aliis rebus, quam septem istis usitatis Sacramentis. Septem Sacramenta, seorsim & sparsim reperiuntur in veterum monumentis. Dr. *Oglethorpe.*

To the seven specially and principally, and in general to innumerable more. But I cannot tell whether in any old Author might be found these two words, *seven Sacraments*, or this number limited; but every one of the seven Sacraments, one by one, be found in the old Authors. Dr. *Redmayn.*

Sacramentum in his proper signification, is and ought to be attributed to the seven only; and they be all seven found in the Authors. Dr. *Edgeworth*

This word, Sacrament, is not only to be attributed to the seven, but that the seven Sacraments especially conferreth Grace, the old Authors especially accounteth them by the number of seven; and these seven are found in Authors and Scriptures, altho they be not found by the name of *seven.* Dr. *Symmons.*

I say, This word, Sacrament, is attributed to the seven; and that the seven Sacraments are found in the ancient Authors. Dr. *Tresham.*

To the fifth I say, first, (as before) that this word, *Sacramentum*, is not applied or attributed in Holy Scripture to any of the seven, but only to *Matrimony*. But it is attributed in Scripture and ancient Authors to many other things besides these: Howbeit, taking this word, *Sacramentum*, for a sensible sign of the invisible Grace of God given unto Christian People, as the Schoolmen and many late Writers take it; I think that these seven commonly called Sacraments, are to be called only and most properly Sacraments. Dr. *Leyghton.*

This word, Sacrament, may well be attributed to the seven; and so it is found in old Authors, saving that I do not read expresly in old Doctors, *Pennance* to be under the name of a Sacrament, unless it be in *Chrysostome*, in the Exposition *ad Hebræ. Homil.* 20. *sect.* 1. *cap.* 10. *in principio.* Dr. *Coren.*

Non.Con. In quinto præter Herfordenſ. Roffenſ. Dayium. Oglethorpum, Menevenſ. & Coxum, putant omnes nomen Sacramenti præcipue his ſeptem convenire. Symons addit, *The ſeven Sacraments ſpecially confer Grace :* Eboracenſ. Curreu, Treſham, Symons, aiunt ſeptem Sacramenta inveniri apud veteres, quanquam Curren & Symons mox videntur iterum negare.

Diſſent. In the fifth; The Biſhops of *Hereford* and St. *David*, Dr. *Day*, Dr. *Cox*, ſay, That this word, Sacrament, in the old Authors, is not attributed unto the ſeven only, and ought not to be attributed. The Biſhop of *Carlile* alledging *Waldenſis*. Doctors *Curren*, *Edgworth*, *Symons*, *Treſham* ſay, That it is and may be attributed. And Dr. *Curren*, and Mr. *Symmons*, ſeem to vary againſt themſelves each in their own Anſwers; for Dr. *Curren* ſaith, That this word, Sacrament, is attributed unto the ſeven in the old Doctors, and yet he cannot find that it is attributed unto *Pennance*. Dr. *Symons* ſaith, That the old Authors account them by the number of ſeven; and yet he ſaith, That they be not found there by the name of *ſeven*.

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6. Queſtion.

Whether the determinate number of ſeven Sacraments be a Doctrine, either of the Scripture, or of the old Authors, and ſo to be taught?

Anſwers.

Canterbury. THe determinate number of ſeven Sacraments is no Doctrine of the Scripture, nor of the old Authors.

York. To the ſixth; The Scripture maketh no mention of the Sacraments determined to ſeven preciſely; but the Scripture maketh mention of ſeven Sacraments, which be uſed in Chriſt's Church, and grounded partly in Scripture; and no more be in uſe of the ſaid Church but ſeven ſo grounded; and ſome of the ancient Doctors make mention of ſeven, and of no more than ſeven, as uſed in Chriſt's Church ſo grounded; wherefore a Doctrine may be had of ſeven Sacraments preciſely uſed in Chriſt's Church, and grounded in Scripture.

London. To the ſixth; I think it be a Doctrine ſet forth by the ancient Fathers, one from another, taking their matter and ground out of Scripture, as they underſtood it; tho Scripture for all that doth not give unto all the ſeven, the ſpecial names by which now they are called, nor yet openly call them by the name of Sacrament, except only (as is before-ſaid) the Sacrament of *Matrimony*.

Rocheſter. Albeit the ſeven Sacraments be in effect found both in the Scripture, and in the old Authors, and may therefore be ſo taught; yet I have not read this preciſe and determinate number of ſeven

Sacra-

Sacraments, neither in the Scripture, nor in the ancient Writers.

By what is here before-said, I think it doth well appear, that both the Scripture of God, and holy Expositors of the same, would have the seven Sacraments both taught, and in due form exhibited to all Christian People, as it shall also better appear by what followeth. *Carlile.*

In Scriptura tantum unum ex istis septem Sacramentum vocari invenio, nimirum Matrimonium: apud veteres reperiuntur omnia hæc septem, a nullo tamen, quod sciam, nomine 7. Sacramentorum celebrari, nisi quod Erasf. ait 7. a veteribus recenseri: Augusf. loquens de Sacramentis ad Januarium Ep. 118. ait numerum septenarium tribui Ecclesiæ proprie instar universitatis; Item objectum fuisse Husso in Concilio Constantienti quod infideliter senserit de 7. Sacramentis. De perfectione Num. Septenarii, vide Augusf. lib. 1. de Civ. cap. 31. Dr. *Robertson.*

This determinate number of seven Sacraments, is no Doctrine of Scripture, nor of the old Authors, nor ought not to be taught as such a determinate number by Scripture and old Authors. Dr. *Cox.*

Neither the Scripture, nor the ancient Authors, do recite the determinate number of the seven Sacraments; but the Doctrine of the seven Sacraments is grounded in Scripture, and taught by the ancient Authors, albeit not altogether. Dr. *Day.*

Septenarius Sacramentorum numerus, Doctrina est recentium Theologorum; quam illi partim ex Scriptura, partim ex veterum scriptis, argute in sacrum hunc (ut aiunt) numerum, collegerunt. Dr. *Oglethorpe.*

I think, as I find by old Authors, the ancient Church used all these seven Sacraments; and so I think it good to be taught. Dr. *Redmayn.*

The determinate number of seven Sacraments, is not taught in any one Process of the Scripture, nor of any one of the old Authors of purpose speaking of them altogether, or in one Process, as far as I can remember; albeit they all seven be there, and there spoken of in Scripture manifestly, and so have the old Authors left them in sundry places of their Writings; and so it ought to be taught. Dr. *Edgworth.*

Forasmuch as the Scripture teacheth these seven, and sheweth special Graces given by the same, the which are not so given by others, called *Sacraments*, the old Authors perceiving the special Graces, have accounted them in a certain number, and so have been used by Doctors to be called *seven*, and without inconvenience may so be taught. Dr. *Symmons.*

I say, The determinate number of seven is not expresly mentioned in the Scripture, like as the determinate number of the seven Petitions of the Prayer is not expresly mentioned; and as I think the seven Petitions to have their ground in Scripture, even so do I think of the seven Sacraments, to be grounded in Scripture. Dr. *Tresham.*

To

Dr. Leyghton. To the ſixth I ſay as before, That the old Authors call each of theſe ſeven, Sacraments; but be it, I cannot remember that ever I read the determinate, preciſe, and expreſs number of ſeven Sacraments in any of the ancient Authors, nor in Scripture. Howbeit we may find in Scripture, and the old Authors, alſo mention made, and the doctrine of each of theſe ſeven, commonly called *Sacraments*.

Dr. *Coren*. The determinate number of ſeven, is a Doctrine to be taught, for every one of them be contained in Scripture, tho they have not the number of ſeven ſet forth there, no more than the Petitions of the *Pater Noſter* be called ſeven, nor the Articles of the Creed be called twelve.

Con. Priori parti Quæſtiones negative Reſpondent. Herfordenſ. Menevenſ. Roffenſ. Dayus, Dunelmenſ. Oglethorpus, Thurleby: Poſteriori parti, quod ſit Doctrina conveniens reſpondent affirmative, Eboracen. Roffen. Carliolen. Londinen. Dayus, Edgworth, Redmayn, Symmons, Curren: Londinen. & Redmanus non reſpondent priori parti Quæſtionis, nec Oglethorpus, Treſham, Robinſonus Poſteriori. Eboracen. Londin. Symmons, Curren, volunt è Scripturis peti Doctrinam Septem. Sacramentorum.

Agreement. In the ſixth, touching the determinate number of the ſeven Sacraments, the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, *Hereford*, *St. David*, and *Rocheſter*, the Elect of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Day*, and Dr. *Oglethorpe* ſay, *This preſcribed number of Sacraments is not found in the old Authors*. The Biſhop of *York*, Drs. *Curren*, *Treſham*, and *Symmons*, ſay the contrary. Concerning the ſecond part, Whether it be a Doctrine to be taught? The Biſhops of *Hereford*, *St. Davids*, and Dr. *Cox*, *Think it ought not to be ſo taught as ſuch a determinate number by Scripture*. The Biſhops of *York*, *London*, *Carlile*; Drs. *Day*, *Curren*, *Treſham*, *Symmons*, *Crayford*, *Think it a Doctrine meet to be taught*: And ſome of them ſay, That *it is founded on Scripture*.

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7. Queſtion.

What is found in Scripture of the Matter, Nature, Effect, and Vertue of ſuch as we call the ſeven Sacraments, ſo as altho the Name be not there, yet whether the thing be in Scripture or no, and in what wiſe ſpoken of?

Anſwers.

Canterbury. I Find not in the Scripture, the Matter, Nature, and Effect of all theſe which we call the ſeven Sacraments, but only of certain of them, as of *Baptiſm*, in which we be regenerated and pardoned of our ſin by the Blood of Chriſt: Of *Euchariſtia*, in which we be concorporated unto Chriſt, and made lively Members of his Body, nouriſhed and

and fed to the Everlasting Life, if we receive it as we ought to do, and else it is to us rather Death than Life. Of *Pennance* also I find in the Scripture, whereby Sinners after Baptism returning wholly unto God, be accepted again unto God's Favour and Mercy. But the Scripture speaketh not of *Pennance*, as we call it a Sacrament, consisting in three parts, *Contrition*, *Confession*, and *Satisfaction*; but the Scripture taketh *Pennance* for a pure conversion of a sinner in heart and mind from his sins unto God, making no mention of private Confession of all deadly sins to a Priest, nor of Ecclesiastical satisfaction to be enjoined by him. Of *Matrimony* also I find very much in Scripture, and among other things, that it is a mean whereby God doth use the infirmity of our Concupiscence to the setting forth of his Glory, and encrease of the World, thereby sanctifying the Act of Carnal Conjunction between the Man and the Wife to that use; yea, altho one party be an Infidel: and in this *Matrimony* is also a Promise of Salvation, if the Parents bring up their Children in the Faith, Love, and Fear of God. Of the Matter, Nature, and Effect of the other three, that is to say, *Confirmation*, *Order*, and extream *Unction*, I read nothing in the Scripture as they be taken for Sacraments.

To the seventh; Of *Baptism*, we find in Scripture the Justification by the Word of Christ; we find also that the Matter of *Baptism* is Water, the Effect and Vertue is Remission of Sins. Of *Confirmation*, we find that the Apostles did confirm those that were baptized, by laying their hands upon them, and that the Effect then was the coming of the Holy Ghost into them, upon whom the Apostles laid their hands, in a visible sign of the Gift of divers Languages, and therewith of ghostly strength to confess Christ, following upon the same. Of the Sacrament of the *Altar*, we find the Institution by Christ, and the Matter thereof, Bread and Wine, the Effect, Increase of Grace. Of the Sacrament of *Pennance*, we find the Institution in the Gospel, the Effect, Reconciliation of the sinner, and the union of him to the Mystical Body of Christ. Of the Sacrament of *Matrimony*, we find the Institution both in the Old and New Testament, and the Effect thereof, Remedy against Concupiscence and discharge of sin, which otherwise should be in the Office of Generation. Of the Sacrament of *Order*, we find, that our Saviour gave to his Apostles power to baptize, to bind and to loose sinners, to remit sins, and to receive them, to teach and preach his Word, and to consecrate his most precious Body and Blood, which be the highest offices of Order; and the effect thereof Grace, we find in Scripture. Of extream *Unction*, we find in the Epistle of the Holy Apostle St. *James*, and of the Effects of the same. *York.*

To the seventh, I find, that St. *Austin* is of this sentence, That *where the Sacraments of the Old Law did promise Grace and Comfort, the Sacraments of the New Law do give it indeed.* And moreover he saith, That *that the Sacraments of the New Law are,* factu faciliora, pauciora, salubriora, & foeliciora, *more easier, more fewer, more wholsomer, and more happy.* *London.*

The

Rochester. The Scripture teacheth of *Baptism*, the Sacrament of the *Altar*, *Matrimony* and *Pennance* manifestly: There be also in the Scripture manifest examples of Confirmation, *viz.* That it was done after Baptism by the Apostles, *per manuum Impositionem.* The Scripture teacheth also of *Order*, that it was done, *per manuum Impositionem cum oratione & jejunio.* Of the Unction of sick Men, the Epistle of St. *James* teacheth manifestly.

Carlisle. I think verily, That of the Substance, Effect, and Vertue of these seven usual Sacraments, that are to be taken and esteemed above others, we have plainly and expresly by Holy Scripture. Of *Baptism*, That whosoever believeth in Christ, and is Christned, shall be saved; and except that one be born again of Water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot come within the Kingdom of God. Of *Matrimony*, we have in Scripture, both by name, and in effect, in the Old and New Testament, both by Christ and his Apostle *Paul.* Of the Sacrament of the *Altar*, I find plainly expresly, both in the Holy Gospels, and other places of Scripture. Of *Pennance* in like manner. Of *Confirmation* we have in Scripture, that when the *Samaritans*, by the preaching of *Philip*, had received the Word of God and were Christened; the Apostles hearing of the same, sent *Peter* and *John* unto them; who when they came thither, they prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Ghost: then they laid their hands upon them, and so they received the Holy Ghost; *This*, saith *Bede*, *is the Office and Duty only of Bishops.* And *this manner and form* (saith St. *Hierom*) *as it is written in the* Acts, *the Church hath kept, That the Bishop should go abroad to call for the Grace of the Holy Ghost, and lay his hands upon them, who had been Christened by Priests and Deacons.* Of the Sacrament of *Orders*, we have, That Christ made his Apostles the Teachers of his Law, and Ministers of his Sacraments, that they should duly do it, and make and ordain others likewise to do it after them. And so the Apostles ordained *Matthias* to be one of their number, St. *Paul* made and ordained *Timothy* and *Titus*, with others likewise. Of the Sacrament of *Extream Unction*, we have manifestly in the Gospel of *Mark*, and Epistle of St. *James.*

Dr. *Robertson.* Materia Sacramentorum est Verbum & Elementum, virtus quam Deus per illa digne sumentibus conferat gratiam, juxta suam promissionem, nimirum quod sint Sacra Signacula, non tantum signantia sed etiam significantia. Unde opinor constare hanc Sacramentorum vim esse in Sacris Literis.

Dr. *Cox.* I find in Scripture, of such things as we use to call *Sacraments.* First, Of *Baptism* manifestly. Of *Eucharistia* manifestly. Of *Pennance* manifestly. Of *Matrimony* manifestly. Of *Ordering*, *per manus Impositionem & Orationem* manifestly. It is also manifest, that the Apostles laid their hands upon them that were Christened. Of the *Unction* of the Sick with Prayer manifestly.

Dr. *Day.* Albeit the seven Sacraments be not found in Scripture expressed by name, yet the thing it self, that is, the Matter, Nature, Effect and Vertue of

of them is found there. Of *Baptism* in divers places; of the most Holy Communion; of Matrimony; of Absolution; of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, how they were ordained *per manuum Impositionem cum Oratione*; Of laying the Apostles hands on them that were Christened, which is a part of Confirmation; of Unction of them that were sick, with Prayer joined withal.

Natura, vis, effectus, ac uniuscujusq; Sacramenti proprietas, seorsim in Scriptura reperitur, ut veteres eam interpretati sunt. Dr. *Oglethorp.*

As it appeareth in the Articles which be drawn of the said seven Sacraments. Dr. *Redmayn.*

In Scripture we find of the Form of the Sacraments, as the words *Sacramental*; and the Matter, as the *Element*, *Oil*, *Chrism*; and the Patient receiving the Sacrament; and of Grace and encrease of Vertue given by them, as the Effects. Dr. *Edgeworth*

The things are contained in Scripture, as *Baptism*, *Confirmation*, *Eucharistia*, *Pœnitentia*, *Extrema Unctio*, *Ordo*, altho they have not there this name *Sacramentum*, as Matrimony hath; and every one of them hath his Matter, Nature, Effect and Vertue. Dr. *Symmons.*

I think the Thing, the Matter, the Nature, the Effect, and Vertue of them all be in the Scripture, and all there institute by God's Authority, for I think that no one Man, neither the whole Church hath power to Institute a Sacrament, but that such Institution pertaineth only to God. Dr. *Tresham.*

To the seventh, I say, That we may evidently find in Scripture, the substance of every one of the seven Sacraments, the Nature, Effect, and Vertue of the same; as of *Baptism*, *Confirmation*, *Pennance*, *Matrimony*, and so forth of the rest. Dr. *Leyghton.*

Of the Matter, Nature, Vertue, and Effect, of such as we call *Sacraments*, Scripture maketh mention: Of *Baptism* manifestly; of the most *Holy Communion* manifestly; of *Absolution* manifestly; of *Matrimony* manifestly; of *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*, Scripture speaketh manifestly; for they were ordered, *per Impositiones manuum Presbyterii cum Oratione & jejunio.* Dr. *Coren.*

Conveniunt præter Menevens. naturam septem Sacramentorum nobis tradi in Scripturis. Eboracens. effectus singulorum enumerat, item Carliolens. *Con.*

Londinens. non Respondet Quæstioni. Treshamus ait ideo ê Scripturis tradi nobis Sacramenta, quoniam tota Ecclesia non habet Authoritatem Instituendi Sacramenta.

In the seventh they do agree, saving this; That the Bishop of St. *David* says, That *the Nature, Effect, and Vertue of these seven Sacraments, only Baptism, the Sacrament of the Altar, Matrimony, Pennance, are contained* *Agreement.*

tained in the Scripture. The other say, That *the Nature and the Vertue of all the seven, be contained in the Scripture.*

8. Question.

Whether Confirmation, cum Crismate, *of them that be Baptized, be found in Scripture?*

Answers.

Canterbury OF *Confirmation* with *Chrism,* without which it is counted no Sacrament, there is no mention in the Scripture.

York. To the eighth; We find Confirmation, *cum Impositione manuum* in Scripture, as before; *cum Chrismate* we find not in the Scripture, but yet we find Chrismation with Oil used even from the time of the Apostles, and so taken as a Tradition Apostolick.

London. To the eighth; I find in Scripture, in many places, *de Impositione manuum,* which I think (considering the usage commonly and so long withal used) to be Confirmation; and that with Chrism, to supply the visible appearance of the Holy Ghost, which Holy Ghost was so visibly seen in the Primitive Church; nevertheless for the perfect declaration of the verity hereof, I refer it to the judgment of Men of higher knowledg in this Faculty.

Rochester. Altho Confirmation be found in the Scripture, by Example, as I said before, yet there is nothing written *de Chrismate.*

Carlile. The Imposition of Hands, the Holy Doctors take for the same which we call Confirmation, done upon them which were christened before, whereof is written in the *Acts.* And as for *Chrisma,* it should seem by *Cyprian,* both as touching the confection and usage thereof, that it hath a great ground to be derived out of Scripture, tho it be not manifestly therein spoken of.

Dr. *Robertson.* Res & Effectus Confirmationis continentur in Scriptura, nempe, Impositio manuum per Apostolos Baptizatis, per quam dabatur Spiritus Sanctus. De Chrismate nihil illic legimus, quia per id tempus Spiritus Sanctus signo visibili descenderit in Baptizatos. Quod ubi fieri desierit, Ecclesia Chrismate signi externi loco uti cœpit.

Dr. *Cox.* I find not in Scripture that the Apostles laying their hands upon them that were baptized, did anoint them *Chrismate.*

Dr. *Day.* Confirmation *cum Chrismate* I read not in Scripture, but *Impositionem manuum super Baptizatos* I find there is, which ancient Authors call *Confirmation*; and Inunction with *Chrisma* hath been used from the Primitive Church.

De Impositione manuum cum Oratione, expressa mentio est in Scripturis, quæ nunc usitato nomine, a Doctoribus dicitur, Confirmatio. Sacrum Chrisma, traditio est Apostolica, ut ex veteribus liquet. Dr. *Ogletborpe.*

The Question is not simple, but as if it were asked, Whether *Eucharistia in infermentato*, be in the Scripture, or, *baptismus cum sale*. Imposition of the Apostles hands, in which was conferred the Holy Ghost for Confirmation of them who were baptized, is found in Scripture. *Chrisma* is a Tradition deduced from the Apostles, as may be gathered by Scripture, and by the Old Authors, and the Mystery thereof is not to be despised. Dr. *Redmayn.*

This Sacrament is one, *unitate integritatis*, as some others be: Therefore it hath two parts; of which one, that is, *Impositio manuum*, is taken *Heb.* 6. & *Act.* 8. The other part, that is, *Chrisme*, is taken of the Tradition of the Fathers, and so used from the Primitive Church. *vid. Cyp. Epist. lib.* 1. *Ep.* 12. Dr. *Edgeworth*

Confirmation is found in Scripture, and Confirmation *cum Chrismate*, is gathered from the old Authors. Dr. *Symmons.*

I say Confirmation is found in Scripture, but this additament, *cum Chrismate*, is not of the Scripture, yet is it a very ancient Tradition, as appeareth by *Cyp. de Unct. Chrism.* Dr. *Tresham.*

To the eighth Question, I say, That Confirmation of them that be baptized, is found in Scripture, but *cum Chrismate* it is not found in Scripture, but it was used *cum Chrismate* in the Church soon after the Apostles time, as it may evidently appear by the cited Authors. Dr. *Leyghton.*

The laying of the Bishops hands upon them that be christened, which is a part of Confirmation, is plainly in Scripture; and the Unction with *Chrisme*, which is another part, hath been observed from the Primitive Church, and is called of St. *Austin*, *Sacramentum Chrismatis*. Unction of the Sick with Oil, and the Prayer, is grounded expresly in Scripture. Dr. *Coren.*

Conveniunt omnes Confirmationem cum Chrismate non haberi in Scripturis. Eboracens. Tresham, Coren, Day, Oglethorpe, Edgworth, Leighton, Symmons, Redman, Robinsonus, Confirmationem in, Scripturis esse contendunt; cæterum Chrisma esse traditionem Apostolicam: addit Robertsonus, & ubi fieri desierat miraculum Consecrandi Spiritus Sancti, Ecclesia Chrismate signi externi loco uti cœpit; Convenit illi Londinens. *Con.*

Carliolens. putat usum Chrismatis ex Scripturis peti posse; Putant omnes tum in hoc Articulo, tum superiori, Impositionem manuum esse Confirmationem.

In the eighth they do agree all, except it be the Bishop of *Carlile*, That *Confirmatio cum Chrismate* is not found in Scripture, but only *Confirmatio cum manuum Impositione*. And that also my Lord of St. *Davids* *Agreement.*

 denieth

denieth to be in Scripture, as we call it a *Sacrament*. My Lord of *Carlile* faith, That *Chrisma, as touching the confection and usage thereof, hath a ground to be derived out of Scripture.* The other say, That *it is but a Tradition.*

3. Question.

Whether the Apostles lacking a higher Power, as in not having a Christian King among them, made Bishops by that necessity, or by Authority given by God?

Answers.

Canterbury. ALL Christian Princes have committed unto them immediately of God the whole Cure of all their Subjects, as well concerning the Administration of God's Word, for the Cure of Souls, as concerning the ministration of things Political and Civil Governance: And in both these Ministrations, they must have sundry Ministers under them to supply that, which is appointed to their several Offices. The Civil Ministers under the King's Majesty, in this Realm of *England*, be those whom it shall please his Highness for the time to put in Authority under him: As for Example; The Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Great Master, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Admiral, Majors, Sheriffs, *&c.* The Ministers of God's Word, under his Majesty, be the Bishops, Parsons, Vicars, and such other Priests as be appointed by his Highness to that Ministration: As for Example, The Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *Duresme*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Parson of *Winwick*, &c. All the said Officers and Ministers, as well of that sort as the other, be appointed, assigned, and elected, and in every place, by the Laws and Orders of Kings and Princes. In the admission of many of these Officers, be divers comely Ceremonies and Solemnities used, which be not of necessity, but only for a good order and seemly fashion; for if such Offices and Ministrations were committed without such solemnity, they were nevertheless truly committed: And there is no more Promise of God, that Grace is given in the committing of the Ecclesiastical Office, than it is in the committing of the Civil Office. In the Apostles time, when there was no Christian Princes, by whose Authority Ministers of God's Word might be appointed, nor Sins by the Sword corrected, there was no Remedy then for the correction of Vice, or appointing of Ministers, but only the consent of Christian Multitude among themselves, by an uniform consent, to follow the advice and perswasion of such Persons whom God had most endued with the Spirit of Counsel and Wisdom: And at that time, forasmuch as the Christian People had no Sword, nor Governour amongst them, they were constrained of necessity to take such Curats and Priests, as either they knew themselves to be meet thereunto, or else as were commended unto them by others, that were so replete with the Spirit of God, with such knowledg in the profession of Christ, such Wisdom, such Conversation and Counsel,

sed, that they ought even of very Conscience to give credit unto them, and to accept such as by them were presented: and so sometimes the Apostles and others, unto whom God had given abundantly his Spirit, sent or appointed Ministers of God's Word; sometimes the People did choose such, as they thought meet thereunto; and when any were appointed or sent by the Apostles or others, the People of their own voluntary Will with thanks did accept them: nor for the Supremity, Empire, or Dominion, that the Apostles had over them to command, as their Princes and Masters, but as good People ready to obey the advice of good Counsellors, and to accept any thing that was necessary for their edification and benefit.

To the ninth; We find in Scripture, that the Apostles used the Power to make Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; which Power may be grounded upon these words; *Sicut misit me vivens Pater, sic ego mitto vos, &c.* And we verily think, that they durst not have used so high Power, unless they had had Authority from Christ; but that their Power to ordain Bishops, Priests, or Deacons, by Imposition of Hands requireth any other Authority, than Authority of God, we neither read in Scripture, nor out of Scripture. *York.*

To the ninth; I think the Apostles made Bishops by the Law of God, because, *Acts* 22. it is said, *In quo vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit*: Nevertheless, I think if Christian Princes had been then, they should have named by Right, and appointed the said Bishops to their Rooms and Places. *London.*

I think that the Apostles made Bishops by Authority given them from God. *Rochester.*

That Christ made his Apostles, Priests, and Bishops, and that he gave them Power to make others like, it seemeth to be the very trade of Scripture. *Carlile.*

Opinor Apostolos Authoritate Divina creasse Episcopos & Presbyteros, ubi Publicus Magistratus permittit. Dr. *Robertson.*

Altho the Apostles had no authority to force any Man to be Priest, yet (they moved by the Holy Ghost) had authority of God to exhort and induce Men to set forth God's Honour, and so to make them Priests. Dr. *Cox.*

The Apostles made, that is to say, ordained Bishops by authority given them by God; *Joh.* 20. *Sicut misit me vivens Pater, ita & ego mitto vos. Item Joan. ult. & Act.* 20. and 1 *Tim.* 4. *Paulus ordinavit Timotheum & Titum, & præscribit quales illi debeant ordinare.* 1 *Tim.* 1. *Tit.* 1. Dr. *Day.*

Apostoli autoritate & mandato Dei, ordinabant ac instituebant Episcopos, petita ac obtenta prius facultate a Principe ac Magistratu (ut opinor) qui tum præerat. Dr. *Oglethorpe.*

Christ

Dr. *Redmayn.* Christ gave his Apostles authority to make other Bishops and Ministers in his Church, as he had received authority of the Father to make them Bishops; but if any Christian Prince had then been, the Apostles had been, and ought to have been obedient Subjects, and would nothing have attempted, but under the permission and assent of their Earthly Governors: yet was it meet that they which were special and most Elect Servants of our Saviour Christ, and were sent by him to convert the World, and having most abundantly the Holy Ghost in them, should have special ordering of such Ministry as pertained to the planting and encreasing of the Faith; whereunto I doubt not, but a Christian Prince, of his godly mind, would most lovingly have condescended. And it is to be considered, that in this Question, with other like, this word, *making of a Bishop, or Priest*, may be taken two ways: for understanding the Word, to ordain or consecrate, so it is a thing which pertaineth to the Apostles and their Successors only; but if by this word (*Making*) be understood the appointing or naming to the Office; so, it pertaineth specially to the Supream Heads and Governours of the Church, which be Princes.

Dr. *Edgworth.* The Apostles made Bishops and Priests by authority given them of God, and not for lack of any higher Power: Notwithstanding where there is a Christned King or Prince, the Election, Deputation and Assignation of them, that shall be Priests or Bishops, belongeth to the King or Prince, so that he may forbid any Bishop within his Kingdom, that he give no orders, for Considerations moving him, and may assign him a time when he shall give Orders, and to whom: Example of King *David*, 1 Chron. 24. dividing the *Levites* into 24 Orders, deputing over every Order one chief Bishop, prescribing an Ordinal and Rule how they should do their Duties, their Courses; and what Sacrifices, Rites, and Ceremonies, they should use every day, as the day and time required. And his Son, King *Solomon*, diligently executed, and commanded the same usages to be observed in the Temple, after he had erected and finished it, 2 *Chron.* 8.

Dr. *Symmons.* The Apostles made Bishops and Priests, by authority given them of God.

Dr. *Tresham.* I say, That the Apostles had authority of God to make Bishops; yet if there had been a Christian King in any place where they made Bishops, they would, and ought, to have desired authority also of him, for the executing of such their godly Acts, which no Christian King would have denied.

Dr. *Leyghton.* To the ninth, I say, That the Apostles (as I suppose) made Bishops by authority given unto them of Christ: Howbeit I think they would and should, required the Christian Princes consent and license thereto, if there had been any Christian Kings or Princes.

Dr. *Coren.* The Apostles made Bishops and Priests by authority given them of God: Notwithstanding if there had been a Christian King at that time, it

it had been their Duties, to have had his License and Permission to do the same.

Omnes Conveniunt Apostolos Divinitus accepisse Potestatem creandi Episcopos; Eboracens. addit, non opus fuisse alia authoritate Apostolis quam divina: Sic Thirleby & Edgworth, Redmanus distinguit de Institutione Presbyteri, Ordinationem & Consecrationem tribuit tantum Apostolicis & eorum Successoribus, nominationem & electionem Magistratibus: Sic Londinens. Leightonus, Redman, Tresham, Curren, aiunt petendam fuisse Potestatem a Magistratu Christiano, si tum fuisset. Robertsonus non respondet Quæstioni, concedit enim datam esse Apostolis Potestatem creandi Episcopos ubi Magistratus permittit. Oglethorpus putat eos impetrasse potestatem a principibus: Carliolens. Roffens. Dayus, non respondent ultimæ Parti. *Con.*

In the ninth, touching the Authority of the Apostles in making Priests, the Bishop of *York*, the Elect of *Westminster*, Dr. *Edgeworth*, say, That *the Apostles made Priests by their own Power, given them by God, and that they had no need of any other Power.* The Bishop of St. *David* saith, That *because they lacked a Christian Prince, by that necessity they Ordained other Bishops.* Dr. *Leighton*, *Curren*, *Tresham*, and *Redmayn*, suppose, That *they ought to have asked license of their Christian Governours, if then there had been any.* *Agreement.*

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10. Question.

Whether Bishops or Priests were first? and if the Priests were first, then the Priest made the Bishop.

Answers.

THE Bishops and Priests were at one time, and were no two things, but both one Office in the beginning of Christ's Religion. *Canterbury.*

To the tenth; We think that the Apostles were Priests before they were Bishops; and that the Divine Power which made them Priests, made them also Bishops; and altho their Ordination was not by all such Course as the Church now useth, yet that they had both Visible and Invisible Sanctification, we may gather of the Gospel, where it is written, *Sicut misit me Pater vivens, & ego mitto vos: & cum hæc dixit, insufflavit in eos & dixit, accipite Spiritum Sanctum: Quorum remiseritis, &c.* And we may well think, that then they were made Bishops, when they had not only a Flock, but also Shepherds appointed to them to overlook, and a Governance committed to them by the Holy Ghost to oversee both; for the name of a Bishop, is not properly a name of Order, but a name of Office, signifying an Overseer. And altho the inferior Shepherds have also Cure to over-see their Flock, yet forsomuch as the *York.*

Bishops

Bishops Charge is also to oversee the Shepherds, the name of Overseer is given to the Bishops, and not to the other; and as they be in degree higher, so in their Consecration we find difference even from the Primitive Church.

London. To the tenth; I think the Bishops were first, and yet I think it is not of importance, whether the Priest then made the Bishop, or else the Bishop the Priest; considering (after the Sentence of St. *Jerome*) *that in the beginning of the Church there was none (or if it were, very small) difference, between a Bishop and a Priest, especially touching the signification.*

Rochester. I find in Scripture, That Christ being both a Priest and a Bishop, ordained his Apostles, who were both Priests and Bishops; and the same Apostles did afterwards ordain Bishops, and commanded them to ordain others.

Carlisle. Christ made his Apostles Exorcists, as it appeareth in the 10. *Mat.* Deacons, Priests, and Bishops, as partly there, and after, in the 20 of St. *John*, *Quorum Remiseritis, &c.* and where he said, *Hoc facite in meam Commemorationem.* In the *Acts*, *Cæterorum nemo audebat se conjungere illis.* So that they were all these together; and so being according to the Ordinance of Christ, who had made after them 72 other Priests, as it appeareth in the 10 of St. *Luke*: They made and ordained also others the seven principal Deacons, as it is shewed in the 6 of the *Acts*; where it is said, That they praying laid their hands upon them. In the 13 of the *Acts*, certain there named at the commandment of the Holy Ghost, severed *Saul* and *Barnabas* to that God had taken them, Fasting, Praying, and laying their hands upon them; the which *Saul*, *Ananias* the Disciple had baptized, laying his hand upon him, that he might be replenished with the Holy Ghost. And *Paul* so made, ordained *Timothy* and *Tite*, willing them to do likewise as he had done, and appointed to be done from City to City. *James* was ordained the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, by *Peter*, *John*, and *James*. So that Example otherwise we read not.

Dr. *Robertson.* Incertus sum utri fuere priores, at si Apostoli in prima profectione Ordinati erant, apparet Episcopos fuisse priores, nempe Apostolos, nam postea designavit Christus alios septuaginta duos. Nec opinor absurdum esse, ut Sacerdos Episcopum Consecret, si Episcopus haberi non potest.

Dr. *Cox.* Although by Scripture (as St. *Hierome* saith) Priests and Bishops be one, and therefore the one not before the other: Yet Bishops, as they be now, were after Priests, and therefore made of Priests.

Dr. *Day.* The Apostles were both Bishops and Priests, and they made Bishops, and Bishops, as *Titus* and *Timotheus* made Priests. *Episcopatum ejus accipiat alter* Act. 1. *Presbyteros qui in vobis sunt, obsecro & ego Compresbyter*, 1 Pet. 5. And in the beginning of the Church, as well that word *Episcopus* as *Presbyter*, was common and attributed both to Bishops and Priests.

Utrique

Utrique primi a Deo facti, Apostoli, Episcopi; Septuaginta discipuli (ut conjectura ducor) Sacerdotes. Unde verisimile est Episcopos præcessisse, Apostoli enim prius vocati erant. *Dr. Ogletkorp.*

They be of like beginning, and at the beginning were both one, as St. *Hierome* and other old Authors shew by the Scripture, wherefore one made another indifferently. *Dr. Redmayn.*

Christ our chief Priest and Bishop, made his Apostles Priests and Bishops all at once; and they did likewise make others, some Priests, and some Bishops: and that the Priests in the Primitive Church made Bishops, I think no inconvenience; (as *Jerome* saith) in an *Epist. ad Euagrium.* Even like as Souldiers should choose one among themselves to be their Captain: So did Priests choose one of themselves to be their Bishop, for consideration of his learning, gravity, and good living, &c. and also for to avoid Schisms among themselves by them, that some might not draw the People one way, and others another way, if they lacked one Head among them. *Dr. Edgeworth*

Christ was and is the great High Bishop, and made all his Apostles Bishops; and they made Bishops and Priests after him, and so hath it ever-more continued hitherto. *Dr. Symmons.*

I say, Christ made the Apostles first Priests, and then Bishops, and they by this Authority made both Priests and Bishops; but where there had been a Christian Prince, they would have desired his Authority to the same. *Dr. Tresham.*

To the Tenth. —— *Dr. Leyghton.*

The Apostles were made of Christ Bishops and Priests, both at the first; and after them, *Septuaginta duo Discipuli*, were made Priests. *Dr. Coren.*

Menevens. Therleby, Redmanus, Coxus, asserunt in initio eosdem fuisse Episcopos & Presbyteros. Londinens. Carliolens. Symons, putant Apostolos fuisse institutos Episcopos a Christo, & eos postea instituisse alios Episcopos & Presbyteros, & 72 Presbyteros postea fuisse Ordinatos: Sic Oglethorpus, Eboracens. & Tresham aiunt Apostolos primo fuisse Presbyteros, deinde Episcopos, cum aliorum Presbyterorum credita esset illis cura. Robertsonus incertus est utri fuere priores, non absurdum tamen esse opinatur, ut Sacerdos consecret Episcopum, si Episcopus haberi non potest. Sic Londinens. Edgworth, Dayus, putant etiam Episcopos, ut vulgo de Episcopis loquimur, fuisse ante Presbyteros. Leightonus nihil Respondet. *Con.*

In the tenth; Where it is asked, Whether Bishops or Priests were first? The Bishop of St. *David*, my Lord Elect of *Westminster*, Dr. *Cox*, Dr. *Redmayn*, say, That *at the beginning they were all one*. The Bishops of *Agreement.*

York, *London*, *Rochester*, *Carlisle*; Drs. *Day*, *Tresham*, *Symmons*, *Ogle-thorp*, be in other contrary Opinions. The Bishop of *York*, and Doctor *Tresham*, think, *That the Apostles first were Priests, and after were made Bishops, when the overseeing of other Priests was committed to them.* My Lords of *Duresme*, *London*, *Carlisle*, *Rochester*, Dr. *Symmons* and *Crayford*, think, *That the Apostles first were Bishops, and they after made other Bishops and Priests.* Dr. *Coren* and *Oglethorp*, say, *That the Apostles were made Bishops, and the 72 were after made Priests.* Dr. *Day* thinks, *That Bishops, as they be now-a-days called, were before Priests.* My Lord of *London*, Drs. *Edgworth* and *Robertson*, think *it no inconvenience, if a Priest made a Bishop in that time.*

11. Question.

Whether a Bishop hath Authority to make a Priest by the Scripture, or no? And whether any other but only a Bishop may make a Priest?

Answers.

Canterbury. A Bishop may make a Priest by the Scripture, and so may Princes and Governours also, and that by the authority of God committed to them, and the People also by their Election; for as we read that Bishops have done it, so Christian Emperors and Princes usually have done it, and the People before Christian Princes were, commonly did Elect their Bishops and Priests.

York. To the eleventh; That a Bishop may make a Priest, may be deduced of Scripture; for so much as they have all Authority necessary for the ordering of Christ's Church, derived from the Apostles, who made Bishops and Priests, and not without Authority, as we have said before to the ninth Question; and that any other than Bishops or Priests may make a Priest, we neither find in Scripture nor out of Scripture.

London. To the eleventh, I think, That a Bishop duly appointed, hath authority, by Scripture, to make a Bishop, and also a Priest: because Christ being a Bishop did so make himself; and because alive, his Apostles did the like.

Rochester. The Scripture sheweth by example, that a Bishop hath authority to make a Priest; albeit no Bishop being subject to a Christian Prince, may either give Orders or Excommunicate, or use any manner of Jurisdiction, or any part of his Authority, without Commission from the King, who is Supream Head of that Church whereof he is a Member; but that any other Man may do it besides a Bishop, I find no example, either in Scripture, or in Doctors.

Carlisle. By what is said before, it appeareth, that a Bishop by Scripture may make Deacons and Priests, and that we have none example otherwise.

Opinor

Opinor Episcopum habere Authoritatem creandi Sacerdotem, modo id Magistratus publici permissu fiat. An vero ab alio quam Episcopo id rite fieri possit, haud scio, quamvis ab alio factum non memini me legisse. Ordin. conferr. gratiam. vid. Eck. homil. 60. Dr. *Robertson.*

Bishops have authority, as is afore-said, of the Apostles, in the tenth Question, to make Priests, except in cases of great necessity. Dr. *Cox.*

Bishops have authority by Scripture to ordain Bishops and Priests; Joh. 20. *Hujus rei gratia reliqui te Cretæ ut constituas oppidatim Presbyteros*, Tit. 1. Act. 14. Dr. *Day.*

Autoritas ordinandi Presbyteros data est Episcopis per verbum, multisq; aliis quos lego. Dr. *Oglethorpe.*

To the first part, I answer, Yea; for so it appeareth *Tit.* 1. and 1 *Tim.* 5. with other places of Scripture. But whether any other but only a Bishop may make a Priest, I have not read, but by singular priviledg of God; as when *Moses* (whom divers Authors say was not a Priest) made *Aaron* a Priest. Truth it is, that the Office of a Godly Prince is to over-see the Church, and the Ministers thereof; and to cause them do their duty, and also to appoint them special Charges and Offices in the Church, as may be most for the Glory of God, and edifying of the People: and thus we read of the good Kings in the Old Testament, *David*, *Joas*, *Ezekias*, *Josias*. But as for *Making*, that is to say, Ordaining and Consecrating of Priests, I think it specially belongeth to the Office of a Bishop, as far as can be shewed by Scripture, or any Example, as I suppose from the beginning. Dr. *Redmayn.*

A Bishop hath authority by Scripture to make a Priest, and that any other ever made a Priest since Christ's time I read not. Albeit *Moses* who was not anointed Priest, made *Aaron* Priest and Bishop, by a special Commission or Revelation from God, without which he would never so have done. Dr. *Edgeworth*

A Bishop placed by the Higher Powers, and admitted to minister, may make a Priest; and I have not read of any other that ever made Priests. Dr. *Symmons.*

I say, a Bishop hath authority by Scripture to make a Priest, and other than a Bishop, hath not power therein, but only in case of necessity. Dr. *Tresham.*

To the eleventh; I suppose that a Bishop hath authority of God, as his Minister, by Scripture to make a Priest; but he ought not to admit any Man to be Priest, and consecrate him, or to appoint him unto any ministry in the Church, without the Princes license and consent, in a Christian Region. And that any other Man hath authority to make a Priest by Scripture, I have not read, nor any example thereof. Dr. *Leyghton.*

Dr. *Coren.* A Bishop being licensed by his Prince and Supream Governour, hath authority to make a Priest by the Law of God. I do not read that any Priest hath been ordered by any other than a Bishop.

Con. Ad primam partem Quæstionis respondent omnes, & convenit omnibus præter Menevens. Episcopum habere autoritatem instituendi Presbyteros. Roffens. Leighton, Curren, Robersonus, addunt, Modo Magistratus id permittat. Ad secundam partem Respondent Coxus & Tresham in necessitate concedi potestatem Ordinandi aliis. Eboracen. videtur omnino denegare aliis hanc autoritatem. Redmayn, Symmons, Robertson, Leighton, Thirleby, Curren, Roffen, Edgworth, Oglethorp, Carliolen, nusquam legerunt alios usos fuisse hac Potestate, quanquam (privilegio quodam) data sit Moysi, ut Redmanus arbitratur & Edgeworth. Nihil respondent ad secundam partem Quæstionis Londinensis & Dayus.

Agreem. In the eleventh; To the former part of the Question, the Bishop of St. *Davids* doth answer, That *Bishops have no authority to make Priests, without they be authorized of the Christian Prince.* The others, all of them do say, That *they be authorized of God.* Yet some of them, as the Bishop of *Rochester*, Dr. *Curren*, *Leighton*, *Robertson*, add, That *they cannot use this authority without their Christian Prince doth permit them.* To the second part, the answer of the Bishop of St. *Davids* is, That *Laymen have other-whiles made Priests.* So doth Dr. *Edgworth* and *Redman* say, *That* Moses *by a priviledg given him of God, made* Aaron *his Brother Priest.* Dr. *Tresham*, *Crayford*, and *Cox* say, That *Laymen may make Priests in time of Necessity.* The Bishops of *York*, *Duresme*, *Rochester*, *Carlisle*, Elect of *Westminster*, Dr. *Curren*, *Leighton*, *Symmons*, seem to deny this thing; for they say, *They find not, nor read not any such example.*

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12. Question.

Whether in the New Testament *be required any Consecration of a Bishop and Priest, or only appointing to the Office be sufficient?*

Answers.

Canterbury. IN the *New Testament*, he that is appointed to be a Bishop, or a Priest, needeth no Consecration by the Scripture, for election or appointing thereto is sufficient.

York. To the twelfth Question; The Apostles ordained Priests by Imposition of the Hand with Fasting and Prayer; and so following their steps, we must needs think, that all the foresaid things be necessarily to be used by their Successors: and therefore we do also think, that Appointment only without visible Consecration and Invocation for the assistance and power of the Holy Ghost, is neither convenient nor sufficient; for without

without the said Invocation, it beseemeth no Man to appoint to our Lord Ministers, as of his own authority: whereof we have example in the *Acts of the Apostles*; where we find, that when they were gathered to choose one in the place of *Judas*, they appointed two of the Disciples, and commended the Election to our Lord, that he would choose which of them it pleased him, saying and praying, *Lord, thou that knowest the hearts of all Men, shew whether of these two thou dost choose to succeed in the place of* Judas. And to this purpose in the *Acts* we read, *Dixit Spiritus Sanctus segregate mihi Barnabam, &c.* And again, *Quos posuit Spiritus Sanctus regere Ecclesiam Dei.* And it appeareth also that in the *Old Testament*, in the ordering of Priests, there was both Visible and Invisible Sanctification; and therefore in the *New Testament*, where the Priesthood is above comparison higher than in the *Old*, we may not think that only appointment sufficeth without Sanctification, either Visible or Invisible.

To the twelfth; I think Consecration of a Bishop and Priest be required, for that in the Old Law (being yet but a shadow and figure of the New) the Consecration was required, as appears *Levit.* 8. yet the truth of this I leave to those of higher Judgments. *London.*

The Scripture speaketh, *de Impositione manus & de Oratione:* and of other manner of Consecrations, I find no mention in the *New Testament* expresly; but the Old Authors make mention also of Inunctions. *Rochester.*

Upon this Text of *Paul* to *Timothy*; *Noli negligere gratiam quæ in te est, quæ data est tibi per prophetiam cum Impositione manuum Presbyterii*; St. *Anselm* saith, This *Grace to be the Gift of the Bishops Office, to the which God of his meer goodness had called and preferred him. The Prophesy* (he saith) *was the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, by the which he knew what he had to do therein. The Imposition of the hands is that by the which he was ordained and received that Office: And therefore* (saith St. *Paul*) *God is my Witness, that I have discharged my self, showing you as I ought to have done. Now look you well upon it whom that ye take to Orders, lest ye lose your self thereby. Let Bishops therefore, who* (as saith St. *Hierome*) *hath power to make Priests, consider well under what Law the order of Ecclesiastical Constitution is bounden; and let them not think those words of the Apostle to be his, but rather the words of Christ himself.* *Carlile.*

Opinor requiri Consecrationem quandam, hoc est, impositionem manuum, Orationem, jejunium, &c. tamen nusquam hoc munere fungi posse, nisi ubi Magistratus invitet, jubeat, aut permittat. Dr. *Robertson.*

By Scripture there is no Consecration of Bishops and Priests required, but only the appointing to the Office of a Priest, *cum Impositione manuum.* Dr. *Cox.*

Consecration of Bishops and Priests I read not in the *New Testament*, but *Ordinatio per manuum Impositionem cum Oratione* is read there, as in the places above; and the only appointment, as I think, is not sufficient. Dr. *Day.*

Præter

Dr. Oglethorpe. Præter vocationem, ceu designationem externam, quæ vel a Principe fit, vel a populo per electionem & suffragia, requiritur Ordinatio alia per manuum impositionem, idque per Verbum Dei.

Dr. Redmayn. Besides the appointing to the Office, it appeareth that in the Primitive Church, the Apostles us'd certain Consecration of the Ministers of the Church, by imposition of Hands and Prayer, *Acts* 6. and with Fasting, *Acts* 14, *&c.* The Office of Priesthood is too dangerous to set upon, when one is but appointed only: Therefore for the confirmation of their Faith, who take in hand such charge, and for the obtaining of farther Grace requisite in the same, Consecration was ordained by the Holy Ghost, and hath been always used from the beginning.

Dr. Edgworth. Deputation to the Office, is not sufficient to make a Priest or a Bishop, as appeareth by *David* and *Solomon*, who deputed the 24 abovementioned to their Offices, yet they made none of them Priests, nor any other.

Dr. Symmons. The appointing to the Office *per manuum Impositionem*, is in Scripture, and the Consecration of them hath of long time continued in the Church.

Dr. Tresham. There is a certain kind of Consecration required, which is imposition of the Bishops hands with Prayer, and the appointing only is not sufficient.

Dr. Leyghton. To the twelfth; I suppose that there is a Consecration required, as by Imposition of Hands; for so we be taught by the ensample of the Apostles.

Dr. *Coren.* In the *New Testament* is required to the making of a Bishop, *Impositio manuum cum Oratione*, which I take for Consecration, and Appointment unto the Office is not sufficient; for King *David*, 1 *Chron.* 24. did appoint 24 to be Bishops, who after were consecrated; so that both the Appointment and the Consecration be requisite.

Con. Respondent Eboracens. Londinens. Carliolens. Leighton, Tresham, Robertsonus, Edgeworth, Curren, Dayns, Oglethorp, Consecrationem esse requisitam. Redmanus ait eam receptam esse ab Apostolis, atque a Spiritu Sancto institutam ad conferendam gratiam. Dayus, Roffens. Symmons, aiunt Sacerdotium conferri per manuum impositionem, idq; è Scripturis; Consecrationem vero diu receptam in Ecclesia: Coxus Institutionem cum manuum impositione sufficere, neq; per Scripturam requiri Consecrationem. Robertsonus addit supra alios nusquam hoc munere fungi posse quempiam, nisi ubi Magistratus invitet, jubeat aut permittat.

Agreem. In the twelfth Question, where it is asked, Whether in the *New Testament* be required any Consecration of a Bishop, or only appointing to the Office be sufficient? The Bishop of St. *Davids* saith, That *only the appointing*. Dr. *Cox*, That *only appointing*, cum manuum Impositione, *is*

is sufficient without Consecration. The Bishops of *York*, *London*, *Duresme*, *Carlisle*, Drs. *Day*, *Curren*, *Leighton*, *Tresham*, *Edgworth*, *Ogle-thorp*, say, That *Consecration is requisite.* Dr. *Redmayn* saith, That *Consecration hath been received from the Apostles time, and institute of the Holy Ghost to confer Grace.* My Lord of *Rochester*, Dr. *Day*, and *Symmons*, say, That *Priesthood is given* per manuum impositionem, *and that by Scripture*; *and that Consecration hath of long time been received in the Church.*

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13. Question.

Whether (if it fortuned a Christian Prince Learned, to conquer certain Dominions of Infidels, having none but temporal learned Men with him) if it be defended by God's Law, that he and they should Preach and Teach the Word of God there, or no? And also make and constitute Priests, or no?

Answers.

IT is not against God's Law, but contrary they ought indeed so to do; and there be Histories that witnesseth, that some Christian Princes, and other Laymen unconsecrate have done the same. *Canterbury*

To the thirteenth; To the first part of this Question, touching Teaching and Preaching the Word of God in case of such need; we think that Laymen not ordered, not only may, but must preach Christ and his Faith to Infidels, as they shall see opportunity to do the same, and must endeavour themselves to win the Miscreants to the Kingdom of God, if that they can; for as the Wise Man saith, *God hath given charge to every Man of his Neighbour*; and the Scripture of God *chargeth every Man to do all the good that he can to all Men:* And surely this is the highest Alms to draw Men from the Devil the Usurper, and bring them to God the very Owner. Wherefore in this case every Man and Woman may be an Evangelist, and of this also we have example. But touching the second part, for case of Necessity; As we neither find Scripture, nor Example, that will bear, that any Man, being himself no Priest, may make, that is to say, may give the Order of Priesthood to another, and authority therewith to minister in the said Order, and to use such Powers and Offices, as appertaineth to Priesthood grounded in the Gospel: So we find in such case of need, what hath been done in one of the ancient Writers; altho this authority to ordain, after form afore-mentioned, be not to Laymen expresly prohibited in Scripture; yet such a prohibition is implied, in that there is no such authority given to them, either in Scripture or otherways; for so much as no Man may use this or any other authority which cometh from the Holy Ghost, unless he hath either Commission grounded in Scripture, or else Authority by Tradition, and ancient use of Christ's Church universally received over all. *York.*

To

London. To the thirteenth and fourteenth following; I think that necessity herein, might either be a sufficient Rule and Warrant to determine and order such Cases, considering that *tempore necessitatis mulier baptizat, & laicus idem facit, & audit confessionem:* or else that God would inspire in the Princes heart, to provide the best and most handsome Remedy therein: And hard were it peradventure to find such great necessity, but either in the train of the said Prince, or in the Regions adjoining thereunto, there might be had some Priests for the said purposes; or, finally, That the Prince himself, godlily inspired in that behalf, might, for so good purposes and intents, set forth the Act indeed, referring yet this thing to the better judgment of others.

Rochester. To the thirteenth and fourteenth following; I never read these cases, neither in Scripture, nor in the Doctors, and therefore I cannot answer unto them by Learning, but think this to be a good Answer for all such Questions, *viz. Necessitas non habet Legem.*

Carlile. It is to be thought, that Christ may call, as it pleaseth him, inwardly, outwardly, or by both together: So that if no Priest might be had, it cannot be thought, but that a Christian Prince, with others learned, inwardly moved and called, might most charitably and godlily prosecute that same their Calling in the most acceptable Work, which is to bring People from the Devil to God, from Infidelity to true Faith, by whatsoever means God shall inspire.

Dr. *Robertson.* In hoc casu existimarem accersendos verbi & Sacramentorum Ministros, si qui forent vicini; quin si nulli invenirentur, Principem illum Christianum haberemus pro Apostolo, tanquam missum a Deo, licet externo Sacramento non esset commendatus, quum Deus Sacramentis suis non sit alligatus.

Dr. *Cox.* To the thirteenth, and fourteenth following; It is not against God's Law, that the Prince, and his learned temporal Men, may Preach and Teach, and in these cases of extream Necessity, make and institute Ministers.

Dr. *Day.* In this case (as I think) the Prince and other temporal learned Men with him, may by God's Law, Teach and Preach the Word of God, and Baptize; and also (the same Necessity standing) elect and appoint Men to those Offices.

Dr. *Oglethorp.* In summa necessitate Baptizare & prædicare possunt & debent, hæc etenim duo, necessaria sunt media ad salutem; at ordinare (ut conjectura ducor) non debent, sed aliunde Sacrificos accersire, quos si habere nequeant, Deus ipse (cujus negotium agitur) vel oraculo admonebit, quid faciendum erit, vel necessitas ipsa (quæ sibiipsi est Lex) modum Ordinandi suggeret ac suppeditabit.

Dr. *Redmayn.* I think they might, in such case of Necessity; for in this case the Laymen made the whole Church there, and the authority of preaching and ministring the Sacraments, is given immediately to the Church; and the

the Church may appoint Ministers, as is thought convenient. There be two Stories good to be considered for this Question, which be written in the 10*th* Book, of the *History Ecclesiastick*; the one of *Frumentius*, who preached in *India*, and was after made Priest and Bishop by *Athanasius*. And the other Story is of the King of the *Iberians*, of whom *Ruffine* the writer of the Story saith thus; *Et nondum initiatus Sacris fit suæ gentis Apostolus*. Yet nevertheless it is written there, That *an Ambassad was sent to* Constantine *the Emperor, that he would send them Priests for the further establishment of the Faith there.*

The Prince and his temporal learned Men, might and ought, in that necessity, to instruct the People in the Faith of Christ, and to baptize them, *ut idem rex sit, & suæ gentis Apostolus*, and these be sufficient for the Salvation of his Subjects. But as concerning other Sacraments, he ought to abide and look for a special Commission from Almighty God, as *Moses* had, or else to send unto other Regions where Priests or Bishops may be had, and else not to meddle. Examples in *Eccles. Hist. lib.* 10. *cap.*1. *de Frumentio. & cap.*2.*de Ancilla captiva quæ convertit gentem Hiberorum cujus captivæ monitis ad Imperatorem Constantinum totius gentis legatio mittitur, res gesta exponitur, Sacerdotes mittere exorantur qui cœptum erga se Dei munus implerent, &c.* Dr. *Edgeworth*

I think that in such a necessity, a learned Christian Prince, and also temporal Men learned, be bound to preach and minister either Sacraments, so that the same Ministers be orderly assigned by the High Power and the Congregation. Dr. *Symmons.*

I say, to the first part, That such a King, and his temporal learned Men, not only might, but were also bound to preach God's Word in this case. And as to the second part, I say, That if there could no Bishop be had to Institute, the Prince might in that of necessity do it. Dr. *Tresham.*

To the thirteenth; I suppose the Affirmative thereof to be true; *Quamvis potestas clavium residet præcipue in Ecclesia.* Dr. *Leyghton.*

In such a case, I do believe that God would illuminate the Prince; so that either he himself should be made a Bishop, by internal working of God (as *Paul* was) or some of his Subjects, or else God would send him Bishops from other parts. And as for preaching of the Word of God, the Prince might do it himself, and other of his learned Subjects, altho they were no Priests. Dr.*Coren.*

In prima parte Quæstionis Conveniunt omnes, etiam laicos, tali rerum statu, non solum posse sed debere docere. Menevens. Thirlebeus, Leightonus, Coxus, Symmons, Tresham, Redmanus, Robertsonus, etiam potestatem Ministrandi Sacramenta, & Ordinandi Ministros, concedunt illis. Eboracens. hanc prorsus potestatem denegat, Coren credit Principem Divinitus illuminandum & consecrandum fore in Episcopum interne, aut aliquem ex suis, Pauli exemplo. Simile habet Herefordensis & Carliolensis. *Con.*

Dayus nihil respondet de Ordinandis Presbyteris in hac necessitate.

Agreement. In the thirteenth; Concerning the first part, Whether Laymen may Preach and Teach God's Word? They do all agree, in such a case, *That not only they may, but they ought to teach.* But in the second part, touching the Constituting of Priests of Laymen, my Lord of *York*, and Doctor *Edgworth*, doth not agree with the other; they say, That *Laymen in no wise can make Priests, or have such Authority.* The Bishops of *Duresme*, St. *Davids*. *Westminster*, Drs. *Tresham*, *Cox*, *Leighton*, *Crayford*, *Symmons*, *Redmayn*, *Robertson*, say, *That Laymen in such case have authority to minister the Sacraments, and to make Priests.* My Lords of *London*, *Carlisle*, and *Hereford*, and Dr. *Coren*, think, *That God in such a case would give the Prince authority, call him inwardly, and illuminate him or some of his, as he did St.* Paul.

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14. Question.

Whether it be forefended by God's Law, that (if it so fortune that all the Bishops and Priests of a Region were dead, and that the Word of God should remain there unpreached, and the Sacrament of Baptism, *and others unministred) that the King of that Region should make Bishops and Priests to supply the same, or no?*

Answers.

Canterbury. IT is not forbidden by God's Law.

York. To the fourteenth; In this case, as we have said in the next Article afore, Teaching of the Word of God may be used by any that can and would use it, to the Glory of God; and in this case also the Sacrament of Baptism may be ministred by those that be no Priests; which things altho we have not of Scripture, yet the universal Tradition and practice of the Church, doth teach us: And peradventure contract of Matrimony might also be made, the Solemnization thereof being only ordained by Law positive, and not by any ground, either of Scripture, or of Tradition; altho for very urgent causes, the said Solemnization is to be observed when it may be observed; but that the Princes may not Make, that is, may not Order Priests nor Bishops not before Ordered to minister the other Sacraments, the ministry whereof in Scripture is committed only to the Apostles, and from them derived to their Successors, even from the Primitive Church hitherto, and by none other used, we have answered in the thirteenth Article.

London. *Ut supra*, Quæst. 13.——

Rochester. *Ut supra*, Quæst. 13.——

Not

Not only it is given of God to Supream Governours, Kings and Princes immediate under them, to see, cause, and compel all their Subjects, Bishops, Priests, with all others, to do truly and uprightly their bounden Duties to God, and to them, each one according to his Calling: but also if it were so, that any-where such lacked to do and fulfil that God would have done, right-well they might, by the inward moving and calling of God, supply the same. *Carlile.*

Huic Quæstioni idem Respondendum, quod priori, arbitror. Dr. *Robertson.*

Ut supra, Quæst. 13.— Dr. *Cox.*

To this case, as to the first, I answer; That if there could no Bishops be had to order new Priests there, by the Princes assignation and appointment; then the Prince himself might ordain and constitute, with the consent of the Congregation, both Priests and Ministers, to Preach and Baptize, and to do other Functions in the Church. Dr. *Day.*

Si ab aliis Regionibus Sacerdotes haberi non poterint, opinor ipsum Principem deputare posse etiam Laicos ad hoc Sacrum Officium; sed omnia prius tentanda essent, ut supra. Dr. *Oglethorpe.*

To this, I think, may be answered, as to the last Question before; howbeit the surest way, I think, were to send for some Ministers of the Church dwelling in the next Regions, if they might be conveniently had. Dr. *Redmayn.*

Likewise as to the next Question afore. Dr. *Edgworth.*

If the King be also a Bishop, as it is possible, he may appoint Bishops and Priests to minister to his People: but hitherto I have not read that ever any Christian King, made Bishop or Priest. Dr. *Symmons.*

I make the same answer, as to the 13th Question is made. Dr. *Tresham.*

To the fourteenth; I suppose the Affirmative to be true, in case that there can no Bishops nor Priests be had forth of other Countries, conveniently. Dr. *Leyghton.*

In this case I make answer as before, That God will never suffer his Servants to lack that thing that is necessary: for there should, either from other parts, Priests and Bishops be called thither, or else God would call inwardly some of them that be in that Region to be Bishops and Priests. Dr. *Coren.*

Fatentur ut prius omnes, Laicos posse Docere. Eboracens. Symmons, Oglethorp negant posse Ordinare Presbyteros, tamen concedit Eboracens. baptizare & contrahere Matrimonia, Edgworth tantum baptizare posse; nam sufficere dicit ad salutem. Alii omnes eandem potestatem concedunt, quam prius. Roffens. non aliud *Con.*

respondet his duabus Quæstionibus, quam quod necessitas non habeat Legem.

Agreem. In the fourteenth they agree for the most part as they did before, That *Lay-men in this case may teach and minister the Sacraments.* My Lord of *York*, Dr. *Symmons*, and *Oglethorp* say, *They can make no Priests, altho* Symmons *said they might minister all Sacraments, in the Question before.* Yet my Lord of *York*, and *Edgworth*, do grant, That *they may Christen.* The Bishops of *London*, *Rochester*, and Dr. *Crayford*, say, That *in such a case*, Necessitas non habet Legem.

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15. Question.

Whether a Man be bound by Authority of this Scripture, (Quorum Remiseritis) *and such-like, to confess his secret deadly sins to a Priest, if he may have him, or no?*

Answers.

Canterbury. A Man is not bound, by the authority of this Scripture, *Quorum Remiseritis*, and such-like, to confess his secret deadly Sins to a Priest, although he may have him.

York. To the fifteenth; This Scripture is indifferent to secret and open Sins; nor the authority given in the same is appointed or limited, either to the one, or to the other, but is given commonly to both: And therefore seeing that the Sinner is in no other place of Scripture discharged of the confession of his secret Sins, we think, that this place chargeth him to confess the secret Sins, as well as the open.

London. To the fifteenth; I think that as the Sinner is bound by this authority to confess his open sins, so also is he bound to confess his secret sins, because the special end is, to wit, *Absolutionem a peccato cujus fecit se servum*, is all one in both cases: And that all sins as touching God are open, and in no wise secret or hid.

Rochester. I think that confession of secret deadly sins is necessary for to attain absolution of them; but whether every Man that hath secretly committed deadly sin, is bound by these words to ask Absolution of the Priest therefore, it is an hard Question, and of much controversy amongst learned Men, and I am not able to define betwixt them; but I think it is the surest way, to say that a Man is bound to Confess, &c.

Carlile. I think that by the mind of most ancient Authors, and most holy Expositors, this Text, *Quorum Remiseritis peccata, &c.* with other-like, serveth well to this intent; That Christian Folk should confess their secret deadly sins to a Priest there to be assoiled, without which mean, there can be none other like Assurance.

Opinor

Opinor obligare, modo aliter conscientiæ illius satisfieri nequeat. Dr. *Robertson.*

I cannot find that a Man is bound by Scripture to confess his secret deadly sins to a Priest, unless he be so troubled in his Conscience, that he cannot be quieted without godly Instruction. Dr. *Cox.*

The Matter being in controversy among learned Men, and very doubtful, yet I think rather the truth is, That by authority of this Scripture, *Quorum Remiseritis, &c.* and such-like, a Man is bound to confess his secret deadly sins, which grieve his Conscience, to a Priest, if he may conveniently have him. Forasmuch as it is an ordinary way ordained by Christ in the Gospel, by Absolution to remit sins; which Absolution I never read to be given, *sine Confessione prævia.* Dr. *Day.*

Confitenda sunt opinor, etiam peccata abdita ac secreta propter Absolutionem ac conscientiæ tranquillitatem, & præcipue pro vitanda desperatione, ad quam plerumq; adiguntur multi in extremis, dum sibi ipsis de remissione peccatorum nimium blandiuntur, nullius (dum sani sunt) censuram subeuntes nisi propriam. Dr. *Oglethorpe.*

I think, that altho in these words Confession of privy Sins, is not expresly commanded; yet it is insinuated and shewed in these words, as a necessary Medicine or Remedy, which all Men that fall into deadly sin ought, for the quieting of their Consciences seek, if they may conveniently have such a Priest as is meet to hear their Confession. Dr. *Redmayn.*

Where there be two ways to obtain remission of Sin, and to recover Grace, a Man is bound by the Law of Nature to take the surer way, or else he should seem to contemn his own Health, which is unnatural. Also because we be bound to love God above all things, we ought by the same Bond to labour for his Grace and Favour: So that because we be bound to love God, and to love our selves in an Order to God, we be bound to seek the best and surest Remedy to recover Grace for our selves. Contrition is one way; but because a Man cannot be well assured, whether his Contrition, Attrition, or Displeasure for his sin be sufficient to satisfie or content Almighty God, and able or worthy to get his Grace: Therefore it is necessary to take that way that will not fail, and by which thou mayest be sure, and that is Absolution of the Priest, which by Christ's promise will not deceive thee, so that thou put no step or bar in the way; as, if thou do not then actually sin inwardly nor outwardly, but intend to receive that the Church intendeth to give thee by that Absolution, having the efficacity of Christ's promise, *Quorum Remiseritis*, &c. Now the Priest can give thee no Absolution from that sin that he knoweth not: therefore thou art bound, for the causes aforesaid, to confess thy sin. Dr. *Edgeworth*

This Scripture, as Ancient Doctors expound it, bindeth all Men to confess their secret deadly sins. Dr. *Symmons.*

Dr. Tresham. I say, That such Confession is a thing most consonant to the Law of God, and it is a wise point, and a wholsome thing so for to do, and God provoketh and allureth us thereto, in giving the active Power to Priests to assoil in the words, *Quorum Remiseritis*. It is also a safer way for Salvation to confess, if we may have a Priest: Yet I think that confession is not necessarily deduced of Scripture, nor commanded as a necessary precept of Scripture, and yet is it much consonant to the Law of God, as a thing willed, not commanded.

Dr. Leyghton. To the fifteenth; I think that only such as have not the knowledg of the Scripture, whereby they may quiet their Consciences, be bound to confess their secret deadly sins unto a Priest: Howbeit no Man ought to contemn such Auricular Confession, for I suppose it to be a Tradition Apostolical, necessary for the unlearned Multitude.

Dr. *Coren*. A Man whose Conscience is grieved with mortal secret sins, is bound by these words, *Quorum Remiseritis, &c.* to confess his sin to a Priest, if he may have him conveniently.

Con. Eboracens. Londinens. Dayus, Oglethorpus, Coren, Redmayn, asserunt obligari. Coxus, Tresham, & Robertsonus dicunt non obligari, si aliter Conscientiæ illorum satisfieri queat; Menevens. nullo modo obligari. Carliolens. & Symmons aiunt, secundum veterum interpretationem, hac Scriptura quemvis obligari peccatorem. Roffens. Herefordens. & Thirliby non respondent, sed dubitant. Leightonus solum indoctos obligari ad Confessionem. Edgeworth tradit duplicem modum remissionis peccatorum, per Contritionem sive Attritionem, & per Absolutionem: & quia nemo potest certus esse, num attritio & dolor pro peccato sufficiat ad satisfaciendum Deo & obtinendam gratiam, ideo tutissimam viam deligendam, scilicet, Absolutionem a Sacerdote, quæ per promissionem Christi est certa; Absolvere non potest nisi cognoscat peccata; Ergo peccata per Confessionem sunt illi revelanda.

Agreem. In the eleventh; Concerning Confession of our secret deadly sins. The Bishops of *York*, *Duresme*, *London*, Drs. *Day*, *Curren*, *Oglethorp*, *Redmayn*, *Crayford*, say, That *Men be bound to confess them of their secret Sins.* Drs. *Cox*, *Tresham*, *Robertson*, say, *They be not bound, if they may quiet their Consciences otherwise.* The Bishop of St. *Davids* also saith, That *this Text bindeth no Man.* Dr. *Leighton* saith, That *it bindeth only such as have not the knowledg of Scripture.* The Bishop of *Carlisle* and *Symmons* say, That *by ancient Doctors exposition, Men be bound, by this Text, to confess their deadly sins.*

16. Question.

16. Question.

ther a Bishop or a Priest may excommunicate, and for what Crimes? And whether they only may Excommunicate by God's Law?

Answers.

A Bishop or a Priest by the Scripture, is neither commanded nor forbidden to Excommunicate, but where the Laws of any Region giveth him authority to Excommunicate, there they ought to use the same in such Crimes, as the Laws have such authority in; and where the Laws of the Region forbiddeth them, there they have no authority at all; and they that be no Priests may also Excommunicate, if the Law allow thereunto. *Canterbury*

To the sixteenth; The power to Excommunicate, that is, to dissever the Sinner from the communion of all Christian People, and so put them out of the Unity of the Mystical Body for the time, *donec resipiscat*, is only given to the Apostles and their Successors in the Gospel, but for what Crimes, altho in the Gospel doth not appear, saving only for disobedience against the Commandment of the Church, yet we find examples of Excommunication used by the Apostles in other cases: As of the Fornicator by *Paul*, of *Hymeneus* and *Alexander* for their Blaspemy by the same; and yet of other Crimes mentioned in the Epistle of the said *Paul* writing to the *Corinthians*. And again of them that were disobedient to his Doctrine, 2 *Thess.* 3. We find also charge given to us, by the Apostle St. *John*, that we shall not commune with them, nor so much as salute him with *Ave*, that would not receive his Doctrine. By which it may appear that Excommunication, may be used for many great Crimes, and yet the Church at this day, doth not use it, but only for manifest disobedience. And this kind of Excommunication, whereby Man is put out of the Church,and dissevered from the Unity of Christ's Mystical Body, which Excommunication toucheth also the Soul, no Man may use, but they only, to whom it is given by Christ. *York.*

To the sixteenth; I think that a Bishop may Excommunicate, taking example of St. *Paul* with the *Corinthian*; and also of that he did to *Alexander* and *Hymeneus*. And with the Lawyers it hath been a thing out of Question, That to Excommunicate solemnly, appertaineth to a Bishop, altho otherwise, both inferior Prelates and other Officers, yea and Priests too in notorious Crimes, after divers Mens Opinions, may Excommunicate semblably, as all others that be appointed Governors and Rulers over any Multitude, or Spiritual Congregation. *London.*

I answer affirmatively to the first part, in open and manifest Crimes, meaning of such Priests and Bishops as be by the Church authorized to use that power. To the second part, I answer, That it is an hard Question, wherein I had rather hear other Men speak, than say my own Sentence, *Rochester.*

Sentence; for I find not in Scripture, nor in the old Doctors, that any Man hath given Sentence of Excommunication, save only Priests; but yet I think, that it is not against the Law of God, that a Lay-man should have authority to do it.

Carlile. Divers Texts of Scripture seemeth, by the Interpretation of ancient Authors, to shew, that a Bishop or a Priest may Excommunicate open deadly sinners continuing in obstinacy with contempt. I have read in Histories also, that a Prince hath done the same.

Dr. *Robertson.* Opinor Episcopum aut Presbyterum Excommunicare posse, tanquam ministrum & os Ecclesiæ, ab eadem mandatum habens. Utrum vero id juris nulli nisi Sacerdotibus in mandatis dari possit, non satis scio. Excommunicandum esse opinor pro hujuscemodi criminibus, qualia recenset Paulus, 1 *Cor.* 5. si, is qui frater nominatur, est fornicator, aut avarus, aut idolis serviens, aut maledicus, aut ebriosus, aut rapax, cum hujusmodi ne cibum sumere, &c.

Dr. *Cox.* A Bishop or a Priest as a publick Person appointed to that Office, may excommunicate for all publick Crimes: And yet it is not against God's Law, for others than Bishops or Priests to Excommunicate.

Dr. *Day.* A Bishop or a Priest may Excommunicate by God's Law for manifest and open Crimes: Also others appointed by the Church, tho they be no Priests, may exercise the power of Excommunication.

Dr. *Oglethorp.* Non solum Episcopus Excommunicare potest, sed etiam tota Congregatio, idq; pro lethalibus criminibus ac publicis, ê quibus scandalum Ecclesiæ provenire potest. Non tamen pro re pecuniaria uti olim solebant.

Dr. *Redmayn.* They may Excommunicate, as appeareth 1 *Cor.* 5. 1 *Tim.* 1. and that for open and great Crimes, whereby the Church is offended; and for such Crimes as the Prince and Governours determine, and thinketh expedient, Men to be excommunicate for, as appeareth *in nonnullis Constitutionibus Justiniani.* Whether any other may pronounce the Sentence but a Bishop or a Priest I am uncertain.

Dr. *Edgeworth* A Bishop, or a Priest only, may excommunicate a notorious and grievous Sinner, or obstinate Person from the Communion of Christian People, because it pertaineth to the Jurisdiction which is given to Priests, *Jo.* 26. *Quorum Remiseritis, &c. et Quorum retinetis, &c.* There is one manner of Excommunication spoken of 1 *Cor.* 5. which private Persons may use. *Si is qui frater nominatur inter vos est fornicator, aut avarus, aut idolis serviens, &c. cum hujusmodi ne cibum quidem capiatis.* Excluding filthy Persons, covetous Persons, Braulers and Quarrellers, out of their Company, and neither to eat nor drink with them.

Dr. *Symmons.* Whosoever hath a place under the Higher Power, and is assigned by the same to execute his Ministry given of God, he may Excommunicate

for any Crime, as it shall be seen to the High Power, if the same Crime be publick.

A Bishop and Priest may Excommunicate by Scripture: as touching, for what Crimes; I say, for every open deadly sin and disobedience. And as touching, Whether only the Priest may Excommunicate? I say, not he only, but such as the Church authorizes so to do. Dr. *Tresham.*

To the sixteenth, I say, that a Bishop or a Priest having License and Authority of the Prince of the Realm, may excommunicate every obstinate and inobedient Person, for every notable and deadly sin. And further, I say, That not only Bishops and Priests may Excommunicate, but any other Man appointed by the Church, or such as have authority to appoint Men to that Office may Excommunicate. Dr. *Leyghton.*

A Bishop or a Priest may Excommunicate an obstinate Person for publick Sins. Forsomuch as the Keys be given to the whole Church, the whole Congregation may Excommunicate, which Excommunication may be pronounced by such a one as the Congregation does appoint, altho he be neither Bishop nor Priest. Dr. *Coren.*

Menevens. Herefordens. Thirleby, Dayus, Leightonus, Coxus, Symmons, Coren, concedunt authoritatem excommunicandi etiam Laicis, modo a Magistratu deputentur. Eboracens. & Edgworth prorsus negant datum Laicis, sed Apostolis & eorum successoribus tantum. Roffensis, Redmanus, & Robertsonus ambigunt, num detur Laicis. Londinens. non respondet Quæstioni: Oglethorpus & Thirliby aiunt, Ecclesiæ datam esse potestatem Excommunicandi; Idem Treshamus. *Con.*

In the sixteenth, Of Excommunication, they do not agree. The Bishops of *York*, *Duresme*, and Dr. *Edgworth* say, That *Lay-men have not the authority to Excommunicate, but that it was given only unto the Apostles and their Successors.* The Bishops of *Hereford*, *St. Davids*, *Westminster*, Doctors, *Day*, *Coren*, *Leighton*, *Cox*, *Symmons*, say, That *Lay-men may Excommunicate, if they be appointed by the High Ruler.* My Lord Elect of *Westminster*, Dr. *Tresham*, and Dr. *Oglethorp*, say further, That *the Power of Excommunication was given to the Church, and to such as the Church shall institute.*

17. Question.

Whether Unction of the Sick with Oil, to remit Venial Sins, as it is now used, be spoken of in the Scripture, or in any ancient Authors?

Answers.

Canterbury. UNction of the Sick with Oil, to remit Venial Sins, as it is now used, is not spoken of in the Scripture, nor in any ancient Authors.

These are the Subscriptions which are at the end of every Man's Paper.

T. Cantuarien. This is mine Opinion and Sentence at this present, which I do not temerariously define, but do remit the judgment thereof wholly unto your Majesty.

York. To the seventeenth; Of Unction of the Sick with Oil, and that Sins thereby be remitted, St. James doth teach us; but of the Holy Prayers, and likewise Ceremonies used in the time of the Unction, we find no special mention in Scripture, albeit the said St. *James* maketh also mention of Prayer to be used in the Ministry of the same.

Edward. Ebor.

London. To the seventeenth; I think that albeit it appeareth not clearly in Scripture, whether the usage in extream Unction now, be all one with that which was in the beginning of the Church: Yet of the Unction in time of Sickness, and the Oil also with Prayers and Ceremonies, the same is set forth in the Epistle of St. *James*, which place commonly is alledged, and so hath been received, to prove the Sacrament of extream Unction.

Ita mihi *Edmundo Londinensi* Episcopo pro hoc tempore dicendum videtur, salvo judicio melius sentientis, cui me prompte & humiliter subjicio.

Rochester. In Unction of them that be Sick with Oil, and praying for them for remission of Sins, is plainly spoken of in the Epistle of St. *James*, but after what form or fashion the said Inunction was then used, the Scripture telleth not.

Written on the back of the Paper,
The Bishop of *Rochester*'s Book.

Carlile. Extream Unction is plainly set out by St. *James*, with the which maketh also that is written in the *6th* of St. *Mark*, after the mind of right good ancient Doctors.

Robert Carliolen.

De

De Unctione Infirmorum nihil reperio in Scripturis, præter id quod scribitur, Marc. 6. & Jacob. 5. Dr. *Robertson.*

Thomas Robertson.

T. Cantuarien.

Unction of the Sick with Oil consecrat, as it is now used, is not spoken of in Scripture. Dr. *Cox.*

Richardus Cox.

Unction of the Sick with praying for them is found in Scripture. Dr. *Day.*

George Day.

Opiniones non Assertiones.

De Unctione Infirmorum cum oleo, adjecta Oratione, expressa mentio est in Scripturis, quanquam nunc addantur alii ritus, honestatis gratiâ (ut in aliis Sacramentis) de quibus in Scripturis nulla mentio. Dr. *Oglethorpe.*

Owinus Oglethorpus.

Unction with Oil, adjoined with Prayer, and having promise of Remission of Sins, is spoken of in St. *James*, and ancient Authors; as for the use which now is, if any thing be amiss, it would be amended. Dr. *Redmayn.*

J. Redmayn.

It is spoken of, in *Mark* 6. and *James* 5. *Augustine* and other ancient Authors speaketh of the same. Dr. *Edgeworth*

Edgeworth.

The Unction of the Sick with Oil, to remit Sins, is in Scripture, and also in ancient Authors. Dr. *Symmons.*

Symon Matthew.

Unction with Oil is grounded in the Scripture, and expresly spoken of; but with this Additament (as it is now used) it is not specified in Scripture, for the Ceremonies now used in Unction, I think meer Traditions of Man. Dr. *Tresham.*

William Tresham.

To the seventeenth, I say, That Unction of the Sick with Oil and Prayer to remit Sins, is manifestly spoken of in St. *James* Epistle, and ancient Authors, but not with all the Rites and Ceremonies as be now commonly used. Dr. *Leyghton.*

T. Cantuarien. Per me *Edwardum Leyghton.*

Unction with Oil to remit Sins is spoken of in Scripture. Dr. *Coren.*

Richard Coren.

Con. Menevenſ. & Coxus negant Unctionem Olei (ut jam eſt recepta) ad remittenda peccata contineri in Scripturis. Eboracenſ. Carlioleſ. Edgworth, Coren, Redmayn, Symmons, Leightonus, Oglethorp aiunt, haberi in Scripturis. Roffenſ. Thirleby, Robertſonus, præterquam illud Jacobi 5. & Marci 6. nihil proferunt. Herefordenſis ambigit. Treſham vult Unctionem Olei tradi nobis è Scripturis, ſed Unctionis Cæremonias traditiones eſſe humanas.

Agreem. In the laſt; The Biſhop of St. *Davids*, and Dr. *Cox*, ſay, That *Unction of the Sick, with Oil conſecrate, as it is now uſed to remit Sin, is not ſpoken of in Scripture.* My Lords of *York*, *Dureſme*, *Carlile*, Drs. *Coren*, *Edgworth*, *Redman*, *Symmons*, *Leyghton*, and *Oglethorp*, ſay, That it is found in Scripture.

XXII. *Dr.* Barnes's *Renunciation of ſome Articles informed againſt him.*

BE it known to all Men, that I *Robert Barnes*, Doctor of Divinity, have as well in Writing, as in Preaching, over-ſhot my ſelf, and been deceived, by truſting too much to mine own heady Sentence, and giving judgment in and touching the Articles hereafter enſuing; whereas being convented, and called before the Perſon of my moſt gracious Soveraign Lord King *Henry* the Eighth, of *England* and of *France*, Defenſor of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and in Earth Supream Head immediately under God of the Church of *England*; It pleaſed his Highneſs, of his great clemency and goodneſs, being aſſiſted with ſundry of his moſt diſcreet and learned Clergy, to enter ſuch Diſputation and Argument with me, upon the Points of my over-ſight, as by the ſame was fully and perfectly confuted by Scriptures, and enforced only for Truths ſake, and for want of defence of Scriptures to ſerve for the maintenance of my part, to yeeld, confeſs, and knowledg my ignorance, and with my moſt humble ſubmiſſion, do promiſe for ever from henceforth to abſtain and beware of ſuch raſhneſs: And for my further declaration therein, not only to abide ſuch order for my doings paſſed, as his Grace ſhall appoint and aſſign unto me, but alſo with my heart to advance and ſet forth the ſaid Articles enſuing, which I knowledg and confeſs to be moſt Catholick, and Chriſtian, and neceſſary to be received, obſerved, and followed of all good Chriſtian People. Tho it ſo be, that Chriſt by the Will of his Father, is he only which hath ſuffered Paſſion and Death for redemption of all ſuch as will and ſhall come unto him, by perfect Faith and Baptiſm; and that alſo he hath taken upon him *gratis* the burden of all their ſins, which as afore will, hath, or ſhall come to him, paying ſufficient Ranſom for all their ſins, and ſo is becomed their only Redeemer and Juſtifier; of the which number I truſt and doubt not but that many of us now-adays be of: yet I in heart do confeſs, that after, by the foreſaid means we become right Chriſtian Folks, yet then by not following our Maſter's Commandments and Laws, we do looſe

the

the benefits and fruition of the ſame, which in this caſe is irrecuperable, but by true Penance, the only Remedy left unto us by our Saviour for the ſame; wherefore I think it more than convenient and neceſſary, that whenſoever Juſtification ſhall be preached of, that this deed be joined with all the fore-part, to the intent that it may teach all true Chriſtian People a right knowledg of their Juſtification.

By me *Robert Barnes.*

Alſo I confeſs with my heart, That Almighty God is in no wiſe Author, cauſer of Sin, or any Evil; and therefore whereas Scripture ſaith, *Induravit Dominus Cor Pharaonis, &c.* and ſuch other Texts of like ſenſe, they ought to underſtand them, *quod Dominus permiſit eum indurari*, and not otherwiſe; which doth accord with many of the ancient Interpreters alſo.

By me *Robert Barnes.*

Further I do confeſs with my heart, That whenſoever I have offended my Neighbours, I muſt firſt reconcile my ſelf unto him, e're I ſhall get remiſſion of my ſins, and in caſe he offend me, I muſt forgive him, e're that I can be forgiven; for this doth the *Pater Noſter*, and other places of Scripture teach me.

By me *Robert Barnes.*

I do alſo confeſs with my heart, That good Works limited by Scripture, and done by a penitent and true reconciled Chriſtian Man, be profitable and allowable unto him, as allowed of God for his benefit, and helping to his Salvation.

By me *Robert Barnes.*

Alſo do confeſs with my heart, That Laws and Ordinances made by Chriſtian Rulers, ought to be obeyed by the Inferiors and Subjects, not only for fear, but alſo for Conſcience, for whoſo breaketh them, breaketh God's Commandments.

By me *Robert Barnes.*

All and ſingular the which Articles before written, I the foreſaid *Robert Barnes* do approve and confeſs to be moſt true and Catholick, and promiſe with my heart, by God's Grace, hereafter to maintain, preach, and ſet forth the ſame to the People, to the uttermoſt of my power, wit, and cunning.

By me *Robert Barnes.*

By me *William Jerome.*

By me *Thomas Gerarde.*

XXIII. *The*

XXIII. *The Foundation of the Biſhoprick of* Weſtminſter.

REx omnibus ad quos, &c. ſalutem. Cum nuper cænobium quoddam ſive Monaſterium, quod (dum extitit) Monaſterium Sancti Petri Weſtmon. vulgariter vocabatur, omnia & ſingula ejus Maneria, Dominia, Meſuagia, Terræ, Tenementa, Hæreditamenta, Dotationes & Poſſeſſiones, certis de cauſis ſpecialibus & urgentibus, per Williclmum ipſius nuper Cænobii ſive Monaſterii Abbatem, & ejuſdem loci Conventum, nobis & hæredibus noſtris in perpetuum jamdudum data fuerunt & conceſſa, prout per ipſorum nuper Abbatis & Conventus cartam ſigillo ſuo communi ſive conventuali ſigillatam & in Cancellar. noſtram irrotulat. manifeſte liquet; quorum prætextu nos de ejuſdem nuper Cænobii ſive Monaſterii ſitu, ſeptu & præcinctu, ac de omnibus & ſingulis prædict. nuper Abbatis & Conventus Maneriis, Dominiis & Meſuagiis, Terris, Tenementis, Hæreditamentis, Dotationibus & Poſſeſſionibus, ad præſens pleno jure ſeiſiti ſumus in dominico noſtro, ut de feodo. Nos utiq; ſic de eiſdem ſeiſiti exiſten. divinaq; nos clementia inſpirante nihil magis ex animo affectantes, quam ut vera religio veruſq; Dei cultus inibi non modo aboleatur ſed in integrum potius reſtituatur, & ad primitivam ſive genuinæ ſinceritatis normam reformetur, correctis enormitatibus in quas monachorum vita & profeſſio longo temporum lapſu deplorabiter exorbitaverit, operam dedimus, quatenus humana perſpicere poteſt infirmitas, ut impoſterum ibidem ſacrorum eloquiorum documenta & noſtræ ſalutiferæ Redemptionis ſacramenta pure adminiſtrentur, bonorum morum diſciplina ſincere obſervetur, Juventus in literis liberaliter inſtituatur, ſenectus viribus defectis, eorum præſertim qui circa perſonam noſtram, vel alioquin circa Regni noſtri negotia publice bene & fideliter nobis ſervierunt, rebus ad victum neceſſariis condigne foveatur, & deniq; eleemoſinarum in pauperes Chriſti elargitiones, viarum pontiumque reparationes, & cætera omnis generis pietatis officia illinc exuberanter in omnia vicina loca longe lateq; dimaneant, ad Dei omnipotentis gloriam, & ad ſubditorum noſtrorum communem utilitatem felicitatemque: Idcirco nos conſiderantes quod ſitus dicti nuper Monaſterii Sancti Petri Weſtmon. in quo multa tum perchariſſimi patris noſtri, tum aliorum Inclitorum, quondam Regum Angliæ, præclara monumenta conduntur, ſit locus aptus, conveniens & neceſſarius inſtituendi, erigendi, ordinandi & ſtabiliendi ſedem Epiſcopalem, & quandam Eccleſiam Cathedralem de uno Epiſcopo, de uno Decano Preſbytero, & duodecem Præbendariis Preſbyteris, ibidem, Omnipotenti Deo & in perpetuum ſervitium, ipſum ſitum dicti nuper Monaſt. Sancti Petri Weſtmon. ac locum & Eccleſiam ipſius in ſedem Epiſcopalem ac in Eccleſiam Cathedral. creari, erigi, fundari & ſtabiliri decrevimus, prout per præſentes decernimus, & eandem Eccleſiam Cathedral. de uno Epiſcopo, de uno Decano Preſbytero, & duodecim Præbendariis Preſbyteris, tenore præſentium, realiter & ad plenum creamus, erigimus, fundamus, ordinamus, facimus, conſtituimus & ſtabilimus, perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturam, & ſic ſtabiliri ac in perpetuum inviolabiliter obſervari volumus & jubemus per præſentes. Volumus itaq; & per præſentes Ordinamus quod Eccleſia Cathedralis prædicta ſit, & deinceps in perpetuum

tuum erit Ecclesia Cathedralis & Sedes Episcopalis, ac quod tota villa nostra Westmon. ex nunc & deinceps in perpetuum sit Civitas, ipsamq; civitatem Westm. vocari & nominari volumus & decernimus, ac ipsam Civitatem & totum Comit. nostrum Midd. prout per metas & limites dignoscitur, & limitatur, tota Parochia de Fulham in eodem Comit. de Midd. tantummodo except. ab omni Jurisdictione, Autoritate & Dioc. Episcopi London. & successorum suorum pro tempore existen. separamus, dividimus, eximimus, exoneramus, & omnino per præsentes liberamus: ac omnem jurisdictionem Episcopalem infra eandem Civitatem & Comit. Midd. exceptis præexceptis, Episcopo Westmon. a nobis per has Literas nostras Patentes nominand. & eligend. & Successoribus suis Episcopis Westm. ac prædict. Episcopatui Westm. adjungimus & unimus, ac ex dictis Civitate & Com. Diocesin facimus & Ordinamus per præsentes, illamq; Diocesin Westm. in perpetuum similiter vocari, appellari, nuncupari & nominari volumus & [illegible] Et ut hæc nostra intentio debitum & uberiorem [illegible] sortiatur effectum, [illegible] moribus, probitate & virtute dilecti nostri Consiliarii Thomæ [illegible], Decani Capellæ nostræ plurimum confidentes, cundem Thomam Thyrleby ad Episcopatum dictæ Sedis Westm. nominamus & eligimus, ac ipsum Thomam Episcopum Westm. per præsentes eligimus, nominamus, facimus, & creamus, & volumus; ac per præsentes Concedimus & Ordinamus, quod idem Episcopatus sit corpus corporatum in re & nomine, ipsumq; ex uno corpore declaramus & acceptamus, Ordinamus, facimus & constituimus in perpetuum, habeatq; successionem perpetuam, ac quod ipse & successores sui per nomen & sub nomine Episcopi Westm. nominabitur & vocabitur, nominabuntur & vocabuntur in perpetuum, & quod ipse & successores sui per idem nomen & sub eo nomine prosequi, clamare & placitare, ac placitari, defendere & defendi, respondere & responderi, in quibuscunq; Curiis & locis legum nostrarum, ac hæredum & successorum nostrorum, & alibi, in & super omnibus & singulis causis, actionibus, sectis, brevibus, demand. & querelis, realibus, personalibus & mixtis, tam temporalibus quam spiritualibus, ac in omnibus aliis rebus, causis & materiis quibuscunque, & per idem nomen Maneria, Dominia, Terræ, Tenementa, Rectorias, Pensiones, Portiones, & alia quæcunq; Hæreditamenta, Possessiones, proficua & emolumenta, tam spiritualia sive Ecclesiastica, quam temporalia, ac alia quæcunq; per Literas Patentes præfato Episcopo & Successoribus suis, per nos seu hæredes nostros debito modo fiend. vel per quamcunq; aliam personam seu quascunq; alias personas secundum leges nostras & hæredum sive successorum nostrorum dand. seu concedend. capere, recipere, gaudere & perquirere ac dare, alienare & dimittere possit & possint, valeat & valeant, & generaliter omnia alia & singula recipere, gaudere, & facere, prout & eisdem modo & forma quibus cæteri Episcopi infra Regnum nostrum Angliæ recipere aut facere possint, aut aliquis Episcopus infra Regnum nostrum Angliæ recipere aut facere possit; & non aliter nec ullo alio modo. Et ulterius volumus & ordinamus, quod Ecclesia Cathedralis prædicta sit, & deinceps in perpetuum erit Ecclesia Cathedralis & Sedes Episcopalis dicti Thomæ & successorum suorum Episcoporum Westm. ipsamq; Ecclesiam Cathedralem honoribus, dignitatibus, & insigniis Sedis Episcopalis per præsentes decoramus, eandemq; Sedem Episcopalem præfato Thomæ & successoribus suis Episcopis Westm. damus

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& concedimus per præsentes habend. & gaudend. eidem Thomæ & successoribus suis in perpetuum. Ac etiam volumus & ordinamus per præsentes, quod præfatus Thomas & successores sui Episcopi Westm. prædict. omnimodam jurisdictionem, potestatem & autoritatem ordinarias & Episcopales, infra Ecclesiam Cathedralem Westm. & prædict. Dioces. exercere, facere, & uti possit, & debeat, possint & debeant, in tam amplis modo & forma, prout Episcopus London. infra Dioces. London. secundum leges nostras exercere, facere, & uti solet, possit aut debet. Et quod dictus Thomas Episcopus Westm. & successores sui Episcopi Westm. deinceps in perpetuum habeat sigillum authenticum, seu sigilla authentica pro rebus & negotiis suis agendis servitur. ad omnem juris effectum simili modo & forma, & non aliter nec aliquo alio modo, prout Episcopus London. habet aut habere potest. Et ut Ecclesia Cathedralis prædict. de personis congruis in singulis locis & gradibus suis perimpleatur & decoretur, dilectum nobis Willielmum benson Sacræ Theologiæ professorem primum & originalem, & modernum Decanum dictæ Ecclesiæ Cathedralis, ac Simonem Haynes Sacræ Theologiæ professorem primum, & præsent. Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Joannem Redman secundum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Edwardum Leyghton tertium Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Antonium Belasys quartum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Willielmum Britten quintum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Dionysium Dalyon sextum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Humphredū Perkins septimum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Thomam Essex octavum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Thomam Ellsforde nonum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Joannem Malvern decimum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Willielmum Harvye undecimum Presbyterum Prebendarium, ac Gerardum Carleton duodecimum Presbyterum Præbendarium, tenore præsentium facimus & ordinamus. Per præsentes volumus etiam & ordinamus, ac eisdem Decano & Præbendariis concedimus per præsentes, quod prædictus Decanus & duodecem Præbendarii dicti sint de se in re & nomine unum corpus corporatum, habeantq; successionem perpetuam, & se gerent, exhibebunt, & occupabunt Sedem, ordinationem, regulas & statuta, eis per nos in quadam Indentura in posterum fiend. specificand. & declarand. Et quod idem Decanus & Præbendarii & successores sui, Decanus & Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sancti Petri Westm. in perpetuum vocabuntur, appellabuntur; Et quod præfatus Decanus & Præbendarii Ecclesiæ Cathedralis prædictæ & successores sui sint & in perpetuum erunt Capitulum Episcopatus Westm. sitq; idem Capitulum præfat. Thomæ & successoribus suis Episcopis Westm. perpetuis futuris temporibus annexum, incorporatum & unitum, eisdem modo & forma quibus Decanus & Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sancti Pauli in Civitate nostra London. Episcopo London. aut sedi Episcopali London. annexa, incorporata & unit. exist. ipsosq; Decanum & Præbendarios unum corpus corporatum in re & nomine facimus, creamus & stabilimus, & eos pro uno corpore facimus, declaramus, ordinamus & acceptamus, habeantq; successionem perpetuam; Et quod ipse Decanus & Capitulum eorumq; successores, per nomen Decani & capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Beati Petri Westm. prosequi, clamare, placitare possint & implacitare, defendere & defendi, respondere & responderi, in quibuscunq; tempore & Curiis legum nostrarum & alibi, in & super omnibus & singulis causis, actionibus Sectis, demand. brevibus & querelis, realibus, spiri-

ſpiritualibus, perſonalibus & mixtis, & in omnibus aliis rebus, cauſis & materiis, prout Decanus & Capitulum Sancti Pauli London. agere aut facere poſſunt : Et per idem nomen Maneria, Dominia, Terræ, Tenementa, & cætera quæcunq; Hæreditamenta, poſſeſſiones, proficua, & emolumenta tam Spiritualia ſive Eccleſiaſtica quam temporalia, & alia quæcunq; per nos per literas noſtras Patentes, hæredū vel ſucceſſorū noſtrorū, ſeu per aliquam perſonam vel perſonas quaſcunq; eis & ſucceſſoribus ſuis vel aliter ſecundū leges noſtras, vel hæredū ſeu ſucceſſorū noſtrorū, dand. ſeu concedend. capere, recipere, & perquirere, dare, alienare, & dimittere poſſint & valeant, & generaliter omnia alia & ſingula capere, recipere, perquirere, dare, alienare, & demittere, ac facere & exequi, prout & eiſdem modo & forma, quibus Decanus & Capitulum prædict. Cathedralis Eccleſiæ Sancti Pauli in prædicta civitate noſtra London. capere, recipere perquirere, dare, alienare, & dimittere, ac facere aut exequi poſſint, & non aliter, neq; aliquo alio modo : Et quod Decanus & Capitulum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis beati Petri Weſtm. & ſucceſſores ſui in perpetuum habebunt commune Sigillum, ad omnimodas cartas, evidentias, & cætera ſcripta, vel facta ſua fiend. eos vel Eccleſiam Cathedralem prædict. aliquo modo tangen. ſive continend. ſigilland. Et inſuper volumus & per præſentes concedimus & ordinamus, quod prædict. Epiſcopus Weſtm. & quilibet ſucceſſorum ſuorum pro tempore exiſten. & prædictus Decanus & Capitulum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis beati Petri Weſtm. & quilibet ſucceſſorum ſuorum habeant plenam poteſtatem & facultatem faciendi, recipiendi, dandi, alienandi, dimittendi, exequendi & agendi omnia & ſingula quæ Epiſcopus London. & Decanus & Capitulum Sancti Pauli London. conjunctim & diviſim facere, recipere, dare, alienare, dimittere, exequi aut agere poſſint. Volumus etiam & ordinamus, ac per præſentes Statuimus, quod Archidiaconus Midd. qui nunc eſt & ſucceſſores ſui ſint deinceps in perpetuum ſeparati & exonerati & prorſus liberati a juriſdictione, poteſtate, jure & authoritate Epiſcopi London. & ſucceſſorum ſuorum, ac ab Eccleſia Cathedrali Sancti Pauli London. ab omniq; jure, poteſtate & autoritate ejuſdem ipſiuſq; Archidiaconi, & ſucceſſores ſuos per præſentes ſeparamus, exoneramus, penitus in perpetuum liberamus, eundemq; Archidiaconum & ſucceſſores ſuos decernimus, Statuimus, Ordinamus, ac ſtabilimus in ſimili Statu, modo, forma & jure eſſe, ac deinceps in perpetuum fore, in prædicta Eccleſia Cathedrali Weſtm. quibus ipſe aut aliquis prædeceſſorum ſuorum unquam fuit in Eccleſia Cathedrali Sancti Pauli London. Statuimus etiam & ordinamus, ac per præſentes volumus & concedimus, quod prædictus Thomas Epiſcopus Weſtm. & ſucceſſores ſui Epiſcopi Weſtm. habeant, teneant & poſſideant, in omnibus & per omnia autoritatem, poteſtatem, jus & juriſdictionem, de & ſuper Archidiaconatu Midd. & Archidiacono & ſucceſſoribus ſuis, tam plene & integre ad omnem effectum quam Epiſcopus London. qui nunc eſt aut aliquis prædeceſſorum ſuorum habet aut habuit, aut habere debuit vel uſus fuit. Volumus autem ac per præſentes concedimus, tam præfato Epiſcopo quam Decano & Capitulo, quod habeat & habebit, habeant & habebunt, has Literas noſtras Patentes ſub magno ſigillo noſtro Angliæ debito modo factas & ſigillatas, abſq; fine ſeu feod. magno vel parvo nobis in Hanaperio noſtro ſeu alibi ad uſum noſtrorum, proinde quoquo modo reddend. ſolvend. vel faciend. eo quod expreſſa mentio, & cæt. In cujus rei, &c. Teſte Rege apud Weſtm. decimo ſeptimo die Decembris Anno Regni Regis Henrici Octavi trigeſimo ſecundo.

XXIV.

A Proclamation ordained by the King's Majesty, with the advice of his Honourable Council, for the Bible of the largest and greatest Volume to be had in every Church; devised the sixth day of May, *the 33 year of the King's most gracious Reign.*

Regist. *Bonner.* Fol. 21.

WHereby Injunctions heretofore set forth by the authority of the King's Royal Majesty, Supream Head of the Church of this his Realm of *England*, it was ordained, and commanded, amongst other things, That in all and singular Parish-Churches, there should be provided, by a certain day now expired, at the costs of the Curats and Parishioners, Bibles containing the Old and New Testament in the English Tongue, to be fixed and set up openly in every of the said Parish Churches; the which godly Commandment and Injunction, was to the only intent that every of the King's Majesties loving Subjects, minding to read therein, might, by occasion thereof, not only consider and perceive the great and ineffable Omnipotent Power, Promise, Justice, Mercy and Goodness of Almighty God, but also to learn thereby to observe God's Commandments, and to obey their Sovereign Lord, and High Powers, and to exercise Godly Charity, and to use themselves according to their Vocations, in a pure and sincere Christian Life, without murmur or grudging: By the which Injunctions, the King's Royal Majesty intended that his loving Subjects should have and use the commodities of the reading of the said Bibles, for the purpose above rehearsed, humbly, meekly, reverently, and obediently, and not that any of them should read the said Bibles with high and loud Voices, in time of the Celebration of the Holy Mass, and other Divine Services used in the Church; or that any his Lay-Subjects reading the same, should presume to take upon them any common Disputation, Argument, or Exposition of the Mysteries therein contained; but that every such Layman should, humbly, meekly, and reverently, read the same for his own instruction, edification, and amendment of his Life, according to God's Holy Word therein mentioned. And notwithstanding the King's said most godly and gracious Commandment and Injunction, in form as is aforesaid, his Royal Majesty is informed, That divers and many Towns and Parishes within this his Realm, have neglected their duties in the accomplishment thereof; whereof his Highness marvelleth not a little; and minding the execution of his said former most godly and gracious Injunctions, doth straitly charge and command, That the Curats and Parishioners of every Town and Parish within this his Realm of *England*, not having already Bibles provided within their Parish Churches, shall on this side the Feast of *All-Saints* next coming, buy and provide Bibles of the largest and greatest Volume, and cause the same to be set and fixed in every of the said Parish Churches, there to be used as is afore-said, according to the said former Injunctions, upon pain that the Curat and Inhabitants of the Parishes and Towns, shall loose and forfeit to the King's Majesty for every month that they shall lack and want the said Bibles, after the same Feast of *All-Saints*, 40 *s.* the one half of the same forfeit to be to the King's Majesty, and the other half to him

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or them which shall first find and present the same to the King's Majesties Council. And finally, the King's Royal Majesty doth declare and signify to all and singular his loving Subjects, that to the intent they may have the said Bibles of the greatest Volumn, at equal and reasonable prices, his Highness, by the advice of his Council, hath ordained and taxed, That the Sellers thereof shall not take for any of the said Bibles unbound, above the price of ten shillings; and for every of the said Bibles well and sufficiently bound, trimmed and clasped, not above twelve shillings, upon pain the Seller to lose, for every Bible sold contrary to his Highness's Proclamation, four shillings, the one Moiety thereof to the King's Majesty, and the other Moiety to the finder and presenter of the Defaulter, as is aforesaid. And his Highness straitly chargeth and commandeth, That all and singular Ordinaries, having Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction within this his Church and Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, that they, and every of them, shall put their effectual endeavours, that the Curats and Parishioners shall obey and accomplish this his Majesties Proclamation and Commandment, as they tender the advancement of the King's most gracious and godly purpose in that behalf, and as they will answer to his Highness for the same.

God save the KING.

XXV. *An Admonition and Advertisement given by the Bishop of* London, *to all Readers of this Bible in the English Tongue.*

TO the intent that a good and wholsome thing, godly and vertuously, for honest intents and purposes, set forth for many, be not hindred or maligned at, for the abuse, default, and evil behaviour of a few, who for lack of discretion, and good advisement, commonly without respect of time, or other due circumstances, proceed rashly and unadvisedly therein; and by reason thereof, rather hinder than set forward the thing that is good of it self: It shall therefore be very expedient, that whosoever repaireth hither to read this Book, or any such-like, in any other place, he prepare himself chiefly and principally, with all devotion, humility, and quietness, to be edified and made the better thereby; adjoining thereto his perfect and most bounden duty of obedience to the King's Majesty, our most gracious and dread Soveraign Lord, and supream Head, especially in accomplishing his Graces most honorable Injunctions and Commandments given and made in that behalf. And right expedient, yea necessary it shall be also, that leaving behind him vain Glory, Hypocrisy, and all other carnal and corrupt Affections, he bring with him discretion, honest intent, charity, reverence, and quiet behaviour, to and for the edification of his own Soul, without the hindrance, lett, or disturbance of any other his Christian Brother; evermore foreseeing that no number of People be specially congregate therefore to make a multitude; and that no exposition be made thereupon otherwise than it is declared in the Book it self; and that especially regard be had no reading thereof, be used, allowed, and with

Regiſter, *Bonner.*

with noise in the time of any Divine Service, or Sermon; or that in the same be used any Disputation, contention, or any other misdemeanour, or finally that any Man justly may reckon himself to be offended thereby, or take occasion to grudg or malign thereat.

God save the KING.

XXVI. *Injunctions given by* Bonner, *Bishop of* London, *to his Clergy.*

Regist. *Bonner.* Fol. 38.

INjunctions made by the consent and authority of me *Edmond Bonner* Bishop of *London*, in the Year of our Lord God 1542, and in the 34 Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *Henry* the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and supream Head here in Earth, next under God, of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*. All which and singular Injunctions, by the Authority given to me of God, and by our said Soveraign Lord the King's Majesty, I exhort, require, and also command, all and singular Parsons, Vicars, Curats, and Chantry Priests, with other of the Clergy, whatsoever they be, of my Diocess and Jurisdiction of *London*, to observe, keep, and perform accordingly, as it concerneth every of them, in vertue of their Obedience, and also upon pains expressed in all such Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances of this Realm, as they may incur, and be objected against them, now, or at any time hereafter, for breaking and violating of the same, or any of them.

First; That you, and every of you, shall, with all diligence, and faithful obedience, observe and keep, and cause to be observed and kept, to the outermost of your Powers, all and singular the Contents of the King's Highness most gracious and godly Ordinances and Injunctions given and set forth by his Graces Authority; and that ye, and every of you, for the better performance thereof, shall provide to have a Copy of the same in writing, or imprinted, and so to declare them accordingly.

Item; That every Parson, Vicar, and Curat, shall read over and diligently study every day one Chapter of the Bible, and that with the gloss ordinary, or some other Doctor or Expositor, approved and allowed in this Church of *England*, proceeding from Chapter to Chapter, from the beginning of the Gospel of *Matthew* to the end of the New Testament, and the same so diligently studied to keep still and retain in memory, and to come to the rehearsal and recital thereof, at all such time and times as they, or any of them, shall be commanded thereunto by me, or any of my Officers or Deputies.

Item; That every of you do procure and provide of your own, a Book called, *The Institution of a Christian Man*, otherwise called the *Bishops Book*; and that ye, and every of you, do exercise your selves in the same, according to such Precepts as hath been given heretofore or hereafter to be given.

Item;

Item; That ye being absent from your Benefices, in cases lawfully permitted by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, do suffer no Priest to keep your Cure, unless he being first by you presented, and by me or my Officers thereunto abled and admitted. And for the more and better assurance and performance thereof to be had, by these presents I warn and monish peremptorily, all and singular Beneficed Parsons having Benefices with Cure, within my Diocess and Jurisdiction, that they and every of them, shall either be personally resident upon their Benefices and Cures, before the Feast of St. *Michael* the Arch-Angel now next ensuing; or else present, before the said Feast, to me the said Bishop, my Vicar-General, or other my Officers deputed in that behalf, such Curats as upon examination made by me, or my said Officers, may be found able and sufficient to serve and discharge their Cures in their absence; and also at the said Feast, or before, shall bring in and exhibite before my said Officers their sufficient Dispensations authorized by the King's Majesty, as well for non-residence, as for keeping of more Benefices with Cure than one.

Item; That every Parson, Vicar, and other Curats, once in every quarter, shall openly in the Pulpit exhort and charge his Parishioners, that they in no wise do make any privy or secret contract of Matrimony between themselves, but that they utterly defer it until such time as they may conveniently have the Father and Mother, or some other Kinsfolks or Friends of the Person that shall make such Contract of Matrimony; or else two or three honest Persons to be present, and to hear and record the words and manner of their Contract, as they will avoid the extream pains of the Law provided in that behalf, if they presumptuously do or attempt the contrary.

Item; That in the avoiding of divers and grievous Offences and Enormities, and specially the most detestable sin of Adultery, which ofttimes hath hapned by the negligence of Curats in marrying Persons together which had been married before, and making no due proof of the death of their other Husbands and Wives at the time of such Marriages, I require and command you, and monish peremptorily by these presents, all manner of Parsons, Vicars, and Curats, with other Priests, being of my Diocess and Jurisdiction, that they, nor any of them from henceforth, do presume to solemnizate Matrimony in their Churches, Chappels, or elsewhere, between any Persons that have been married before, unless the said Parson, Vicar, Curat, or Priest, be first plainly, fully, and sufficiently informed and certified of the Decease of the Wife or Husband of him or her, or of both, that he shall marry, and that in writing, under the Ordinaries Seal of the Diocess, or place where he or she inhabited or dwelt before, under pain of Excommunication, and otherwise to be punished for doing the contrary, according to the Laws provided and made in that behalf.

Item; That ye, and every of you that be Parsons, Vicars, Curats, and also Chauntry-Priests and Stipendiaries, do instruct, teach, and bring up in Learning the best ye can, all such Children of your Parishioners as shall come to you for the same; or at the least, to teach them to read English, taking moderately therefore of their Friends that be able to pay, so that they may thereby the better learn and know how to Believe, how to Pray, how to live to God's pleasure.

Item;

Item; That every Curat do at all times his best diligence to stir, move, and reduce such as be at discord, to Peace, Concord, Love, Charity, and one to remit and forgive one another, as often and howsoever they shall be grieved or offended. And that the Curat shew and give example thereof, when and as often as any variance or discord shall happen to be between him and any of his Cure.

Item; Where some froward Persons, partly for malice, hatred, displeasure, and disdain, neglect contemn and despise their Curats, and such as have the Cure and Charge of their Souls, and partly to hide and cloak their leud and naughty living, as they have used all the Year before, use at length to be confessed of other Priests which have not the Cure of their Souls: Wherefore I will and require you to declare, and show to your Parishioners, That no Testimonials brought from any of them, shall stand in any effect, nor that any such Persons shall be admitted to God's Board, or receive their Communion, until they have submitted themselves to be confessed of their own Curats, (Strangers only except) or else upon arduous and urgent Causes and Considerations, they be otherwise dispensed with in that behalf, either by me or by my Officers aforesaid.

Item; That whereupon a detestable and abominable practice universally reigning in your Parishes, the young People, and other ill-disposed Persons doth use upon the *Sundays* and *Holy-days*, in time of Divine Service, and preaching the Word of God, to resort unto Ale-houses, and there exerciseth unlawful Games, with great Swearing, Blasphemy, Drunkenness, and other Enormities, so that good and devout Persons be much offended therewith: Wherefore I require and command you, to declare to such as keepeth Ale-houses, or Taverns within your Parishes, that at such times from henceforth, they shall not suffer in their Houses any such unlawful and ungodly Assemblies; neither receive such Persons to Bowling and Drinking at such Seasons, into their Houses, under pain of Excommunication, and otherwise to be punished for their so doing, according to the Laws in that behalf.

Item; That all Curats shall declare openly in the Pulpit, twice every Quarter to their Parishioners, the seven deadly Sins, and the Ten Commandments, so that the People thereby may not only learn how to obey, honour, and serve God, their Prince, Superiors, and Parents, but also to avoid and eschew Sin and Vice, and to live vertuously, following God's Commandments and his Laws.

Item; That where I am credibly informed, that certain Priests of my Diocess and Jurisdiction, doth use to go in an unseemly and unpriestly habit and apparel, with unlawful tonsures, carrying and having upon them also Armour and Weapons, contrary to all wholsome and godly Laws and Ordinances, more like Persons of the Lay, than of the Clergy; which may and doth minister occasion to light Persons, and to Persons unknown, where such Persons come in place, to be more licentious both of their Communication, and also of their Acts, to the great slander of the Clergy: Wherefore in the avoiding of such slander and obloquy hereafter, I admonish and command all and singular Parsons, Vicars, Curats, and all other Priests whatsoever they be, dwelling, or inhabiting, or hereafter shall dwell and inhabit within my Diocess and Jurisdiction, That from henceforth they, and every of them, do use any

wear meet, convenient, and decent Apparel, with their Trussures accordingly, whereby they may be known at all times from Lay-People, and to be of the Clergy, as they intend to avoid and eschew the penalty of the Laws ordained in that behalf.

Item; That no Parson, Vicar, or other Beneficed Man, having Cure within my Diocess and Jurisdiction, do suffer any Priest to say Mass, or to have any Service within their Cure, unless they first give knowledg, and present them with the Letters of their Orders to me as Ordinary, or to my Officers deputed in that behalf; and the said Priest so presented, shall be by me, or my said Officers, found able and sufficient thereunto.

Item; That every Curat, not only in his Preachings, open Sermons, and Collations made to the People, but also at all other times necessary, do perswade, exhort, and monish the People, being of his Cure, whatsoever they be, to beware and abstain from Swearing and blaspheming of the Holy Name of God, or any part of Christ's most precious Body or Blood. And likewise to beware, and abstain from Cursing, Banning, Chiding, Scolding, Backbiting, Slandering, and Lying. And also from talking and jangling in the Church, specially in time of Divine-Service, or Sermon-time. And semblably to abstain from Adultery, Fornication, Gluttony and Drunkenness: And if they, or any of them, be found notoriously faulty or infamed upon any of the said Crimes and Offences, then to detect them at every Visitation, or sooner, as the case shall require, so that the said Offenders may be corrected and reformed to the example of other.

Item; That no Priest from henceforth do use any unlawful Games, or frequently use any Ale-houses, Taverns, or any suspect place at any unlawful times, or any light Company, but only for their Necessaries, as they, and any of them, will avoid the danger that may ensue thereupon.

Item; That in the Plague-time, no dead Bodies or Corpses be brought into the Church, except it be brought streight to the Grave, and immediately buried, whereby the People may the rather avoid infection.

Item; That no Parsons, Vicars, nor Curats, permit or suffer any manner of common Plays, Games, or Interludes, to be played, set forth, or declared, within their Churches or Chappels, contrary to this our forbidding and Commandment; that then you, or either of you, in whose Churches or Chappels any such Games, Plays, or Interludes shall be so used, shall immediately thereupon make relation of the names of the Person or Persons so obstinately and disobediently using themselves, unto me, my Chancellor, or other my Officers, to the intent that they may be therefore reformed and punished according to the Laws.

Item; That all Priests shall take this order when they Preach; first, They shall not rehearse no Sermons made by other Men within this 200 or 300 Years; but when they shall preach, they shall take the Gospel or Epistle of the day, which they shall recite and declare to the people, plainly, distinctly, and sincerely, from the beginning to the end thereof, and then to desire the people to pray with them for Grace, after the usage of the Church of *England* now used: And that done, we will that every Preacher shall declare the same Gospel or Epistle, or both,

even

from the beginning, not after his own Mind, but after the Mind of some Catholick Doctor allowed in this Church of *England*, and in no wise to affirm any thing, but that which he shall be ready always to shew in some Ancient Writer; and in no wise to make rehearsal of any Opinion not allowed, for the intent to reprove the same, but to leave that for those that are and shall be admitted to preach by the King's Majesty, or by me the Bishop of *London*, your Ordinary, or by mine authority. In the which Epistle and Gospel, ye shall note and consider diligently certain godly and devout places, which may incense and stir the Hearers to obedience of good Works and Prayers: And in case any notable Ceremony used to be observed in the Church, shall happen that day when any preaching shall be appointed, it shall be meet and convenient that the Preacher declare and set forth to the people the true meaning of the same, in such sort that the people may perceive thereby, what is meant and signified by such Ceremony, and also know how to use and accept it to their own edifying. Furthermore, That no Preacher shall rage or rail in his Sermon, but coldly, discreetly, and charitably, open, declare, and set forth the excellency of Vertue, and to suppress the abomination of Sin and Vice; every Preacher shall, if time and occasion will serve, instruct and teach his Audience, what Prayer is used in the Church that day, and for what thing the Church prayeth, specially that day, to the intent that all the people may pray together with one heart for the same; and as occasion will serve, to shew and declare to the people what the Sacraments signifieth, what strength and efficacy they be of, how every Man should use them reverently and devoutly at the receiving of them. And to declare wherefore the Mass is so highly to be esteemed and honoured, with all the Circumstances appertaining to the same. Let every Preacher beware that he do not feed his Audience with any Fable, or other Histories, other than he can avouch and justify to be written by some allowed Writer. And when he hath done all that he will say and utter for that time, he shall then in few words recite again the pith and effect of his whole Sermon, and add thereunto as he shall think good.

Item; That no Parson, Vicar, Curat, or other Priest, having Cure of Souls within my Diocess and Jurisdiction, shall from hence-forth permit, suffer, or admit any manner of person, of whatsoever estate or condition he be, under the degree of a Bishop, to preach, or make any Sermon or Collation openly to the people within their Churches, Chappels, or else-where within their Cures, unless he that shall so preach, have obtained before special License in that behalf, of our Sovereign Lord the King, or of me *Edmund* Bishop of *London*, your Ordinary; And the same License so obtained, shall then and there really bring forth in writing under Seal, and shew the same to the said Parson, Vicar, Curat, or Priest, before the beginning of his Sermon, as they will avoid the extream Penalties of the Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances, provided and established in that behalf, if they presumptuously do or attempt any thing to the contrary.

Item; I desire, require, exhort, and command you, and every of you, in the Name of God, That ye firmly, faithfully, and diligently, to the uttermost of your powers, do observe, fulfil, and keep all and singular these mine Injunctions. And that ye, and every of you, being

Priests,

Priests, and having Cure, or not Cure, as well Benefice as not Beneficed, within my Diocess and Jurisdiction, do procure to have a Copy of the same Injunctions, to the intent ye may the better observe, and cause to be observed the Contents thereof.

The names of Books prohibited, delivered to the Curats, Anno 1542. *to the intent that they shall present them with the Names of the Owners, to their Ordinary, if they find any such within their Parishes.*

THE Disputation between the Father and the Son.
The Supplication of Beggars; the Author *Fish.*
The Revelation of Antichrist.
The Practice of Prelates.
The Burying of the Mass, in English Rithme.
The Book of Friar *Barnes*, twice printed.
The Matrimony of *Tindall.*
The Exposition of *Tindall*, upon the 4*th* Chap. to the *Corinth.*
The Exposition of *Tindall* upon the Epistles Canonick of St. *John.*
The New Testament of *Tindalls* Translation, with his Preface before the whole Book, and before the Epistles of St. *Paul* and *Rom.*
The Preface made in the English Prymmers, by *Marshall.*
The Church of *John Rastall.*
The Table, Glosses, Marginal, and Preface before the Epistle of St. *Paul* and *Romans*, of *Thomas Mathews* doing, and printed beyond the Sea without priviledg, set in his Bible in English.

XXVII. A Collection of Passages out of the Canon Law, made by *Cranmer*, to shew the necessity of reforming it. An Original.

Dist. 22. *Omnes de Major. & obedien. solit. Extra. De Majorit & obedient. Unam Sanctam.*

HE that knowledgeth not himself to be under the Bishop of *Rome*, and that the Bishop of *Rome* is ordained by God to have Primacy over all the World, is an Heretick, and cannot be saved, nor is not of the flock of Christ. Ex MSS. D. *Stilling-fleet.*

Dist. 10. *de Summa Excommunicationis, Nominat.* 25. *q.* 11. *omne.*

Princes Laws, if they be against the Canons and Decrees of the Bishop of *Rome*, be of no force nor strength.

Dist. 19, 20, 24. *q.* 1. *A recta memoria. Quotiens hæc est* 25. *q.* 1. *General. violatores.*

All the Decrees of the Bishop of *Rome* ought to be kept perpetually of every Man, without any repugnancy, as God's Word spoken by the Mouth of *Peter*; and whosoever doth not receive them, neither availeth them the Catholick Faith, nor the four Evangelists, but they blaspheme the Holy Ghost, and shall have no forgiveness.

35. *q.* 1. *Generali.*

All Kings, Bishops, and Noblemen, that believe or suffer the Bishop of *Rome*'s Decrees in any thing to be violate, be accursed, and for ever culpable before God, as transgressors of the Catholick Faith.

Dist. 21. *Quamvis, &* 24. *q.* 1. *A recta memoria.*

The See of *Rome* hath neither spot nor wrinkle in it, nor cannot err.

35. *q.* 1. *Ideo de Senten. & re judicata, de jurejurando licet ad Apostolicæ li.* 6. *de jurejurando.*

The Bishop of *Rome* is not bound to any Decrees, but he may compel, as well the Clergy as Lay-men, to receive his Decrees and Canon Law.

9. *q.* z. *Ipsi cuncta. Nemo* z. *q.* 6. *dudum aliorum.* 17. *q.* 4. *Si quis de Baptis. & ejus effectu majores.*

The Bishop of *Rome* hath authority to judg all Men, and specially to discern the Articles of the Faith, and that without any Counsel, and may assoil them that the Counsel hath damned; but no Man hath authority to judg him, nor to meddle with any thing that he hath judged, neither Emperor, King, People, nor the Clergy: And it is not lawful for any Man to dispute of his Power.

gr. Duo sunt 25. *q.* 6. *Alius Nos Sanctorum juratos in Clemen. de Hæreticis aut efficiund.*

The Bishop of *Rome* may excommunicate Emperors and Princes, depose them from their States, and Assoil their Subjects from their Oath and Obedience to them, and so constrain them to rebellion.

De Major. & obedien. solit. Clement. de summa & re judicata. Pastoral.

The Emperor is the Bishop of *Rome*'s Subject, and the Bishop of *Rome* may revoke the Emperor's Sentence in temporal Causes.

De

De Elect. & Electi proprietate. Venerabilem.

It belongeth to the Bishop of *Rome* to allow or disallow the Emperor after he is elected; and he may translate the Empire from one Region to another.

De supplenda Negligen. prælat. Grand. li. 6.

The Bishop of *Rome* may appoint Coadjutors unto Princes.

Dist. 17. *Si modo. Regula. Nec licuit multum. Concilia. 96. ubinam.*

There can be no Council of Bishops without the Authority of the See of *Rome*; and the Emperor ought not to be present at the Council, except when Matters of the Faith be entreating, which belong universally to every Man.

2. *q.* 6.

Nothing may be done against him that appealeth unto *Rome*.

1. *q.* 3. *Aliorum* Dist. 40. *Si Papa.* Dist. 96. *Satis*

The Bishop of *Rome* may be judged of none but of God only; for altho he neither regard his own Salvation, nor no Mans else, but draw down with himself innumerable People by heaps unto Hell; yet may no mortal Man in this World presume to reprehend him: forsomuch as he is called God, he may not be judged of Man, for God may be judged of no Man.

ε. z. *q.* 5.

The Bishop of *Rome* may open and shut Heaven unto Men.

Dist. 40. *Non vos.*

The See of *Rome* receiveth holy Men, or else maketh them holy.

De Pecunia. Dist. 1. *Serpens.*

He that maketh a Lye to the Bishop of *Rome* committeth Sacriledg.

De Consecra. Dist. 1. *De locorum præcepta. Ecclesia de Elect. & Electi proprietate. Fundamenta.*

To be Senator, Capitane, Patrician, Governour, or Officer of *Rome*, none shall be elected or pointed, without the express license and special consent of the See of *Rome*.

De Electione & Electi proprietate. Venerabilem.

It appertaineth to the Bishop of *Rome* to judg which Oaths ought to be kept, and which not.

De jurejurand. Si vero. 15. *q.* 6. *Authoritatem.*

And he may absolve Subjects from their Oath of Fidelity, and absolve from other Oaths that ought to be kept.

De foro competent. Ex tenore. De donat. inter virum & Uxorem dependentia. Qui Filii sunt legittime per venerabilem. De Elect. & Electi proprietate Fundamenta.Extravag.de Majorit.& Obedient.unam Sanctam. De judiciis Novit.

The Bishop of *Rome* is judg in temporal things,and hath two Swords, Spiritual and Temporal.

De Hæreticis multorum.

The Bishop of *Rome* may give Authority to arrest Men, and imprison them in Mannacles and Fetters.

Extrav. de Consuetudine super gentes.

The Bishop of *Rome* may compel Princes to receive his Legats.

De Truga & pace. Trugas.

It belongeth also to him to appoint and command Peace, and Truce to be observed and kept, or not.

De Prebend. & dig. dilectus & li. 6. *licet.*

The Collation of all Spiritual Promotions appertain to the Bishop of *Rome.*

De Excessibus prælatorum. Sicut unire.

The Bishop of *Rome* may unite Bishopricks together, and put one under another at his pleasure.

Li. 6. *de pœnis Felicum.*

In the Chapter *Felicis li.* 6. *de pœnis*, is the most partial and unreasonable Decree made by *Bonifacius* 8. that ever was read or heard, against them that be Adversaries to any Cardinal of *Rome*, or to any Clerk, or Religious Man of the Bishop of *Rome*'s Family.

Dist. 28.

Dist. 28. *Consulendum.* Dist. 96. *Si Imperator.* 11. *q.* 1. *Ex—Clericus. Nemo nullus. Clericum, &c. & q.* 2. *Si vero de sentent. Excommunication. Si judex q.* 2. *q.* 5. *Si quis de foro competent. Nullus. Si quibus. Ex transmissa. de foro compet. in* 6 *Seculares.*

Lay-men may not be Judges to any of the Clergy, nor compel them to pay their undoubted Debts, but the Bishops only must be their Judges.

De foro Competent. Cum sit licet.

Rectors of Churches may convent such as do them wrong, whither they will, before a Spiritual Judg, or a Temporal.

Idem ex parte Dilecti.

A Lay-man being spoiled, may convent his Adversaries before a Spiritual Judg, whether the Lords of the Feod consent thereto or not.

Ibidem Significasti, & 11. *q.* 1. *placuit.*

A Lay-man may commit his Cause to a Spiritual Judg; but one of the Clergy may not commit his Cause to a Temporal Judg, without the consent of the Bishop.

Ne Clerici vel Monachi. Secundum.

Lay-men may have no Benefices to farm.

De Summa Excommunicationis. Nom. extra. de pecuniis & Remiss. &c. si.

All they that make, or write any Statutes contrary to the Liberties of the Church; and all Princes, Rulers, and Counsellors, where such Statutes be made, or such Customs observed, and all the Judges and others that put the same in execution; and where such Statutes and Customs have been made and observed of old time, all they that put them not out of their Books be excommunicate, and that so grievously, that they cannot be assoiled but only by the Bishop of *Rome.*

De Immunitate Ecclesiæ. Non minus ad usus. Quia Quum & in 6. *Clericis.*

The Clergy to the relief of any common necessity, can nothing confer without the consent of the Bishop of *Rome*; nor it is not lawful for any Lay-man to lay any Imposition of Taxes, Subsidies, or any charges upon the Clergy.

Dist. 97.

Dist. 97. *Hoc capitulo & 63. Nullus & quæ sequitur:*
Non alia Cum Laic.

Lay-men may not meddle with Elections of the Clergy, nor with any other thing that belongeth unto them.

De jurejurando. Nimis.

The Clergy ought to give no Oath of Fidelity to their Temporal Governors, except they have Temporalities of them.

Dist. 96. *Bene Quidem.* 12. *q.* 2. *Apostolicos. Quisquis.*

The Goods of the Church may in no wise be alienated, but whosoever receiveth or buyeth them, is bound to restitution; and if the Church have any Ground, which is little or nothing worth, yet it shall not be given to the Prince; and if the Prince will needs buy it, the Sale shall be void and of no strength.

13. *q.* 2. *Non liceat.*

It is not lawful for the Bishop of *Rome* to alienate or mortgage any Lands of the Church, for every manner of necessity, except it be Houses in Cities, which be very chargeable to support and maintain.

Dist. 96. *Quis nunquam,* 3. *q.* 6. *Accusatio* 11. *q.* 1. *Continua nullus Testimonium Relatum Experientiæ. Si quisquis. Si quæ. Sicut Statuimus, nullus de persona. Si quis.*

Princes ought to obey Bishops, and the Decrees of the Church, and to submit their Heads unto the Bishops, and not to be judg over the Bishops; for the Bishops ought to be forborn, and to be judged of no Lay-man.

De Major. & obedien. solite.

Kings and Princes ought not to set Bishops beneath them, but reverently to rise against them, and to assign them an honourable Seat by them.

11. *q.* 1. *Quicunque. Relatum. Si qui omnes volumus. Placuit.*

All manner of Causes, whatsoever they be, Spiritual or Temporal, ought to be determined and judged by the Clergy.

Ibidem Omnes.

No judg ought to refuse the Witness of one Bishop, altho he be but alone.

De

De Hæreticis ad abolendam, &c. in Clementini ut officium.

Whoſoever teacheth or thinketh of the Sacraments otherwiſe than the See of *Rome* doth teach and obſerve, and all they that the ſame See doth judg Hereticks, be Excommunicate.

And the Biſhop of *Rome* may compel by an Oath, all Rulers and other People, to obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved, whatſoever the See of *Rome* ſhall ordain concerning Hereſy, and the Fautors thereof; and who will not obey, he may deprive them of their Dignities.

Clement. de reliq. & venerat. Sanctorum. Si Dominus extravag. de reliq. & venerat. Sanctorum.Cum per excelſa : de pœnitent.& remiſſ. antiquorum, & Clemen. unigenitus. Quemadmodum.

We obtain Remiſſion of Sin by obſerving of certain Feaſts, and certain Pilgrimages in the Jubilee, and other preſcribed times, by virtue of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Pardons.

De præmiis & remiſſionibus extravag. ca. 3. *Et ſi Dominici.*

Whoſoever offendeth the Liberties of the Church, or doth violate any Interdiction that cometh from *Rome*, or conſpireth againſt the Perſon, or Statute of the Biſhop, or See of *Rome*; or by any ways offendeth, diſobeyeth, or rebelleth againſt the ſaid Biſhop, or See, or that killeth a Prieſt, or offendeth perſonally againſt a Biſhop, or other Prelate; or invadeth, ſpoileth, withholdeth, or waſteth Lands belonging to the Church of *Rome*, or to any other Church immediatly ſubject to the ſame; or whoſoever invadeth any Pilgrims that go to *Rome*, or any Suitors to the Court of *Rome*, or that lett the devolution of Cauſes unto that Court, or that put any new Charges or Impoſitions, real or perſonal upon any Church, or Eccleſiaſtical Perſon; and generally all other that offend in the Caſes contained in the Bull, which is uſually publiſhed by the Biſhops of *Rome* upon *Maundy Thurſday*; all theſe can be aſſoiled by no Prieſt, Biſhop, Arch-Biſhop, nor by none other but only by the Biſhop of *Rome*, or by his expreſs licenſe.

2. 4. *q.* z.

Robbing of the Clergy, and poor Men, appertaineth unto the judgment of the Biſhops.

23. 9. *q.*

He is no Man-ſlayer that ſlayeth a Man which is Excommunicate.

Diſt. 63. *Tibi Domino de ſumma Excommunicationis. Si judex.*

Here may be added the moſt tyrannical and abominal Oaths which the Biſhop of *Rome* exact of the Emperors; *in Clement. de jurejurando Romani diſt.* 6. 3, *Tibi Domino.*

De

De Consecra. Dist. 1. *Sicut.*

It is better not to Consecrate, than to Consecrate in a place not Hallowed.

De Consecrat. Dist. 5. *De his manus, ut reum.*

Confirmation, if it be ministred by any other than a Bishop, is of no value; nor is no Sacrament of the Church; also Confirmation is more to be had in reverence than Baptism; and no Man by Baptism can be a christned Man without Confirmation.

De pœniten. Dist. 1. *Multiplex.*

A penitent Person can have no remission of his Sin, but by supplication of the Priests.

XXVIII. A Mandate for publishing and using the Prayers in the *English* Tongue.

Mandatum Domino Episcopo London. direct. pro publicatione Regiarum Injunctionum.

Regist. *Bonner.* Fol. 48.

MOst Reverend Father in God, right trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well, and let you wit, That calling to our remembrance the miserable state of all Christendom, being at this present, besides all other troubles, so plagued with most cruel Wars, Hatred, and Dissensions, as no place of the same almost (being the whole reduced to a very narrow corner) remaineth in good Peace, Agreement, and Concord; the help and remedy whereof far exceeding the power of any Man, must be called for of him who only is able to grant our Petitions, and never forsaketh nor repelleth any that firmly believe and faithfully call on him; unto whom also the example of Scripture encourageth us, in all these and other our troubles and necessities, to fly and to cry for aid and succour; being therefore resolved to have continually from henceforth general Processions, in all Cities, Towns, Churches, and Parishes of this our Realm, said and sung, with such reverence and devotion as appertaineth. Forasmuch as heretofore the People, partly for lack of good Instruction and Calling, and partly for that they understood no part of such Prayers or Suffrages as were used to be sung and said, have used to come very slackly to the Procession, when the same have been commanded heretofore; We have set forth certain godly Prayers and Suffrages in our Native English Tongue, which we send you herewith, signifying unto you, That for the special trust and confidence we have of your godly mind, and earnest desire, to the setting forward of the Glory of God, and the true worshipping of his most Holy Name, within that Province committed by us unto you, we have

have ſent unto you theſe Suffrages, not to be for a month or two obſerved, and after ſlenderly conſidered, as other our Injunctions have, to our no little marvel, been uſed; but to the intent that as well the ſame, as other our Injunctions, may be earneſtly ſet forth by preaching good Exhortations and otherwiſe to the People, in ſuch ſort as they feeling the godly taſt thereof, may godly and joyouſly, with thanks, receive, embrace, and frequent the ſame, as appertaineth. Wherefore we will and command you, as you will anſwer unto us for the contrary, not only to cauſe theſe Prayers and Suffrages aforeſaid to be publiſhed, frequented, and openly uſed in all Towns, Churches, Villages, and Pariſhes of your own Dioceſs, but alſo to ſignify this our pleaſure unto all other Biſhops of your Province, willing and commanding them in our Name, and by virtue hereof, to do and execute the ſame accordingly. Unto whoſe Proceedings, in the execution of this our Commandment, we will that you have a ſpecial reſpect, and make report unto us, if any ſhall not with good dexterity accompliſh the ſame; Not failing, as our ſpecial truſt is in you.

At St. *James's*, *Junii*—— *Regni* 36. Directed to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*.

XXIX. *The Articles acknowledged by* Shaxton, *late Bp of* Sarum.

THe *Firſt*; Almighty God, by the Power of his Word, pronounced by the Prieſt at Maſs in the Conſecration, turneth the Bread and Wine into the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that after the Conſecration, there remaineth no Subſtance of Bread and Wine, but only the ſubſtance of Chriſt, God and Man. Regiſt. *Bonner.* Fol. 100.

The *Second*; The ſaid Bleſſed Sacrament being once Conſecrate, is and remaineth ſtill the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, although it be reſerved, and not preſently diſtributed.

The *Third*; The ſame bleſſed Sacrament being conſecrate, is and ought to be worſhipped and adored with godly honour whereſoever it is, foraſmuch as it is the Body of Chriſt inſeparably united to the Deity.

The *Fourth*; The Church, by the Miniſtration of the Prieſt, offereth daily at the Maſs for a Sacrifice to Almighty God, the ſelf-ſame Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, under the form of Bread and Wine, in the remembrance and repreſentation of Chriſt's Death and Paſſion.

The *Fifth*; The ſame Body and Blood which is offered in the Maſs, is the very propitiation and ſatisfaction for the ſins of the World; foraſmuch as it is the ſelf-ſame in Subſtance which was offered upon the Croſs for our Redemption: And the Oblation and Action of the Prieſt is alſo a Sacrifice of Praiſe and Thankſgiving unto God for his Benefits,

fits, and not the ſatisfaction for the Sins of the World, for that is only to be attributed to Chriſt's Paſſion.

The *Sixth*; The ſaid Oblation, or Sacrifice, ſo by the Prieſt offered in the Maſs, is available and profitable, both for the Quick and the Dead, altho it lieth not in the power of Man to limit how much, or in what meaſure the ſame doth avail.

The *Seventh*; It is not a thing of neceſſity, that the Sacrament of the Altar ſhould be miniſtred unto the People under both kinds, of Bread and Wine: and it is none abuſe that the ſame be miniſtred to the People under the one kind; foraſmuch as in every of both the kinds, whole Chriſt, both Body and Blood is contained.

The *Eighth*; It is no derogation to the vertue of the Maſs, altho the Prieſt do receive the Sacrament alone, and none other receive it with him.

The *Ninth*; The Maſs uſed in this Realm of *England*, is agreeable to the inſtitution of Chriſt; and we have in this Church of *England*, the very true Sacrament, which is the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, under the form of Bread and Wine.

The *Tenth*; The Church of Chriſt hath, doth, and may lawfully order ſome Prieſts to be Miniſters of the Sacraments, altho the ſame do not preach, nor be not admitted thereunto.

The *Eleventh*; Prieſts being once dedicated unto God by the Order of Prieſthood, and all ſuch Men and Women as have adviſedly made Vows unto God of Chaſtity or Widowhood, may not lawfully marry, after their ſaid Orders received, or Vows made.

The *Twelfth*; Secret auricular Confeſſion is expedient and neceſſary to be retained, continued, and frequented in the Church of Chriſt.

The *Thirteenth*; The Preſcience and Predeſtination of Almighty God, altho in it ſelf it be infallible, induceth no neceſſity to the Action of Man, but that he may freely uſe the power of his own will or choice, the ſaid Preſcience or Predeſtination notwithſtanding.

I *Nicholas Shaxton*, with my Heart, do believe, and with my Mouth do confeſs all theſe Articles above-written to be true in every part.

Ne deſpicias hominem avertentem ſe a peccato, neque improperes ei: memento quoniam omnes in corruptione ſumus, Eccleſ. 8.

XXX. Leth-

XXX. *A Letter written by* Lethington *the Secretary of* Scotland, *to Sir* William Cecil, *the Queen of* England's *Secretary, touching the Title of the Queen of* Scots *to the Crown of* England: *By which it appears that K.* Henry's *Will was not signed by him.*

I Cannot be ignorant that ſome do object as to her Majeſties Forreign Birth, and hereby think to make her incapable of the Inheritance of *England.* To that you know for anſwer what may be ſaid by an *Engliſh* Patron of my Miſtriſs's Cauſe, although I being a *Scot* will not affirm the ſame, that there ariſeth amongſt you a Queſtion; Whether the Realm of *Scotland* be forth of the Homage and Leageance of *England:* And therefore you have in ſundry Proclamations preceding your Wars-making, and in ſundry Books at ſundry times, laboured much to prove the Homage and Fealty of *Scotland* to *England.* Your Stories alſo be not void of this intent. What the judgment of the Fathers of your Law is, and what commonly is thought in this Matter, you know better than I, and may have better intelligence than I, the Argument being fitter for your Aſſertion than mine. Ex MS. D.G.Petyt.

Another Queſtion there is alſo upon this Objection of Forreign Birth; that is to ſay, Whether Princes inheritable to the Crown, be in caſe of the Crown exempted or concluded as private Perſons, being Strangers born forth of the Allegiance of *England.* You know in this caſe, as divers others, the State of the Crown: the Perſons inheritable to the Crown at the time of their Capacity, have divers differences and prerogatives from other Perſons; many Laws made for other Perſons take no hold in caſe of the Prince, and they have ſuch Priviledges as other Perſons enjoy not: As in caſes of Attainders, and other Penal Laws: Examples, *Hen.* 7. who being a Subject, was attainted; and *Ed.* 4. and his Father *Richard Plantagenet* were both attainted; all which notwithſtanding their Attainders had right to the Crown, and two of them attained the ſame. Amongſt many Reaſons to be ſhewed, both for the differences, and that Forreign Birth doth not take place in the caſe of the Crown, as in common Perſons, the many experiences before the Conqueſt, and ſince, of your King's, do plainly teſtify. 2. Of purpoſe I will name unto you, *Hen.* 2d. *Maud* the Empreſs Son, and *Richard* of *Bourdeaux*, the Black Princes Son, the rather for that neither of the two was the King of *England*'s Son, and ſo not *Enfant du Roy*, if the word be taken in this ſtrict ſignification. And for the better proof, that it was always the common Law of your Realm, that in the caſe of the Crown, Forreign Birth was no Bar; you do remember the words of the Stat. 25. *Ed.* 3. where it is ſaid, the Law was ever ſo: Whereupon if you can remember it, you and I fell out at a reaſoning in my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Chamber, by the occaſion of the Abridgment of *Raſtal*, wherein I did ſhew you ſomewhat to this purpoſe; alſo theſe words, *Infant* and *Anceſtors* be in *Prædicamento ad aliquid*, and ſo Correlatives in ſuch ſort, as the meaning of the Law was not to reſtrain the underſtanding of this word *Infant*, ſo ſtrict as only to the Children of the King's Body, but to others inheritable in remainder; and if ſome Sophiſters will needs cavil about the preciſe underſtanding of *Infant*, let them be

 anſwered

anſwered with the ſcope of this word *Anceſtors* in all Proviſions,for *Filii, Nepotes* and *Liberi*, you may ſee there was no difference betwixt the firſt degree, and theſe that come after by the Civil Law. *Liberorum appellatione comprehenduntur non ſolum Filii,verum etiam Nepotes, Pronepotes, Abnepotes*, &c. If you examine the Reaſon why Forreign Birth is excluded, you may ſee that it was not ſo needful in Princes Caſes, as in common Perſons. Moreover, I know that *England* hath oftentimes married with Daughters, and married with the greateſt Forreign Princes of *Europe*. And ſo I do alſo underſtand, that they all did repute the Children of them, and of the Daughters of *England*, inheritable in ſucceſſion to that Crown,notwithſtanding the Forreign Birth of their Iſſue: And in this caſe I do appeal to all Chronicles, to their Contracts of Marriages, and to the opinion of all the Princes of Chriſtendom. For tho *England* be a noble and puiſſant Country, the reſpect of the Alliance only, and the Dowry, hath not moved the great Princes to match ſo often in marriage, but the poſſibility of the Crown in ſucceſſion. I cannot be ignorant altogether in this Matter, conſidering that I ſerve my Sovereign in the room that you ſerve yours. The Contract of Marriage is extant betwixt the King, my Miſtris's Grandfather, and Queen *Margaret*, Daughter to King *Henry* the 7*th*, by whoſe Perſon the Title is devolved on my Sovereign; what her Fathers meaning was in beſtowing of her, the World knoweth,by that which is contained in the Chronicles written by *Polidorus Virgilius*, before (as I think) either you or I was born; at leaſt when it was little thought that this Matter ſhould come in queſtion. There is another Exception alſo laid againſt my Soveraign, which ſeems at the firſt to be of ſome weight, grounded upon ſome Statutes made in King *Hen*. 8. time, (*viz.*) of the 28*th*, & 35*th* of his Reign, whereby full power and authority was given him the ſaid King *Henry*, to give, diſpoſe, appoint, aſſign, declare, and limit, by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or elſe by his laſt Will made in writing, and ſigned with his hand at his pleaſure, from time to time thereafter the Imperial Crown of that Realm, &c. Which Imperial Crown is by ſome alledged and conſtantly affirmed to have been limited and diſpoſed, by the laſt Will and Teſtament of the ſaid King *Hen*. 8. ſigned with his hand before his death, unto the Children of the Lady *Francis*; and *Elenor*, Daughter to *Mary* the French Queen, younger Daughter of *Hen*. 7. and of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*; ſo as it is thought the Queen, my Soveraign, and all others, by courſe of Inheritance, be by theſe Circumſtances excluded and fore-cloſed: So as it does well become all Subjects,ſuch as I am, ſo my liking is,to ſpeak of Princes,of their Reigns and Proceedings modeſtly, and with reſpect; yet I cannot abſtain to ſay, that the Chronicles and Hiſtories of that Age, and your own printed Statutes being extant, do contaminate and diſgrace greatly the Reign of that King in that time. But to come to our purpoſe, what equity and juſtice was that to diſinherit a Race of Forreign Princes of their poſſibility,and maternal right,by a municipal Law or Statute made in that,which ſome would term abrupt time,and ſay,that that would rule the Roaſt, yea, and to exclude the right Heirs from their Title, without calling them to anſwer, or any for them: well, it may be ſaid, that the injury of the time, and the indirect dealing is not to be allowed; but ſince it is done it cannot be avoided, unleſs ſome Circumſtances

material

material do annihilate the said limitation and dispofition of the Crown.

Now let us examine the manner and circumstances how King *Hen.* 8. was by Statute inabled to dispose the Crown. There is a form in two sorts prescribed him, which he may not transgress, that is to say, either by his Letters Patents, sealed with his Great Seal, or by his last Will, signed with his hand: for in this extraordinary case he was held to an ordinary and precise form; which being not observed, the Letters Patents, or Will, cannot work the intent or effect supposed. And to disprove, that the Will was signed with his own hand; You know, that long before his death he never used his own signing with his own hand; and in the time of his Sickness, being divers times pressed to put his hand to the Will written, he refused to do it. And it seemed God would not suffer him to proceed in an Act so injurious and prejudicial to the right Heir of the Crown, being his Niece. Then his death approaching, some as well known to you as to me, caused *William Clarke*, sometimes Servant to *Thomas Henneage*, to sign the supposed Will with a stamp, (for otherwise signed it was never); and yet notwithstanding some respecting more the satisfaction of their ambition, and others their private commodity, than just and upright dealing, procured divers honest Gentlemen, attending in divers several Rooms about the King's Person, to testifie with their hand-writings the Contents of the said pretended Will, surmised to be signed with the King's own hand. To prove this dissembled and forged signed Testament, I do refer you to such Trials as be yet left. First; The Attestation of the late Lord *Paget*, published in the Parliament in Queen *Mary*'s time, for the restitution of the Duke of *Norfolk*. Next, I pray you, on my Sovereigns behalf, that the Depositions may be taken in this Matter of the Marquess of *Winchester*, Lord Treasurer of *England*, the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Sir *William Petre* then one of King *Henry*'s Secretaries, Sir *Henry Nevill*, Sir *Maurice Barkley*, Doctor *Buts*, *Edmond Harman Baker*, *John Osborn* Groom of the Chamber, Sir *Anthony Dennis*, if he be living, *Terris* the Chirurgion, and such as have heard *David Vincent* and others speak in this case; and that their Attestations may be enrolled in the *Chancery*, and in the *Arches*, *In perpetuam rei memoriam*.

Thirdly; I do refer you to the Original Will surmised to be signed with the King's own hand, that thereby it may most clearly and evidently appear by some differences, how the same was not signed with the King's hand, but stamped as aforesaid. And albeit it is used both as an Argument and Calumniation against my Sovereign to some, that the said Original hath been embezelled in Queen *Mary*'s time, I trust God will and hath reserved the same to be an Instrument to relieve the Truth, and to confound false Surmises, that thereby the Right may take place, notwithstanding the many Exemplifications and Transcripts, which being sealed with the great Seal, do run abroad in *England*, and do carry away many Mens minds, as great presumptions of great variety and validity. But, Sir, you know in cases of less importance, that the whole Realm of *England*, Transcripts and Exemplifications be not of so great force in Law to serve for the recovery of any thing, either real or personal: And in as much as my Soveraign's Title in this case shall be little advanced,

advanced, by taking exceptions to others pretended and crased Titles, considering her precedency, I will leave it to such as are to claim after the issue of *Hen.* the *7th*, to lay in Bar the Poligamy of *Charles Brandon* the Duke of *Suffolk*; and also the vitiated and clandestine Contract, (if it may be so called) having no witness nor solemnization of Christian Matrimony, nor any lawful matching of the Earl of *Hertford* and the Lady *Katharine*. *Lastly*; The semblably compelling of Mr. *Key*, and the Lady *Mary* Sister to the Lady *Katherine*.

And now, Sir, I have to answer your desire said somewhat briefly to the Matter, which indeed is very little, where so much may be said; for to speak truly, the Cause speaketh for it self. I have so long forborn to deal in this matter, that I have almost forgotten many things which may be said for Roboration of her Right, which I can shortly reduce to my Remembrance, being at *Edinburgh* where my Notes are: So that if you be not by this satisfied, upon knowledg from you of any other Objection, I hope to satisfy you unto all things may be said against her. In the mean time I pray you so counsel the Queen, your Soveraign, as some effectual reparation may follow without delay, of the many and sundry traverses and dis-favorings committed against the Queen, my Soveraign: as the publishing of so many exemplifications of King *Henry*'s supposed Will, the secret embracing of *John Halles* Books, the Books printed and not avowed the last Summer, one of the which my Mistris hath sent by *Henry Killigrew* to the Queen your Soveraign; The Disputes and Proceedings of *Lincolns-Inn*, where the Case was ruled against the Queen my Soveraign; The Speeches of sundry in this last Session of Parliament, tending all to my Soveraigns derision, and nothing said to the contrary by any Man, but the Matter shut up with silence, most to her prejudice; and by so much the more as every Man is gone home setled and confirmed in his Error. And, Lastly, The Queen, your Soveraign's resolution to defend now by Proclamations, all Books and Writings containing any discussion of Titles, when the whole Realm hath engendred by these fond proceedings, and other favoured practises, a setled opinion against my Soveraigns, to the advancement of my Lady *Katherines* Title. I might also speak of an other Book lately printed and set abroad in this last Session, containing many Untruths and weak Reasons, which Mr. *Wailing* desired might be answered before the Defence were made by Proclamation. I trust you will so hold hand to the Reformation of all these things, as the Queen, my Soveraign, may have effectual occasion to esteem you her Friend; which doing, you shall never offend the Queen your Mistris, your Country, nor Conscience, but be a favourer of the Truth against Errors, and yet deserve well of a Princess, who hath a good heart to recognize any good turn, when it is done her, and may hereafter have means to do you pleasure. For my particular, as I have always honoured you as my Father, so do I still remain of the same mind, as one, whom in all things not touching the State, you may direct, as your Son *Thomas Cecil*, and with my hearty commendations to you, and my Lady, both, I take my leave. From *Striveling*, the 14*th* of *January*, 1566.

FINIS.

AN APPENDIX
Concerning some of the
Errors & Falshoods
IN
SANDER's Book
OF THE
English Schism.

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APPENDIX.

THose who intend to write Romances or Plays, do commonly take their Plot from ſome true piece of Hiſtory; in which they faſten ſuch Characters to Perſons and Things, and mix ſuch Circumſtances and ſecret Paſſages, with thoſe publick Tranſactions and Changes, that are in other Hiſtories; as may more artificially raiſe theſe paſſions and affections in their Readers minds, which they intend to move, than could poſſibly be done, if the whole ſtory were a meer fiction and contrivance: and tho all Men know thoſe tender paſſages to flow only from the invention and fancy of the Poet; yet by I know not what charm, the greateſt part that read or hear their Poems, are ſoftned and ſenſibly touched.

Some ſuch deſign *Sanders* ſeems to have had in his Book, which he very wiſely kept up as long as he lived: he intended to repreſent the Reformation in the fouleſt ſhape that was poſſible, to defame Queen *Elizabeth*, to ſtain her Blood, and thereby to bring her Title to the Crown in queſtion; and to magnify the Authority of the See of *Rome*, and celebrate Monaſtick Orders, with all the praiſes and high characters he could deviſe: And therefore after he had writ ſeveral Books on theſe Subjects, without any conſiderable ſucceſs, they being all rather filled with foul calumnies and detracting malice, than good Arguments, or ſtrong ſenſe, he reſolved to try his skill another way; ſo he intended to tell a doleful Tale, which ſhould raiſe a deteſtation of Hereſie, an ill Opinion of the Queen, caſt a ſtain on her Blood, and diſparage her Title, and advance the honour of the Papacy. A Tragedy was fitter for theſe ends, ſince it left the deepeſt impreſſions on the graver and better affections of the mind; the Scene muſt be laid in *England*, and King *Henry* the Eighth and his three Children, with the changes that were in their times, ſeemed to afford very plentiful Matter for a Man of wit and fancy, who knew where he could dextrouſly ſhew his Art, and had boldneſs enough to do it without ſhame, or the reverence due, either to crowned Heads, or to Perſons that were dead. Yet becauſe he knew not how he could hold up his Face to the World, after theſe diſcoveries were made, which he had reaſon to expect, this was concealed as long as he lived: and after he had died *for his Faith* (that is, in Rebellion, which I ſhall ſhew is *the Faith* in his ſtile) this Work of his was publiſhed. The ſtile is generally clean, and things are told in an eaſy and pleaſant way; only he could not uſe his Art ſo decently, as to reſtrain that malice which boiled in his Breaſt, and often fermented out too palpably in his Pen.

The Book ſerved many ends well, and ſo was generally much cried up, by Men who had been long accuſtomed to commend any thing that

was useful to them, without troubling themselves with those impertinent Questions, whether they were true or false; yet *Rishton* and others since that time took the Pencil again in their hands, and finding there were many touches wanting, which would give much life to the whole Piece, have so changed it, that it was afterwards reprinted, not only with a large continuation, that was writ by a much more unskilful Poet, but with so many and great additions, scattered thorough the whole Work, whereby it seemed so changed in the vamping, that it looked new.

If any will give themselves the trouble, to compare his Fable with the History that I have written, and the certain undoubted Authorities I bring in confirmation of what I assert, with the slender and (for the most part) no Authorities, he brings, they will soon be able to discern where the Truth lies: but because all People have not the leisure or opportunities for laying things so critically together, I was advised, by those whose Counsels directed me in this whole Work, to sum up, in an *Appendix*, the most considerable Falshoods and Mistakes of that Book, with the Evidences upon which I rejected them. Therefore I have drawn out the following Extraction, which consists of Errors of two sorts. The one is, of these in which there is indeed no malice, yet they shew the Writer had no true information of our Affairs, but commits many Faults, which tho they leave not such foul imputations on the Author, yet tend very much to disparage and discredit his Work. But the others are of an higher guilt, being designed Forgeries, to serve partial ends; not only without any Authority, but manifestly contrary to Truth, and to such Records as (in spite of all the care they took in Q. *Mary*'s time by destroying them, to condemn Posterity to Ignorance in these Matters) are yet reserved, and serve to discover the falshood of those Calumnies in which they have traded so long. I shall pursue these Errors in the *series* in which they are delivered in *Sanders* his Book, according to the Impression at *Colen* 1628, which is that I have. I first set down his Errors, and then a short confutation of them, referring the Reader for fuller information to the foregoing History.

Page 2. 1. *Sanders* says; "That when Prince *Arthur* and his Princess were "bedded, King *Henry* the 7*th* ordered a grave Matron to lie in the Bed, "that so they might not consummate their Marriage.

This is the ground-work of the whole Fable; and should have been some-way or other proved. But if we do not take so small a circumstance upon his word, we treat him rudely; and who will write Histories, if they be bound to say nothing but Truth! But little thought our Author that there were three Depositions upon Record, point blank against this, for the Dutchess of *Norfolk*, the Viscount of *Fitswater* and his Lady, deposed they saw them bedded together, and the Bed blessed after they two were put in it; besides that such an extravagant thing was never known done in any place.

Ibid. 2. *Sanders* says; "Prince *Arthur* was not then fifteen years of Age, "and was sick of a lingring Disease.

The Plot goes on but scurvily, when the next thing that is brought to confirm it, is contradicted by Records. Prince *Arthur* was born the 20*th* of *September*, in the year 1486, and so was 15 years old and two months

months passed at the 14*th* of *November* 1501, in which he was married to the Princess, and was then of a lively and good Complexion, and did not begin to decay till the *Shrovetide* following, which was imputed to his excesses in the Bed, at the Witnesses deposed.

3. He says; " Upon the motion for the marrying of his Brother " *Henry* to the Princess, it was agreed to by all, that the thing was lawful. *Ibid.*

It was perhaps agreed on at *Rome*, where Mony and other political Arts sway their Counsels; but it was not agreed to in *England*: for which we have no meaner Author, than *Warham* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who, when examined upon Oath, deposed that himself then thought the Marriage was not honourable nor well-pleasing to God, and that he had thereupon opposed it much, and that the People murmured at it.

4. He says; " There was not one Man in any Nation under Heaven, " or in the whole Church, that spake against it. *Page* 3.

The common Stile of the *Roman Church*, calling the See of *Rome* the *Catholick Church*, must be applied to this, to bring off our Author; otherwise I know not how to save his Reputation. Therefore by all *the Nations under Heaven* must be understood only the Divines at *Rome*, tho when it came to be examined, they could scarce find any who would justify it: all the most famous Universities, Divines, and Canonists, condemned it, and *Warham's* Testimony contradicts this plainly, besides the other great Authorities that were brought against it, for which see *lib.* 2. from *pag.* 91 to *pag.* 103.

5. He says, " The King once said, *He would not marry the Queen.* *Page* 4.

Here is a pretty Essay of our Authors Art, who would make us think it was only in a transient discourse, that the King said he would not marry Queen *Katherine*; but this was more maturely done, by a solemn Protestation, which he read himself before the Bishop of *Winchester*, that he would never marry her, and that he revoked his consent given under Age. This was done when he came to be of Age, see *pag.*36. it is also confessed by *Sanders* himself.

6. He says; " The Queen bore him three Sons and two Daughters. *Ibid.*

All the Books of that time speak only of two Sons, and one Daughter; but this is a flourish of his Pen, to represent her a fruitful Mother.

7. He says; " The King had sometimes two, sometimes three Con- " cubines at once. *Page* 5.

It does not appear he had ever any but *Elizabeth Blunt*; and if we judge of his Life, by the Letters the Popes wrote to him, and many printed Elogies that were published then, he was a Prince of great Piety and Religion all that while.

8. He says; " The Lady *Mary* was first desired in marriage by *James* " the 5*th* of *Scotland*, then by *Charles* the 5*th* the *Emperor*; and then " *Francis* asked her, first for the *Dolphin*, then for the Duke of *Orleance*, " and last of all for himself. *Page* 6.

But all this is wrong placed, for ſhe was firſt contracted to the Dolphin, then to the *Emperor*, and then treated about to the King of *Scotland*; after that it was left to *Francis* his choice, whether ſhe ſhould be married to himſelf, or his ſecond Son the Duke of *Orleance*: So little did our Poet know the publick Tranſactions of that time.

Ibid. 9. He ſays; "She was in the end contracted to the *Dolphin*: from "whence he concludes that all Forreign Princes were ſatisfied with the "lawfulneſs of the Marriage.

She was firſt of all contracted to the *Dolphin*. Forreign Princes were ſo little ſatisfied of the lawfulneſs of the Marriage, that tho ſhe being Heir to the Crown of *England*, was a Match of great advantage; yet their Counſellors excepted to it, on that very account, that the Marriage was not good. This was done in *Spain*, and ſhe was rejected, as a Writer who lived in that time informs us; and *Sanders* confeſſes it was done by the *French* Ambaſſadour.

Page 7. 10. He ſays; "*Wolſey* was firſt Biſhop of *Lincoln*, then of *Dureſme*, "after that of *Winchester*, and laſt of all Arch-Biſhop of *York*; after that "he was made *Chancellor*, then *Cardinal* and *Legate*.

The order of theſe Preferments is quite reverſed; for *Wolſey* ſoon after he was made Biſhop of *Lincoln*, upon Cardinal *Bembridge* his death, was not only promoted to the See of *York*, but advanced to be a Cardinal in the 7*th* year of the King's Reign: And ſome months after that, he was made Lord Chancellor; and ſeven years after that, he got the Biſhoprick of *Dureſme*, which ſix years after he exchanged for *Winchester*. He had heard perhaps that he enjoyed all theſe Preferments; but knowing nothing of our Affairs beyond hear-ſay, he reſolved to make him riſe as Poets order their *Heroes* by degrees, and therefore ranks his Advancement not according to Truth, but in the method he liked beſt himſelf.

Page 8. 11. He ſays; "*Wolſey* firſt deſigned the Divorce, and made *Longland*, "that was the King's Confeſſor, ſecond his motion for it.

The King not only denied this in publick, ſaying, That he himſelf had firſt moved it to *Longland* in Confeſſion; and that *Wolſey* had oppoſed it all he could: but in private diſcourſe with *Grinæus* told him, he had laboured under theſe ſcruples for ſeven years; *ſeptem perpetuis annis trepidatio*. Which reckoning from the year 1531, in which *Grinæus* wrote this to one of his Friends, will fall back to the year 1524. long before *Wolſey* had any provocation to tempt him to it.

Page 9. 12. He ſays; "In the year 1526, in which the King was firſt made to "doubt of his Marriage, he was reſolved then whom to marry when he "was once divorced.

But by his other Story, *Ann Boleyn* was then but fifteen years old, and went to *France* at that Age, where ſhe ſtaied a conſiderable time before ſhe came to the Court of *England*.

Ibid. 13. He ſays; "The King ſpent a year in a private ſearch, to ſee what "could be found, either in the Scriptures, or the Pope's Bull, to be made

uſe

" use of against his Marriage; but they could find nothing.

In that time all the Bishops of *England*, except *Fisher*, declared under their Hands and Seals, that they thought the Marriage unlawful; for which see *pag*.38.and upon what Reasons this was grounded,has been clearly opened, *pag*. 97.

14. He says; " If there were any ambiguities in the Pope's first Let- *Ibid.*
" ters (meaning the Bull, for dispensing with the marriage) they were " cleared by other Letters, which *Ferdinand* of *Spain* had afterwards " procured.

These other Letters (by which he means the *Breve*) bear date the same day with the Bull; and so were not procured afterwards. There were indeed violent presumptions of their being forged long after, even after the Process had been almost an year in agitation. But tho they helped the matter in some lesser Particulars; yet in the main Business, Whether Prince *Arthur* did know his Princess,they did it a great prejudice; for whereas the Bull bore, that by the Queens Petition her former Marriage was *perhaps consummated*, the *Breve* bears that in her Petition, the Marriage was said to be consummated, without any *perhaps*.

15. He says; " The King having seen these second Letters, both he *Ibid.*
" and his Council resolved to move no more in it.

The Process was carried on, almost a year, before the Breve was heard of: and the forgery of it soon appeared, so they went on notwithstanding it.

16. He says; " The Bishop of *Tarby* being come from *France*,to con- *Page* 10.
" clude the Match for the Lady *Mary*, was set on by the King and the " Cardinal, to move the exception to the lawfulness of the marriage.

There is no reason to believe this; for that Bishop, tho afterwards made a Cardinal, never published this: which both he ought to have done as a good Catholick, and certainly would have done as a true Cardinal, when he saw what followed upon it, and perceived that he was trepanned to be the first mover of a thing,which ended so fatally for the Interests of *Rome*.

17. He says; " The Bishop of *Tarby*, in a Speech before the King in *Page* 11.
"Council, said, That not he alone,but almost all Learned Men, thought " the King's Marriage unlawful and null: so that he was freed from the " Bond of it, and that it was against the Rules of the Gospel; and that " all Forreign Nations had ever spoken very freely of it, lamenting that " the King was drawn into it in his Youth.

It is not ordinary for Ambassadors to make Speeches in King's Councils: But if this be true, it agrees ill with what this Author delivers in his third Page, That there was not a Man in the whole Church, nor under Heaven, that spoke against it, otherwise the Bishop of *Tarby* was both an impudent and a foolish Man.

18. He says; " Upon the Pope's Captivity, *Wolsey* was sent over to *Page* 13.
" *France* with 300000 Crowns to procure the Pope's liberty.

Hall,

Hall, *Hollingshead*, and *Stow*, say, He carried over 240000 pounds *Sterlin*, which is more than thrice that sum.

Ibid. 19. He says; " Two Colleagues were sent in this Ambassy with the " Cardinal.

His greatness was above that, and none are mentioned in the *Records*.

Ibid. 20. He says; " Orders followed him to *Callais*, not to move any thing " about the King's Marriage with the *French* King's Sister, the King ha- " ving then resolved to marry *Ann Boleyn*.

This agrees ill with what he said *pag*. 9. that a year before the King was resolved whom to marry.

Ibid. 21. He says; " King *Henry*, that he might have freer access to Sir *Tho-* " *mas Boleyn*'s Lady, sent him to *France*; where after he had stayed two " years, his Lady was with Child of *Ann Boleyn* by the King.

This Story was already confuted, see *pag*. 41,42. And in it there are more than one or two lies.

1. Sir *Thomas Boleyn* went not Ambassador to *France* till the 7*th* year of the King's Reign: And if two years after that, *Ann* was born, which was the 9*th* of his Reign, she must then have been but ten years old at this time.

2. Tho he had sent him upon his first coming to the Crown, this could not be true; for two years after, admit her to be born, that is *Anno* 1511, then a year before this, which was *Anno* 1526, she was fifteen years old; in which Age, *Sanders* says, she was corrupted in her Father's House, and sent over to *France*, where she staid long. But all this is false: For,

3. She was born two years before the King came to the Crown, in the year 1507. and if her Father was sent to *France* two years before, it was in the year 1505.

4. The King being then Prince, was but fourteen years old, for he was born the 28*th* of *June*, in the year 1491: in which Age there is no reason to think he was so forward as to be corrupting other Mens Wives, for they will not allow his Brother, when almost two years elder, to have known his own Wife.

As for the other pieces of this Story, that Sir *Thomas Boleyn* did sue his Lady in the Spiritual Court; that upon the King's sending him word that she was with Child by him, he passed it over; that the King had also known her Sister, and that she had owned it to the Queen, that at the fifteenth year of *Ann*'s Age, she had prostituted her self both to her Fathers Butler, and Chaplain; that then she was sent to *France*, where she was at first for some time concealed, then brought to Court, where she was so notoriously lewd, that she was called an *Hackney*; that she afterwards was kept by the *French* King; that when she came over into *England*, Sir *Thomas Wiat* was admitted to base privacies with her, and offered to the King and his Council, that he himself should with his own Eyes see it: And in fine, that she was ugly, mishaped, and monstrous, are such an heap of impudent Lyes, that none but a Fool, as well as a Knave, would venture on such a recital. And for all this,

this, he cites no other Authority but *Rastal*'s Life of Sir *Thomas More*, a Book that was seen by none but himself; and he gives no other evidence that there was any such Book, but his own Authority. Nor is it likely that *Rastal* ever writ *More*'s Life, since he did not set it out with his Works, which he published in one Volume, *Anno* 1556. It is true, *More*'s Son in Law, *Roper*, writ his Life, which is since printed, but there is no such Story in it. The whole is such a piece of lying, as if he who forged it, had resolved to out-do all who had ever gone before him: for can it be so much as imagined, that a King could pursue a design for seven years together, of marrying a Woman of so scandalous a Life, and so disagreeable a Person; and that he who was always in the other extream of Jealousie, did never try out these Reports, and would not so much as see what *Wiat* informed? Nor were these things published in the Libels that were printed at that time, either in the Emperor's Court, or at *Rome*. All which shew that this was a desperate contrivance of Malicious Traitors, against their Soveraign Queen *Elizabeth*, to defame and disgrace her. And this I take to be the true reason, why none made any full answer to this Book all her time. It was not thought for the Queen's honour to let such Stuff be so much considered as to merit an answer. So that the 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18, *pages* are one continued Lye.

22. He says; " Sir *Thomas Boleyn* hearing the King intended to mar- *Page* 16.
" ry his supposed Daughter, came over in all haste from *France*, to put " him in mind that she was his own Child; and that the King bade him " hold his peace for a Fool, for an hundred had lien with his Wife as well " as he, but whosesoever Daughter she was, she should be his Wife: " and upon that Sir *Thomas* instructed his Daughter how she should hold " the King in her toils.

Sir *Thomas* must have thought the King had an ill memory, if he had forgot such a Story: but the one part of this makes him afraid that the King should marry his Daughter, and the other part makes him afraid they should miss their hopes in it: Not to mention how little likely it is, that a King of such high vanity, would have done that which the privatest Person has an aversion to, I mean, the marrying the Daughter of one whom they know to be a common Prostitute.

23. He says; " *Wolsey* before his return from *France*, sent *Gambara* to *Page* 19.
" the Pope, desiring him to name himself Vicar of the Papacy, during " his captivity.

This was not done till almost a year after this: and the motion was sent by *Staphileus* Dean of the *Rota*, for which see *pag.* 50.

24. He says; " None but ill Men and ignorant Persons wrote against *Page* 20.
" the Marriage, but all learned and good Men wrote for it.

The whole Doctors of the Church, in all Ages, were against it; and no Doctor, ancienter than *Cajetan*, could ever be found to have writ for it.

25. He says; " That tho great endeavours were used to perswade *Ibid.*
" Sir *Tho. More* of the unlawfulness of the marriage, all was in vain.

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Is it probable that the King would have made him Lord Chancellor, when he was ſo earneſt in this buſineſs, if he had not known that he would have gone along with him in it. By one of his Letters to *Cromwel* out of the *Tower* it appears, that he approved the Divorce, and had great hopes of ſucceſs in it, as long as it was proſecuted at *Rome*, and founded on the defects in the Bull. And in the 22*d* year of the King's Reign, when the Opinions of the Univerſities, and the Books of Learned Men were brought to *England* againſt the Marriage, he carried them down to the Houſe of Commons, and made read them there; after which he deſired they would report in their Country what they had heard and ſeen; and then all Men would openly perceive that the King had not attempted this matter of his Will and Pleaſure, but only for the diſcharge of his Conſcience. *More* was a Man of greater integrity than, to have ſaid this, if he had thought the Marriage good; ſo that he has either afterwards changed his mind, or did at this time diſſemble too artificially with the King.

Page 22. 26. After a long flouriſh about the King's ſecret fears and apprehenſions, and the perplexities the Cardinal was in, which muſt paſs for a piece of *his Wit*, that is to ſay, *Lying*, for he knew none of their thoughts; He ſays, 'That *Gardiner* and Sir *Francis Brian* were ſent to 'the Pope together, *Gardiner* being then Secretary of State.

In this there are only three groſs miſtakes. Firſt, *Gardiner* was not ſent with the firſt Meſſage to the Pope, Secretary *Knight* carried it.

2. Sir *Francis Brian* went never to *Rome* with *Gardiner*: It is true, a year after the commencing the Sute, Sir *Francis Brian* was ſent to *Rome*, and about a month after him *Gardiner* was alſo ſent; ſo tho they were both together at *Rome*, yet they were not ſent thither together.

3. *Gardiner* was not Secretary of State, but was *Wolſey*'s Secretary, when he went firſt to *Rome*, and was made a Privy Counſellor when he was ſent thither the ſecond time; and was not Secretary of State till ſome months after his return from his Journey the laſt time.

Page 23. 27. He ſays; "They made the Pope believe that the Queen would "willingly retire into a Monaſtery.

This was on the contrary a contrivance of the Popes, who thought it the eaſieſt way to bring the Matter to a good iſſue; but in *England* they had no hopes of it, and ſo always diverted the motion when it was propoſed by the Pope.

Ibid. 28. He ſays; 'The Pope ſaid he would conſult with ſome Cardinals and Divines, and do all that he could lawfully do to give the King ſatisfaction.

Upon the firſt motion of it, the Pope frankly granted the King's deſire; and gave a Bull with a Commiſſion upon it: And only conſulted ſome Cardinals about the methods of doing it. And did aſſure the King, that he would not only do every thing that could be granted in Law or Juſtice, but whatſoever he could grant out *of the fulneſs of his Power*. It is true, afterwards when the Pope changed his meaſures, and reſolved to agree with the Emperor, he pretended he underſtood not theſe things himſelf, but would needs turn it over upon the Cardinals and Divines.

29. He

29. He says; "All the Cardinals were of a mind that the Marriage "was good. *Page* 24.

Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, by the force of that mighty Argument of 4000 Crowns, changed his mind. All the other Cardinals were forward in granting the King's desires, for which he wrote them a Letter of Thanks.

30. He says; "The Pope granted the Commission to the two Legats, "not doubting but it was true, that had been told him of the Queens "readiness to go into a Monastery. *Page* 26.

The Pope knew she would not yield to any such thing; but when he granted that Commission, he sent with *Campegio* a Decretal Bull, annulling the Marriage; and sent afterwards a promise never to avocate the Process, but to confirm what Sentence the Legats should give; tho soon after he broke his promise most signally. And since he had often dispensed with others for breaking their Faith,he might think that it was hard to deny him the same priviledg for himself.

31. He says; "The Pope understanding that the Queen did not con- "sent to the Propositions that were made, and that he had been abused, "sent after *Campegio*, when he was on his Journey, that he should not "proceed to a Sentence without a new order. *Ibid.*

The Pope sent *Campana* to *England* after *Campegio*, to assure the King he would do every thing for him that he could do *out of the fulness of his Power*: And ordered the same Person to charge Cardinal *Campegio* to burn the Decretal Bull, which he had sent by him: In all which the Pope, as appears by the Original Letters, was only governed by politick Maxims, and considered nothing but the dangers himself was like to fall in; tho *Sanders* would perswade us, he was ready to run the hazard of all these.

32. He says; "The King by his Letters to the Pope, did,at the same "time that he was moving scruples about his own Marriage,transact about "a Dispensation for a marriage betwixt his own natural Son the Duke of "*Richmond*, and his Daughter the Lady *Mary*. *Page* 30.

Tho the whole Dispatches at that time, both to and from *Rome*, be most happily preserved, there is not the least mention of any such design: and can any body think that if any such motion had been made, the Pope would not have taken great advantages from it, and that these Letters would not have been afterwards published? But this *Sanders* thought was a pretty embellishment of his Fable; and of a piece with this is his next.

33. He says; "The King did under his own hand confess, he had "known *Ann Boleyn*'s Sister *Mary*, and desired the Pope would dispence "with his marrying *Ann* notwithstanding that. *Ibid.*

The falshood of this appears from the recital of it: And how came it that these Letters were not published? Nor is there any mention of this in all the Dispatches I have seen. And it is not possible that in so many conferences which the *English* Ambassadors had with the Pope,

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these two things should never have been discoursed of. And can it be thought credible that at the same time when the King pretended such scruples and troubles of Consciences, he could be guilty of so much folly and impudence, as to put himself thus in the Pope's Mercy, by two such demands. This was a forgery of Cardinal *Pole's*, which *Sanders* greedily catched to dress up the Scene.

Page 34. 34. From *page* 34, to 42, there is a trifling account given of the Reasons brought against the Marriage, which *Sanders* answers manfully, and fights couragiously against the Man of Straw he had set up. But if that be compared with what has been opened in the History, it will appear how lame and defective his account is.

Page 42. 35. He says; "*Clarke* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Tonstal* Bishop of "*London*, and *West* Bishop of *Ely*, writ for the lawfulness of the King's "marriage.

All the Bishops, except *Fisher*, had a year before this given it under their Hands and Seals, that the King's marriage was unlawful: and in all the Memorials of that time, *Fisher* is the only Bishop I find mentioned to have writ for it. *Tonstall* was also soon after translated to *Duresme*, which none that have considered that King's temper, will think could have been done, if he had interposed in so tender a Point, against what the King so vehemently desired.

Ibid. 36. He says; "That *Abel*, *Powel*, *Fetherston*, and *Ridley*, also writ "for the marriage.

This is not likely of the second and third, for they being afterwards attainted of Treason, no such Books were objected to them; but the Crime charged on them, was only that they said, the King's marriage with Q. *Katharine* was good.

Page 43. 37. He says; "All things appeared clear in the Trial before the Le-"gats, in behalf of the Marriage, so that they could give no Sentence "against such full evidence as was brought for it.

This is said without any regard to Truth; for all the Matter of Fact that had been alledged, was clearly proved for the contrary side. It was proved that Prince *Arthur* married the Queen: violent presumptions appeared of his consummating the Marriage: It was also proved that the King was under age when the Bull was obtained, and that the Petitions given in his Name, upon which the Bull was granted, were false: That the King had not desired it, but when he came of Age he had protested against it: And that there was no hazard of a War between *Spain* and *England*, the preventing which was the chief reason set down in the Bull that permitted it. So that all that had been informed at *Rome*, as to matter of Fact, was fully proved before the Legats, by clear Instruments, and many and noble Witnesses.

Ibid. 38. He puts a long bold speech in *Campegio's* Mouth, who was far from assuming such freedom; but lived licentiously in *England*, in all manner of disorders, of which both he and his Bastard Son were guilty. And by dissembling, and other Arts, perswaded the King to delay the Process,

Proceſs, from day to day, giving him full aſſurances, that in concluſion he ſhould obtain what he deſired: and by ſuch means he gain'd time, and drew out the Trial, till the Pope had ended his Treaty with the Emperor; and then he ſerved him an *Italian* trick, by adjourning the Court.

39. He ſays; " Some Doctors being corrupted with the King's Mony, " declared for him; but thoſe were none of the moſt learned. *Page* 48.

The King ordered thoſe he ſent, not to give or promiſe any thing to any Perſon, till they had delivered their Opinion freely: upon which ſome of them wrote to him, that they would anſwer upon their heads, that they had followed his Orders in that particular.

40. He ſays; " Theſe Determinations were publiſhed in the names of the Univerſities, to deceive the World by a falſe repreſentation of ſo " great Authorities. *Ibid.*

Were the publick Seals of the Univerſities put to their determinations, after a long debate, all being required to deliver their Conſciences upon Oath, and done with the unanimous conſent of the whole faculty in ſome places, falſe repreſentations? This was done in *Italy*, in *Padua*, *Bononia*, *Ferrara*, and *Millan*, under the Pope and the Emperors Eye, and within their Dominions.

41. He ſays; " Endeavours were uſed to corrupt the Univerſity of " *Colen*, and ſome others in *Germany*, for which great ſums were offered, " and that the King was at a vaſt expence in it. *Page* 50.

Crooks accompts ſhew that his expence in *Italy* was very inconſiderable. And who can imagine that when *Paris*, *Padua*, and *Bononia*, had declared for the King, he would be much concerned for *Colen*, or any other Univerſity in *Germany*? Thoſe who will believe *Sanders*, and ſuch Authors as he quotes, *Cochleus*, and an unknown Biſhop of *Braſile*, may if they will.

42. He ſays; " In *Oxford* the King not being able to obtain a ſatiſ- " factory anſwer in that Matter, eight Students of the Univerſity broke " into the place where the Seal was laid, and put it to an Anſwer, which " paſſed for the determination of the Univerſity. *Page* 51.

The Lord *Herbert* ſays, there was an Original Inſtrument paſſed, which he ſaw; by which the Univerſity did appoint a Committee of 33 Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity to examine the Queſtions propoſed by the King, and to ſet the Seal of the Univerſity to any Anſwer that they ſhould agree on: and theſe did afterwards give a Reſolution againſt the lawfulneſs of the Marriage.

43. " He tells a long Story of the King's endeavours to gain *Reginald* " *Pole*, and that he came over to *England*; and being much preſſed " by his Kindred to comply with the King, he went to him, fully pur- " poſed to have done it: but could not ſpeak a word to him, till he re- " ſolved to talk to him in another ſtile; and then he found his tongue, " and ſpake very freely to the King, who put his hands ſometimes to his " Poynard, intending to have killed him; but was overcome with the *Page* 52.

"ſimplicity and humility of his Diſcourſe: and ſo the King continued "his Penſion to him, and gave him leave to go back to *Padua*.

This is another pretty adventure of one of the *Hero's* of the Romance, but has this misfortune in it, that it is all without any proof: for as none of the Books of that time ever mention it, ſo neither did *Pole* himſelf pretend to have carried ſo, in his Book, tho written with the moſt provoking inſolence that was poſſible. In it he mentions his going over to *England*, but not one word of any ſuch diſcourſe with the King. And King *Henry* was not a Man of ſuch a temper, as to permit one of *Pole's* quality to go out of *England*, and live among his Enemies, and continue his Penſions to him, if he had to his face oppoſed him in a Matter he laid ſo much to heart.

Page 53. 44. He ſays; "*Fiſher* of *Rocheſter*, and *Holman* Biſhop of *Briſtol* "wrote for the Marriage.

There was no Biſhoprick, nor Biſhop of *Briſtol* at that time, nor thirteen years after.

Ibid. 45. "Many are reckoned up who wrote for the Marriage in all Na"tions.

Theſe are neither to be compared in number, nor authority, to thoſe who wrote againſt it; an hundred Books were ſhewed in Parliament, written by Divines, and Lawyers beyond Sea, beſides the determinations of twelve of the moſt celebrated Univerſities in *Europe*. The Emperor did indeed give ſo great Rewards, and ſuch good Benefices, to thoſe who wrote againſt the King, that it is a wonder there were not more Writers of his ſide.

Page 56. 46. He ſays; "That upon *Warham* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury's* death, "the Earl of *Wiltſhire* told the King that he had a Chaplain, who was at "his Houſe, that would certainly ſerve the King in the matter of his Di"vorce; upon which *Cranmer* was promoted.

Cranmer was no ſtranger to the King at this time: he was firſt recommended by the King to the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, to be kept in his Houſe; but was in *Germany*, when *Warham* died, and made no haſte over, but delayed his Journey ſome months. It is true, he was of the mind that the King ought to be divorced; but this was not out of ſervile compliance, for when the King preſſed him in other things that were againſt his Conſcience, he expreſſed all the courage and conſtancy of mind which became ſo great a Prelate.

Ibid. 47. He ſay's; "That *Cranmer* being to ſwear the Oath of Obedience "to the Pope, before he was conſecrated, did proteſt to a Publick Nota"ry, that he took it againſt his will; and that he had no mind to keep "his Faith to the Pope, in prejudice to the King's Authority.

He did not proteſt that he did it unwillingly, nor was it only to a Notary, but twice at the high Altar he repeated the Proteſtation that he made; which was to this effect, That he intended not thereby to oblige himſelf to any thing, contrary to the Law of God, the King's Prerogative, or the Laws of the Land; nor to be reſtrained from ſpeaking, adviſing, or conſenting to any thing that ſhould concern the Re-

formation of the Chriſtian Faith, the Government of the Church of *England*, and the Prerogative of the Crown and Kingdom.

48. He ſays; "*Cranmer* did in all things ſo comply with the King's "Luſts, that the King was wont to ſay he was the only Man that had never contradicted him in any thing he had a mind to. *Page* 57.

Cranmer was both a good Subject, and a modeſt and diſcreet Man, and ſo would obey and ſubmit as far as he might, without ſin: yet when his Conſcience charged him to appear againſt any thing that the King preſſed him to, as in the matter of the ſix Articles, he did it with much reſolution and boldneſs.

49. He ſays; "The King going over to *Calais*, carried *Ann Boleyn* ſecretly with him. *Page* 58.

He carried her over in great ſtate, having made her Marchioneſs of *Pembroke*; and in the publick Interview between him and *Francis*, ſhe appeared with all poſſible ſplendor.

50. He ſays; "After the King's return from *France*, he brought the "Action of Premunire againſt all the Clergy. *Page* 59.

This is an Error of two years, for ſo long before this Voyage to *France* was that action begun: and the Clergy about 28 months before had made their ſubmiſſion, and obtained their pardon in *March* 1531, which appears by the printed Statutes, and the King went over to *France* in *September* 1532; ſo that it is clear *Sanders* never looked for any verification of what he wrote.

51. He ſays; "The King by an unheard-of Tyranny, and a new Ca-"lumny, brought this Charge againſt the Clergy. *Ibid.*

Theſe Laws upon which the Charge was founded, had been oft renewed: they were firſt made under *Edward* the Firſt, by reaſon of the Papal Encroachments that gave the riſe to them; they were oft confirmed by *Edward* the Third, *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Fourth, and *Henry* the Fifth, with the concurrence of their Parliaments; ſo the Charge was neither new nor tyrannical.

52. He ſays; "The Clergy ſubmitted to the King, being betrayed by "their Metropolitanes *Cranmer* and *Lee*. *Ibid.*

The ſubmiſſion was made two years before *Cranmer* was Arch-Biſhop, in *March* 1531, and *Cranmer* was Conſecrated in *March* 1533. but at that time *Warham* ſate in *Canterbury*; as for *Lee*, he oppoſed it for ſome time.

53. He ſays; "The whole Clergy petitioned the King, to forgive "their Crime, according to that Supreme Power which he had over all "the Clergy and Laity, within his Kingdom; from whence the King's "Counſellors took occaſion afterwards to call him *Supreme Head*. *Ibid.*

The Clergy did in the Title of their Submiſſion call the King in formal terms, *Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of* England, *as far as by the Law of Chriſt is lawful:* to which *Fiſher*, with the reſt of the Convocation ſubſcribed. And all this was done when *More* was Chancellor.

54. He

Page 62. 54. He says; "When the King went to marry *Ann Boleyn*, he per-"
"swaded *Rowland Lee*, made soon after Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*,
"to officiate in it, assuring him he had obtain'd a Bull for it from *Rome*,
"which was then lying in his Cabinet. Upon which *Lee* giving credit
"to what he said, did marry them.

This is another trial of *Sander*'s wit, to excuse *Lee*, who tho at this time he complied absolutely with the King, yet did afterwards turn over to the Popish Party; therefore to make him look a little clean, this Story must be forged. But at that time all the World saw that the Pope and the Emperor were so linked together, that *Lee* could not but know that no such thing was possible. And he was so obsequious to the King, that such Arts were needless to perswade him to any thing the King had a mind to.

Page 67. 55. For five pages he runs out in repetition of all those foul Lyes concerning *Ann Boleyn*, by which he designed both to disgrace the Reformers, who were supported by her, and to defame her Daughter Queen *Elizabeth*, which have been before confuted: after that he says, "Queen *Katharine*, with three Maids and a small Family, retired into "the Country.

She had both the respect of a Princess Dowager, and all the Jointure contracted to her by Prince *Arthur*; so she could not be driven to that straitness; but this must go for an Ornament in the Fable.

Page 71. 56. He says; "It was concluded, that *Cranmer* might be more free to "pass Sentence, that there should be an Oath imposed on the Clergy, for "paying the same Obedience to the King that they had paid the Pope: upon which he tells a long formal Story, for two pages, That "it was "resolved to draw *Fisher* into it, to swear Obedience to the King in all "Ecclesiastical Causes, with that exception, *as far as is lawful, according* "*to the Word of God*; which he did, and perswaded others to do it; "and upon this *Cranmer* taking the New Oath, went and pronounced "judgment for Divorce.

There is not one tittle of this true, for there was no Oath sworn about the King's Supremacy at this time. The Story of *Fisher*, is that which was done by the Convocation two years before *Cranmers* preferment, nor was there any Oath taken then, or at this time. It is true, two years after this, *Gardiner*, *Stokesley*, and many other Bishops, did of their own accord take such an Oath; but there was no Law for it till the 28*th* year of the King's Reign.

Page 72. 57. He says; "One *Richard Risey* (or *Rouse*, according to the Re-"cords) was hired by *Ann Boleyn* to poison *Fisher*.

Rouse was boiled alive for poisoning the Bishop's Family, but did not discover any that set him on it: Which none can think but he would have done, if the Queen had hired him to it, and had then deserted him, to perish in so horrid a manner.

Page 73. 58. He says; "*Cranmer* being by Authority of Parliament freed from "his Oath to the Pope, and bound by a new one to the King, went "now confidently to pronounce Sentence.

The Parliament did not put down the Pope's Authority for eight months after this, and appointed no new Oath till three years after; For Cranmer ſat in Judgment as Primate of *England*, and Legate of the Apoſtolick See.

59. He ſays; "*Cranmer* carried ſome Biſhops with him, and having "cited the Queen, without hearing her, he gave ſentence againſt the "Marriage. *Ibid.*

Gardiner, *Stokeſly*, *Clark*, and *Longland*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *London*, *Bath*, and *Lincoln*, went with him. He could not hear the Queen, when ſhe would not appear: but he examined all the Inſtruments and Evidences that had been brought in the whole Proceſs.

60. He ſays; "The Pope would not proceed againſt the King, till "he met with the *French* King at *Marſeilles*: but that the *Engliſh* Am- "baſſadors did there carry ſo inſolently, that *Francis* was aſhamed of "their behaviour; and deſired the Pope to proceed againſt the King "as he thought fit, and that he ſhould never defend him more, but "ſhould be againſt him. *Page 75.*

Here the Romance goes on too groſly, for the Pope and the *French* King agreed at *Marſeilles* to bring this matter to an iſſue: the Pope declared he thought the King's Cauſe was juſt and right; and promiſed, if the King would ſend a full ſubmiſſion to *Rome*, he would give ſentence in his favours: Upon which the *French* King ſent over the Biſhop of *Paris*, who prevailed with the King to do it; tho this afterwards came to nothing. It is true, *Bonner* who was always officious and forward when there was any thing to be got by it, being ſent to *Marſeilles* by the King, to deliver an Appeal in the King's Name to the Pope, to the next General Council; and perhaps knowing nothing of the private Tranſactions between the Pope and the *French* King, it being a Secret of too great importance to be communicated to ſuch a hot-brain'd Man, did deliver his Meſſage to the Pope in ſuch provoking language, that the Pope talked of throwing him into a boiling Cauldron; and he was fain to fly for it.

61. He ſays; The Pope returning to *Italy*, after he had again moſt "carefully reviewed the whole Cauſe, gave ſentence. *Page 76.*

This was ſo precipitated, that they would not ſtay ſix days beyond the time which they prefixed, for the return of the Meſſenger that was ſent to *England*: but diſpatched that, which by the forms of their Court ſhould have been done in three Conſiſtories, all in one day.

62. He ſays; "Upon this Sentence, the King being enraged, did "command Queen *Katharine* to be only called Princeſs, and declared her "Daughter the Lady *Mary* a Baſtard. *Page 78.*

Both theſe were done five months before the Pope's Sentence, and ſoon after, the Sentence was pronounced by *Cranmer*. And theſe were the natural conſequences of it; for the Marriage being annulled, neither could ſhe be longer a Queen, nor her Daughter Princeſs any more.

63. He ſays; "The King impriſoned *F. Foreſt* a Franciſcan Ob- "ſervant, a moſt holy and learned Man, for contradicting *Latimer*, "when *Ibid.*

"when he was enveighing against the Pope's Authority.

Concerning this *Forest*, I have seen an Original Letter of one *List* a Frier of the same House, a year after this, that says *Forest* was a great scandal to their House, and was very ignorant: and that tho he had been much against the King in his Marriage, yet he had then insinuated himself into his favour, of which many of the House, who were for the King's Cause, had great apprehensions. In the same Letter he writes how cruel they were against any of their Brethren, who they thought discovered any thing that was done among them; and that one *Rainscroft*, a Brother, whom they suspected to have informed what passed among them, was cruelly used, and kept in Prison till he died; which he chiefly imputes to *Forest*. This Friar swore the King's Supremacy, and yet at the same time was perswading others not to do it; and being questioned upon it, said, He took the Oath only with his Outward, but not with his Inward Man; and for that, and his denying the Gospel, he was burnt as an obstinate Heretick.

Page 79. 64. He says; "*Abell*, *Powel*, and *Fetherston*, were put in Prison because they consulted with the *Maid of Kent*.

This is only charged upon the former of these, but the two latter are not accused of any such thing.

Ibid. 65. He says; "*Elizabeth* being born the 8*th* of *September*, but five "months after the King had publickly married her Mother, could not "be the lawful issue of that Marriage.

This is a malacious Lye, for himself confessed that the King was married to her Mother, the 14*th* of *November* the former year; between which, and the 8*th* of *September*, there were ten months; nor was the King ever after that married publickly to the Queen. For what he calls a publick Marriage, was only the shewing her openly as Queen. But the design of this Lye is so visible that it needs not be opened.

Ibid. 66. He says; "The King's Daughter *Mary*, who was then present, "could never be induced to think she was the King's Child.

In the former page he said *Mary* was sent to her Mother, and now forgetting himself too soon, he says, she was present when *Elizabeth* was born. What *Mary*'s thoughts were, none can tell, but she publickly acknowledged Her to be her Sister, tho she did not use her as one.

Page 80. 67. He says; "*Elizabeth Barton*, who was famed for her sanctity, and "six with her, who thought she was inspired by the Holy Ghost, were "accused in Parliament.

Those six knew that she was not inspired; and that all that was given out about her, was a contrivance of theirs, who had instructed her to play such tricks; as was proved by their own Confessions and other Evidences.

Ibid. 68. He says; "They all died very constantly: and on the Margent "calls them *seven Martyrs*.

The Nun her self acknowledged the Imposture at her death, and laid the heaviest weight of it, on the Priests that suffered with her, who

had

had taught her the Cheat: ſo that they died both for Treaſon and Imposture. And this being *Sander's Faith*, as appeared by *his Works*, they were indeed Martyrs for it.

69. He ſays; "*More* and *Fiſher* having examined her, could ſee no ground to think ſhe was acted by a Fanatical Spirit, as it was given out. *Ibid.*

It was not given out that ſhe was acted by a Fanatical Spirit, for that had been more honeſt; but her Spirit was cheating and knavery: *More* cleared himſelf, and looked on her as a weak Woman, and commonly called her the *Silly Maid*: But *Fiſher* did diſown her when the Cheat was diſcovered, though he had given her too much encouragement before.

70. He ſays; "The thing ſhe propheſied came to paſs; which was, that *Mary* ſhould be Queen of *England*. *Page* 81.

The thing for which She and her Complices were attainted of Treaſon, was, that ſhe ſaid, *If the King married* Ann Boleyn, *he ſhould not be a King a month longer, and not an hour longer in the ſight of God, and ſhould die a Villains death.* But it did not ſerve *Sander's* ends to tell this.

71. He ſays; "The day ſhe ſuffered, many of the Nobility came and ſwore to the Succeſſion of the Iſſue of the King's marriage with Queen *Ann*, before the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, and *Cromwel*. *Ibid.*

Both Houſes of Parliament, did in the Houſe of Lords take that Oath, on the day of their Prorogation, which was the 30*th* of *March*, as appears by the ſecond Act of the next Seſſion: and the Nun, with her Complices, did not ſuffer till the 21 of *April* after.

72. He ſays; "The *Franciſcans* of the Obſervance, chiefly two Fathers in *London*, *Elſton* and *Payton*, did, both in their Sermons and publick Diſputes, juſtifie the King's marriage with Q. *Katharine*. *Ibid.*

Elſton and *Payton*, were not of *London* but of *Greenwich*. They compared the King to *Achab*, and ſaid, in the Pulpit to his face, *The Dogs ſhould lick his Blood*; with many other ſuch virulent Expreſſions. But to rail at a Prince with the moſt ſpiteful reproaches that could be, was a part of *Sander's Faith*: and ſo no wonder thoſe paſs for Confeſſors, when *Elizabeth Barton* and her Complices are reckoned *Martyrs*.

73. He ſays; "*Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Dureſme*, was ordered by the King's Meſſengers, not to come to the Seſſion of Parliament 26 *Regni*, in which the King's Supremacy was eſtabliſhed. *Page* 82.

In this he is ſafer than in ſome other Stories, for the Journals of that Seſſion are loſt, ſo the falſhood of this cannot be demonſtrated: yet it is not at all likely, that he who juſtified all that was done in the former Seſſion, in which the Pope's Power was put down, the nomination of Biſhops annexed to the Crown, a Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical Laws appointed to be made, in defence of all which he wrote afterwards, was now ſo ſcrupulous as to be ordered to ſtay at home. But *Tonſtal* ſuffering imprisonment

prisonment in *Edward* the Sixth's time, it was fit to use some art to shew that he was unwillingly brought to comply with the King.

Ibid. 74. "He, to shew God's Judgments on the chief Instruments that "served the King, says, That the Duke of *Norfolk* was by the King "condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

This bewrays palpable ignorance, since he was attainted of High Treason, the very day before the King's death, and should have suffered the next day, if the King's death had not prevented it. But since he will descant on the Providence of God, he should rather have concluded that his escaping so narrowly, was a sign of God's great care of him.

Ibid. 75. In the Session of Parliament that met the third of *November* (as he describes it, which was the *26th* year of the King's Reign) he says, "*Mary* the King's Daughter was illegitimated, and all her honours were "transferred on *Elizabeth*, and the Pope's Power put down.

This shews he never looked on our publick Statutes; otherwise he had seen that these Acts passed in the former Session.

Page 84. 76. He says; "When the King sent his Ambassadours to the *French* "Court, *Francis* would not so much as hear them give a justification of "the King's proceedings.

How true this can be, the World may judg, since these two Kings continued in a firm Alliance eight years after this. And *Francis* did often treat, both with him and the Princes of *Germany*, about these things, and was inclined to do almost all that he did.

Ibid. 77. He says; "The *Lutherans* did so abominate the grounds of his "separation from *Rome*, that they could never be induced to approve "it; for which he cites *Cochleus*, an Author of his own kidney.

They did condemn the King's first marriage as unlawful, and thought the Pope's Dispensation had no force: and so far they approved it. But they had this singular Opinion, that he should have continued unmarried as long as Q. *Katharine* lived. Yet in that they were so modest that they only desired to be excused, as to the second Marriage: which considering that Queen *Ann* favoured their Doctrine, and that by an absolute compliance with what the King had done, they might have secured his Protection to themselves, whom otherwise they provoked highly, is an evidence of a strict adhering to what their Consciences dictated, that cannot be sufficiently commended.

Page 85. 78. He says; "The King made many write Apologies for what he "did; which some did willingly, being tainted with Heresie, others "unwillingly, and for fear, as *Gardiner* and *Tonstall*.

In this he shews how little judgment he had of the nature of things, when he thinks to excuse their writing for the King, as extorted by force: To have done it thorough Error and Mistake, was much the softer excuse; but to make them Men of such prostituted Consciences, as not only to subscribe and swear, but to write with Learning and Zeal, and yet against their Consciences, represents them guilty of unexpressible baseness. Indeed *Gardiner* was a Man like enough to write any thing

that might pleaſe the King; but *Tonſtall* was a Man of greater probity, than to have done ſo unworthy a thing upon any account whatſoever. But ſince he mentioned Writers, he ſhould have named *Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Stokeley* Biſhop of *London*, and above all *Bonner*, who did officiouſly thruſt himſelf into the debate, by writing a Preface to *Gardiner*'s Book, with the greateſt vehemence that could be. But the Blood he ſhed afterwards did ſo endear him to this Author, that all paſt Faults were forgiven and to be clean forgotten.

79. He ſays; "Five Martyrs ſuffered becauſe they would not ſwear *Page* 86.
"the King's Supremacy according to the Law that was then paſſed.

There was no ſuch Law made at that time, nor could any ſuch Oath be then put to them: The only Oath which the Parliament had enacted, was the Oath of the Succeſſion, and the refuſing it was only miſpriſion of Treaſon, and was not puniſhable by death. But it was for denying the King's Supremacy, and for writing and ſpeaking both againſt it, and his marriage, that they ſuffered according to Law.

80. He ſays; "*Cromwel* threatned the Jury, in the King's name, with *Page* 87.
"certain death, if they did not bring them in guilty.

Every Body that knows the Law of *England*, will ſoon conclude this to be a Lye: for no ſuch threatnings were ever made in Trials in this Nation. Nor was there any need at this time, for the Law was ſo plain, and their Facts ſo clearly proved, that the Jury could not refuſe to bring them in guilty.

81. He ſays; The three *Carthuſians* that ſuffered, were made ſtand *Pag.* 88, 89.
upright and in one place fourteen days together, with Irons about their Necks, Arms, and Legs, before they died: and then with great pomp he deſcribes their Death in all its parts, as if it had been a new-deviſed cruelty, it being the Death which the Law appoints for Traitors. He tells, that *Cromwel* lamented that others of them had died in their Cells, and ſo prevented his cruelty. He alſo adds a long ſtory of the ſeverities againſt the *Franciſcans*.

All this he drew from his learning in the Legend. The Engliſh Nation knows none of theſe Cruelties, in which the *Spaniſh* Inquiſitors are very expert. I find, by ſome Original Letters, that the *Carthuſians* who were ſhut up in their Cells, lived about a year after this; ſo if *Cromwel* had deſigned to take away their lives, he wanted not opportunities: but it appears from what *More* writ in his Impriſonment, that *Cromwel* was not a cruel Man, but on the contrary, merciful and gentle. And for the *Franciſcans*, tho they had offended the King highly, two of them railing ſpitefully at him to his Face, in his Chappel at *Greenwich*: Yet that was paſſed over with a Reproof, from which it appears that he was not eaſily provoked againſt them. So all that Relation which he gives, being without any Authority, muſt paſs for a part of the Poem.

82. He ſays; "The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was condemned, becauſe *Page* 91.
"he would not acknowledg the King's Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Mat-
"ters.

He was never pressed to acknowledg it, but was condemned for denying it, and speaking against it; for had he kept his Opinion to himself, he could not have been questioned. But the denying the King's Titles, of which his being Supream Head was one, was by the Law Treason; so he was tried for speaking against it, and not for his not acknowledging it.

Page 93. 83. "He runs out in an high commendation of *Fisher*, and among "other things mentions his Episcopal and Apostolical Charity.

His Charity was burning indeed. He was a merciless Prosecutor of Hereticks, so that the rigor of the Law, under which he fell, was the same measure that he had measured out to others.

Page 100. 84. *Sanders* will let the World see how carefully he had read the Legend, and how skilfully he could write after that Copy, in a prety Fabulous Story concerning *More*'s death; to whom I will deny none of the Praises due to his memory, for his great learning, and singular probity: nor had he any blemish, but what flowed from the Leaven of that cruel Religion, which carried him to great severities against those that preached for a Reformation. His Daughter *Roper* was a Woman of great Vertue, and worthy of such a Father, who needed none of *Sanders*'s Art to represent her well to the World. His Story is; "That the "morning her Father died, she went about distributing all the Mony "she had in Alms to the Poor: and at last was at her Prayers in a "Church, when of a sudden she remembred that she had forgot to pro-"vide a Winding-sheet for his Body; but having no more Mony left, "and not being well known in that place, she apprehended they would "not give her credit: Yet she went to a Linnen-Drapers Shop, and cal-"ling for so much Cloth, she put her hand in her Pocket, knowing she "had nothing in it, but intending to make an excuse, and try if they "would trust her. But by a Miracle she found the price of the Sheet, "and neither more nor less was conveighed into her Pocket. This is such a lively essay of the Man's Spirit that invented it, that I leave it without any further Commentary.

Page 105. 58. He says; "*Lee* that was not in Orders, was sent to visit the Mo-"nasteries, who sollicited the chastity of the Nunns.

He does not mention *Leighton* and *London* the two chief Visitors, for *Leighton* brought in *Lee:* but they were of the Popish Party, and *Lee* was *Cranmer*'s Friend, therefore all must be laid on him. He was in Orders, and soon after was made Dean of *York*. I have seen complaints of Dr. *London*'s solliciting the Nuns, yet I do not find *Lee* complained of. But since *London* was a Persecutor of Hereticks, such a small kindness as the concealing his Name, and the turning the blame over on *Lee*, was not to be stood on among Friends, especially by a Man of *Sander*'s ingenuity.

Page 107. 86. For the correspondence between Q. *Katharine* and Father *Forest*, and the Letters that past; since *Sanders* tells us not a word how he came by them, we are to look on them as a piece of the Romance.

87. He

87. He ſays ; " *Ann Bolcyn* bore a monſtrous and a miſhaped lump " of Fleſh, when the time of her bearing another Child came. Page 114.

She bore a dead Child before the time, ſays *Hall*; but there was no great reproach in that, unleſs made up by *Sanders*'s wit.

88. He lays out the buſineſs of *Ann Boleyn* with ſo much ſpite and malice, that we may eaſily ſee againſt whom he chiefly deſigned this part of his Work. He ſays ; " She was found guilty of Adultery and " Inceſt. Page 115.

There was no Evidence againſt her, but only a hear-ſay from the Lady *Wingfield*: we neither know the credit of that Lady, nor of the Perſon who related it in her name. It is true, *Mark Smeton* did confeſs his Adultery with the Queen, but it was generally thought he was drawn into it by ſome promiſes that were made to him, and ſo cheated out of his Life; but for the Queen, and the other four, they atteſted their innocency to the laſt: nor would any of thoſe unfortunate Perſons redeem their lives at ſo ignominious a rate, as to charge the Queen, whom they declared they knew to be innocent; ſo that all the Evidence againſt her, was an hear-ſay of a Woman that was dead, the Confeſſion of a poor Muſician, and ſome idle words her ſelf ſpake of the Diſcourſes that had paſſed between her, and ſome of thoſe Gentlemen.

89. He ſays ; " Foreigners did generally rejoice at her fall; and to " prove this, he cites *Cochleus*'s words, that only ſhew that Author's " ill opinion of her. Page 116.

The *Germans* had ſo great a value of her, that all their correſpondence with the King fell to the ground with her: but he may well cite *Cochleus*, an Author of the ſame honeſty with himſelf, from whoſe writings we may with the like ſecurity make a judgment of Forreign Matters, as we may upon *Sanders*'s teſtimony believe the account he gives of *Engliſh* Affairs.

90. He tells us, among other things done by the King, and picks it out as the only inſtance he mentions of the King's Injunctions, " that " the People ſhould be taught in Churches the Lord's Prayer, the Ave, " the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in Engliſh. Page 117.

It ſeems this Author thought the giving theſe Elements of Religion to the People in the vulgar Tongue, a very heinous Crime, when this is ſingled out from all the reſt.

91. " That being done, he ſays, there was next a Book publiſhed, " called Articles, appointed by the King's Majeſty, which were the ſix " Articles. Ibid.

This ſhews that he either had no information of *Engliſh* Affairs, or was ſleeping when he wrote this: for the Six Articles were not publiſhed ſoon after the Injunctions, as he makes it, by the ſame Parliament and Convocation, but three years after, by another Parliament: They were never put in a Book, nor publiſhed in the King's Name; they were Enacted in Parliament, and are neither more nor leſs than 25

lines

lines in the first Impression of that; Act so far short come they of a Book.

Page 119. 92. He reckons up very defectively the differences between the Church of *Rome*, and the Doctrine set forth by the King's Authority: but in one point he shews his ordinary wit; for in the sixth particular, he says, "He retained the Sacrament of Order, but appointed a new Form of "Consecrating of Bishops.

This he put in out of malice, that he might annul the Ordinations of that time: but the thing is false, for except that the Bishops, instead of their Oaths of Obedience to the Pope, which they formerly swore, did now swear to the King, there was no other change made; and that to be sure, is no part of the Form of Consecration.

Page 120. 93. He resolved once to speak what he thought was Truth, tho it be treasonable and impious: and says, "Upon these changes many in *Lin-* "*colnshire*, and the Northern parts, did rise for Religion, and *the Faith* "*of Christ*.

This was indeed the motive by which their Seditious Priests misled them; yet he is mistaken in the time, for it was not after the six Articles were published, but almost three years before it. Nor was it for the Faith of Christ, which teaches us to be humble, subject, and obedient; but because the King was removing some of the corruptions of that Faith, which their false Teachers did impiously call the Faith of Christ.

Ibid. 94. He says; "The King did promise most faithfully that all these "things of which they complained, should be amended.

This is so evidently false, that it is plain *Sanders* resolved dextrously to avoid the speaking of any sort of Truth: for the King did fully and formally tell them, he would not be directed nor counselled by them in these Points they complained of, and did only offer them an Amnesty for what was past.

Page 121. 95. "Then he reckons up 32 that died for the defence of the "*Faith*.

They were attainted of Treason, for being in actual Rebellion against the King: and thus it appears that Rebellion was the *Faith* in his sense; and himself died for it, or rather in it, having been starved to death in a Wood, to which he fled after one of his rebellious Attempts on his Soveraign, in which he was the Pope's *Nuncio*.

Page 122. 96. He says; "The King killed the Earl of *Kildare*, and five of his "Uncles.

By this strange way of expressing a legal Attainder, and the execution of a Sentence for manifest Treason and Rebellion, he would insinuate on the Reader, a fancy, that one of *Bonner*'s cruel fits had taken the King, and that he had killed those with his own hand. The Lord *Herbert* has fully opened that part of the History, from the Records that he saw; and shews that a more resolved Rebellion could not be, than that was, of which the Earl of *Kildare* and his Uncles were guilty.

But

But because they sent to the Pope and Emperor for assistance, the Earl desiring to hold the Kingdom of *Ireland* of the Pope, since the King by his Heresie had fallen from his Right to it, *Sanders* must needs have a great kindness for their memory, who thus suffered for his *Faith*.

97. He says; "Queen *Jane Seimour* being in hard labour of Prince *Edward*, the King ordered her Body to be so opened by Surgeons, "that she died soon after. *Ibid.*

All this is false, for she had a good Delivery, as many Original Letters written by her Council (that have been since printed) do shew, but she died two days after of a distemper incident to her Sex.

98. He sets down some Passages of Cardinal *Pole*'s Heroical Constancy; which being proved by no Evidence, and not being told by any other Writer (whom I ever saw) are to be lookt on as the flourishes of the Poet to set off his *Hero*. *Page* 124.

99. He would perswade the World, that the Marquess of *Exceter*, the Lord *Montacute*, and the rest that suffered at that time, died, because they were believed to dislike the King's wicked Proceedings; and that the Countess of *Sarum* was beheaded on this single account, that she was the Mother of such a Son, and was sincerely addicted to the Catholick Faith; and that she was condemned because she wrote to her Son, and for wearing in her Breast, the Picture of the five Wounds of Christ. *Page* 125.

The Marquess of *Exceter* pretended he was well satisfied with the King's Proceedings, and was Lord *Stewart* when the Lords *Darcy* and *Hussie* were tried, and he gave judgment against them. But it being discovered that he and other Persons approved of Cardinal *Pole*'s proceedings, who endeavoured to engage all Christian Princes in a League against the King, pursuant to which they had expressed themselves, on several occasions, resolved, when a fit opportunity offered it self, to rebel; it was no wonder if the King proceeded against them according to Law. And for the Countess of *Sarum*, tho the legality of that Sentence passed against her cannot be defended, yet she had given great offence; not only by her correspondence with her Son, but by the Bulls she had received from *Rome*, and by her opposing the King's Injunctions, hindring all her Tenants to read the New Testament, or any other Books set out by the King's order. And for the Picture, which was found among her Cloaths, it having been the Standard of the Rebellion, and the Arms of *England* being found on the other side of it, there was just ground to suspect an ill design in it.

100. He says; "The Images which the King destroyed, were by "many wonderful Works of God, recommended to the Devotion of "the Nation. *Page* 129.

All the wonder in these Works, was the knavery of some jugling Impostors, and the simplicity of a credulous multitude, of which see *page* 224. which being so openly discovered, nothing that had shame in it, could speak of them as our Author does.

Page 131. 101. He ſays; "Six and twenty Carts drawn with Oxen, were "loaded with the Riches taken from *Thomas Becket*'s Shrine; whom he "makes a moſt glorious Martyr, that died for the defence of *the Faith*, "and was honoured by many Miracles after his death.

Other Writers have ſufficiently ſhewed what a perſidious, ingrateful, and turbulent Prieſt he was. All theſe were Vertues in our Author's Opinion, and Ingredients in his Faith. But he has in this accompt of the Riches of that Shrine gone beyond himſelf, having by a figure of ſpeech very familiar to him, (called Lying) increaſed two Cheſts (ſee *page* 224.) to 26 Cart Loads.

Page 132. 102. He ſays; "The Sentence which P. *Paul* gave out againſt the "King, was affixed in ſome Towns, both in *France*, *Flanders*, and "*Scotland:* from which he infers, that both the *Emperor*, the *French*, "and the *Scotch* King, did conſent to that Sentence.

In this he deſigned an eminent piece of ſervice to the Apoſtolick See, to leave on Record an Evidence that three Sovereign Princes had acknowledged the Pope's Power of depoſing Kings. But he did ill to name the proofs of his Aſſertion, and had done better to have ſaid ſimply that it was ſo, than to have founded it on ſo ill grounds: as if the affixing Papal Bulls in a place, were an evidence that the Princes, in whoſe Dominions it was done, conſented to it. He might with the ſame reaſon have concluded, that Q. *Elizabeth* conſented to the Sentence againſt her ſelf; which it is very like will not be eaſily believed, tho the Bull was affixed in *London*. But all thoſe very Princes whom he names, continuing to keep up their correſpondence with the King, as well after as before this Sentence, is a much clearer demonſtration that they deſpiſed the Pope's Sentence.

Page 134. 103. He ſays; "The King by his own Authority, threw all the "Begging Orders out of their Houſes.

The falſhood of this has appeared already, for they reſigned their Houſes to the King: and of theſe Reſignations, tho many were deſtroyed, yet near an hundred are ſtill extant.

Ibid. 104. He ſays; "The Parliament, in the year 1539, gave the King "all the great Monaſteries.

The Parliament paſſed no ſuch Act; all that they did, was only to confirm the Grants made, or to be made by theſe Houſes to the King. It was their Surrenders that cloathed the King with the Right to them. All the Tragical Stories he tells us that followed upon this, are founded on a falſe Foundation.

Page 135. 105. He ſets down a Form of a Reſignation, which he ſays, "All "the Abbots, and many Religious Perſons, were made to Sign and ſet "their Seals to it.

Among all the Reſignations which are yet extant, there is not one in this Form, for which ſee *page* 238.

106. He

106. He ſays; "The King's Commiſſioners, who went about getting *Page* 136.
"Hands to that Form, made them believe, in every Houſe, that all the "reſt had ſigned it; and ſo by that, and other perſuaſions, prevailed "with many to ſet their Hands to it.

If all the Subſcriptions had been procured about the ſame time, ſuch Arts might be ſuſpected: but in a thing that was three years a-doing, theſe tricks could not have ſerved their turn.

107. He ſays; "They told the Monks, that tho the King might, by *Ibid.*
"virtue of the Act of Parliament, ſeize on their Houſes and Rents, yet "he deſired rather to do it with their good-will.

In this there are two Errors; Firſt, Moſt of theſe Houſes were reſigned to the King before the Act of Parliament, ſee *page* 235. and next, the Act of Parliament only confirmed their Deeds, but did not give their Houſes to the King.

108. He ſays; "The Abbots of *Glaſſenbury*, *Colcheſter*, and *Reading*, *Page* 137.
"ſuffered Martyrdom, becauſe they refuſed to ſet their hands to that "Writing.

There was no ſuch Writing ever offered to them; nor was there any Law to force them to reſign: ſo they could not ſuffer on that account, but they were Martyrs for *Sander's Faith*, for they were [illegible]ted by a legal Trial of High Treaſon.

109. "He tells a long Story of *Whitting* Abbot of *Glaſſenbury*'s being *Page* 138.
"brought up to *London*, to be prevailed with to ſet his hand to the Sur-"render. Which he ſtill refuſing to do was ſent back; and tho a "Book againſt the King's Divorce was found among his Papers, which "was laid there by thoſe who ſearched for it; yet that was paſt over in "a chiding: but as he went home, hearing there was a meeting of the "County at *Wells*, he went thither; and as he was going up to his place "on the Bench, he was called to the Bar to anſwer ſome things that were "to be objected to him: He was amazed at it, and asked what the mat-"ter was? but one told him, he needed fear nothing, for ſome-what "was only to be done for form, to terrify others: Upon which he was "condemned and ſent away to his Abbey, little thinking he was ſo near "his end; but when he came near it, a Prieſt was ſent to him to take "his Confeſſion, for they told him he muſt die immediately; he beg'd "a day or two's reſpite, but in vain: ſo they hanged him up in his Ha-"bit, on the top of the Hill near his Abbey, and quartered him; and "all this was done in one day.

This Book came out in Forreign Parts, and was printed at *Rome*, in the Reign of *Sixtus* the Fifth, who took great pleaſure in ſuch Executions, as he deſcribes this to have been, which may fall oft out, where the lives of the Subjects are wholly at the Prince's Mercy: But to tell ſuch tales of *England*, which is ſo famed over the World for the ſafety and ſecurity the Subjects enjoy, and for the regular and legal proceedings in all Trials, eſpecially of Life and Death, was a great Error in the Poet; for the *decorum* of the Laws and Cuſtoms of a place muſt be obſerved, when any Nation is made the Scene of a Fable. But as no-

thing like this can be done by the Law of *England*, ſo there was nothing of it in this Caſe: The Jury that ſate on him, were Men of great credit in the Country, when he died: he acknowledged his Offences; and with appearance of repentance, begged God's Pardon, and the King's: ſee *page* 239.

Page 145. 110. After many bitter Invectives againſt *Cromwel*, for which I could never ſee good evidence, tho I cannot diſprove them by any convincing Arguments; he ſays, "That he adviſed the King to make a Law, that "Perſons might be Convented and Condemned in abſence, and with- "out being heard: and that this Law firſt of all fell upon him- "ſelf.

There was no ſuch Law ever made, only the Parliament by their Supream Authority, did Attaint ſome in that manner, but no other Court might do it. Nor was this firſt applied to *Cromwel*, for an year before his Attainder, the Counteſs of *Sarum*, with a great many more, were ſo attainted, tho ſhe did not Suffer till a year after him.

Ibid. 111. He tells many Reaſons why the King had a mind to put away *Ann* of *Cleve*: But in this, as in other things, he betrays a profound ignorance of that time; for every Body knew, that the King, from the firſt time he ſaw her, diſliked her, and that he never conſummated the Marriage.

This is a Subject not fit to be long dwelt on: but if any will compare the account I give of this Matter from the Records, with *Sander*'s Tale, they will ſee that he wrote at random, and did not ſo much as know publick Tranſactions.

Page 146. 112. He ſays; "The King had promiſed to the Emperor, That he "would no longer continue in the *Smalcaldick* League; but *Cromwel* "counterfeited the King's Hand, to a new confirmation of it; which "coming to the Emperor's knowledg, he challenged the King of it: "and ſent him over a Copy of it; upon which the King diſowned it, "and caſt it on *Cromwel*; and that this was the cauſe of his fall.

This I believe is one of *Sander*'s dreams: there is not one word of it in *Cromwel*'s Attainder; nor do I find the leaſt ſhadow of this in ſome Original Letters which he wrote to the King for his Pardon, in which he anſwers many of the things laid to his Charge. Nor is it likely he would adventure on ſo bold a thing, with ſuch a King, nor could the Emperor have that Writing in his power, as long as the King lived: for it is not to be imagined how he could come by it, till he had taken the Duke of *Saxony* Priſoner, which was after this King's death.

Page 148. 113. He ſays; "When *Cromwel* was put to death, the King proceeded "to the Divorce of *Ann* of *Cleve*.

The Divorce was judged by the Convocation eight days before *Cromwel*'s death, and confirmed in Parliament, which was diſſolved before he ſuffered.

Ibid. 114. He ſays; "The King ſent to her, to tell her, he had a mind to "be ſeparated from her; and tho he could proceed more ſeverely "againſt

"against her, since he knew she was an Heretick; yet for her Families "sake, he left it to her self to devise any reason for their Divorce: "upon which she came next day to the Senate, (which may be either "the King's Council, or the Parliament) and confessed she had been "married to another before she was married to the King; and there-"upon by the Authority of Parliament, he was divorced, and within "eight days married *Katharine Howard.*

There are but six gross Errors in this Period. 1. The King sent not any message to her, nor came there any answer from her till the Sentence of Divorce was quite passed. 2. In the Original Letter which those he sent to her, wrote to him from *Richmond*, it appears that they used no threatnings to her, but barely told her what was done; to which she acquiesced. 3. She never came from *Richmond* in all that Process, and so made no such declaration in the Senate. 4. She did not say that she was married to another, but only that she had been contracted to the Prince of *Lorrain* when she was under Age. 5. The Parliament did not dissolve the Marriage, but only confirmed the Sentence of the Convocation. 6. The King did not marry *Katharine Howard* before the 8*th* of *August*, and the Divorce was judged the 10*th* of *July*, a month wanting two days.

115. He says; "The King had consummated the Marriage for seven "months together. Page 149.

There were but six months between his Marriage and the Divorce; and in all that while, as they bedded but seldom, so there were very clear Evidences brought, that it was not consummated.

116. He says; "The King sent the Bishop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Hen-* "*ry Knevet* to the Diet of the Empire; who were ordered to propose "to the Emperor, That the King might be again reconciled to the See "of *Rome*; to which, he adds, his Conscience did drive him: but since "the King would not confess his past Crimes, nor do penance for them, "nor restore the Goods of the Church, it came to nothing. Page 151.

This is another Ornament of the Fable, to shew the Poet's wit; but is as void of Truth as any passage in *Plautus* or *Terence* is. For the King was all his life so intractable in that Point, that the Popish Party had no other way to maintain their Interest with him, but to comply, not without affectation in that Matter: and when an Information was given against *Gardiner*, for his holding some correspondence with the Pope's Legate at the Diet, he got the Man who had innocently discovered it, to be put in Prison; and said, it was a Plot against him to ruin him, which he needed not be so sollicitous about, if his Instructions from the King had allowed him to enter on such a Treaty.

117. He runs out in a long digression, upon the King's assuming the Title of King of *Ireland*; to shew that the Kings of *England* only hold *Ireland* by the Pope's Donation. Page 153.

In this *Sanders* shews his Art, he being to carry the Standard of Rebellion in that Kingdom, to blast the King's Right to it. He acknowledges the Crown of *England* had the Dominion of *Ireland*, with the Title of *Lord of Ireland*, about 400 years: And certainly if so long a possession

does not give a good Title, and a prescription against all other Pretenders, most of the Royal Families in Christendom will be to seek for their Rights. But he says, It was given by the Pope to King *Henry* the Second; and yet he confesses that he had conquered some parts of it before that Grant was sent him by *Hadrian* the Fourth. Certainly King *Henry* the Second had as good a right to take it, as Pope *Hadrian* had to give it: nor was the King's accepting the Pope's Donation, any prejudice to his Title, for things extorted or allowed upon a publick Error, can have no force, when that is openly discovered. If then the Superstition of those Ages, made, that the Pope's Donation was a great help to any Pretender, it was no wonder that Kings made use of it; but it were a wonder indeed if they should acknowledg it, after the Trick is known and seen by all.

Page 162. 118. After this, and a Satyr against Queen *Elizabeth* for assuming the Title, *Defender of the Faith*, and a long enumeration of the exactions in the last years of this Reign; in which, tho there is Matter enough for severe complaints, yet many of the Particulars he mentions are without any proof, and must rest on the Author's credit; which by this time, the Reader will acknowledg is not very great. Another long discourse of some length follows, of the misfortunes of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and of all that served the King in his Divorce, and in the following Actions of his Life: from which he infers, that these were effects of a Curse from Heaven upon all that he did, and on all those that assisted him: But as the Inference is bad, so he forgot to mention those Noble Families that were raised in his time, and have continued since in great honour; as the *Seimours*, from whom the Dukes of *Somerset* are descended; the *Paulets*, from whom the Marquess of *Winchester* derives; the *Russels*, *Wriothslies*, *Herberts*, *Riches*, and *Cromwells*, from whom the Earls of *Bedford*, *Southampton*, *Pembroke*, *Essex*, and *Ardglass* have descended; and the *Browns*, the *Petres*, the *Pagets*, the *Norths*, and the *Mountagues*, from whom the Vice-Count *Mountague*, the Barons *Petre*, *Paget*, *North*, and *Mountague*, are descended. These Families have now flourished in great Wealth and Honour an Age and a half; and only one of them has, and that but very lately, determined in the Male Line: but the Illustrious Female Branches of it are intermixed with other Noble Families. So that the Observation is false, and the Inference is weak.

Page 164. 119. He says; "When the King found his strength declining, he had "again some thoughts of reconciling himself to the Church of *Rome*; "which when it was proposed to one of the Bishops, he made a flat-"tering answer. But *Gardiner* moved that a Parliament might be cal-"led for doing it: and that the King, for the quiet of his own Consci-"ence, would vow to do it; of which God would accept in that extremi-"ty, when more was not possible to be done. But some of his Cour-"tiers coming about him, who were very apprehensive of such a Re-"conciliation, lest they should have been made restore the Goods of "the Church, diverted the King from it: And from this our Author "infers, that what the King had done was against his Conscience, and "that so he sinned the Sin against the Holy Ghost.

I shall not examine this Theological definition of the Sin against the Holy Ghost, for my quarrel is not at present with his Divinity, but with his History; tho it were easy to shew that he is alike at both. But for this story, it is a pure dream; for not only there is no evidence for it, nor did *Gardiner* in the Reign of Queen *Mary* ever own any such thing, tho it had been then much for the credit of their Cause, especially he being often upbraided with his compliances to this King, for which the mention of his repentance had furnished him with a good answer: But as the Tale is told, the Fiction appears too plainly, for a Parliament was actually sitting during the King's sickness, which was dissolved by his Death, and no such Proposition was made in it. The King on the contrary destroyed the chief hopes of the Popish Party, which were founded on the Duke of *Norfolk's* greatness, by the Attainder which was passed a day before he died. And yet *Sanders* makes this discourse to have been between the King and *Gardiner* after his fall, and his Sons death; between which, and the King's Death, there were only nine days: but besides all this, *Gardiner* had lost the King's favour a considerable time before his death.

120. He says; "The King, that he might not seem never to have "done any good Work in his whole life, as he was dying, founded "*Christ's Church Hospital in London*; which was all the restitution he "ever made for the Monasteries and Churches he had robbed and spoi- "led. *Page* 166.

If it had not already appeared, in many Instances, that our Author had as little shame as honesty, here is a sufficient proof of it. I will not undertake to justify the King, as if he had done what he ought to have done, in his new Foundations: But it is the height of impudence to deny things that all *England* knows. He founded six Bishopricks; he endowed Deans and Prebendaries, with all the other Offices belonging to a Cathedral, in fourteen several Sees, *Canterbury*, *Winchester*, *Duresme*, *Ely*, *Norwich*, *Rochester*, *Worcester*, and *Carlisle*; together with *Westminster*, *Chester*, *Oxford*, *Glocester*, *Peterborough*, and *Bristol*, where he endowed Bishopricks likewise. He founded many Grammar-Schools, as *Burton*, *Canterbury*, *Coventry*, *Worcester*, &c. He founded and endowed *Trinity Colledg* in *Cambridg*, which is one of the noblest Foundations in Christendom. He also founded Professors in both Universities, for *Greek*, *Hebrew*, *Law*, *Physick*, and *Divinity*. What censure then deserves our Author, for saying, that the Hospital of *Christ's-Church*, was all the restitution he ever made of the Church-Lands.

121. He gives a Character of the King, which sutes very well with his History, his malice in it being extravagantly ridiculous. Among other things, he says, "The King promoted always learned Bishops, "*Cranmer* only being excepted, whom he advanced to serve his Lusts. *Ibid.*

Cranmer was a Man of greater Learning, than any that ever sate in that See before him, as appears in every thing that he writ: *Tonstal* was a learned Man, and *Gardiner* was much esteemed for Learning; yet if any will compare *Cranmer's* Books of the Sacrament, with those the other two writ on the same Subject; there is so great a difference between

tween the learning and solidity of the one and the other, that no Man of common ingenuity can read them but he must confess it.

Page 170. 122. He says; "When the King found himself expiring, he called "for a Boul of White Wine, and said to one that was near him, *We* "*have lost all:* and was often heard repeating *Monks*, *Monks*, and so "he died.

This was to make the Fable end as it had gone on, and it is forged without any authority or appearance of truth. The manner of his death was already told, so it needs not be repeated.

Page 172. 123. He says; "The King by his Will appointed the Crown to go "to his righteous Heirs after his three Children, and commanded his "Son to be bred a true Catholick: but his Will was changed, and ano-"ther was forged, by which the Line of *Scotland* was excluded, and "they bred his Son an Heretick.

There was no such Will ever heard of; and in all the Debates that were managed in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign about the Succession, those that pleaded for the *Scotish* Line, never alleadged this; which had it been true, did put an end to the whole Controversie. It was indeed said, that the Will which was given out as the King's Will, was not signed by his Hand, nor sealed by his Order, but it was never pretended that there was any other Will: so this is one of our Author's Forgeries.

The Conclusion.

THus I have traced him in this History, and hope I have said much more than was necessary to prove him a Writer of no credit, and that his Book ought to have no Authority; since he was not only a stranger to the Publick Transactions, Printed Statutes, and the other Authentick Registers of that time, but was a bold and impudent Asserter of the grossest and most malicious Lies, that ever were contrived. I have not examined all the Errors of his Chronology, for there is scarce any thing told in its right order, and due place; nor have I insisted on all the passages he tells, without any proof, or appearance of truth; for as I could only deny these without any other evidence but what was negative, so there are so many of them, that I must have transcribed the greatest part of his Book, if I had considered them all. I have therefore only singled out these Passages, which I had in the former History demonstrated to be false: and these are both so many and so important, that I am sure, enough is said to destroy the credit of that Author, and of his Book, which has too long deceived the the World. And what is performed in this first part, will I hope dispossess the Reader of any ill Impressions the following parts of that Work have made on him, concerning the succeeding Reigns, of which an account shall be given, as soon as it possibly can be made ready.

I shall esteem my time to have been well imployed, and my pains rightly placed, if my endeavours have so good an effect, as to take off the unjust Prejudices which some may have conceived at the changes that were then made in Religion; or at the beginnings of them, which being represented by this Author, and upon his testimony by many other Writers, in such odious Characters to the World, are generally so ill looked on.

The Work it self was so good, done upon so much reason, managed with such care, directed by such wisdom, and tempered with so great moderation, that those who intended to blast it, did very wisely to load it with some such Prejudices: for if without these, the thing it self be examined by Men of a candid temper and solid judgment, the Opposers of it know well where the Truth lies; and on whose side, both the Scriptures, and the best Ages of the Primitive Church have declared. But it was not fit to put a Question of such importance, on so doubtful and so dangerous an issue: therefore it was well considered by them, that some popular and easily understood Calumnies, to disgrace the beginnings of it, and the Persons that were most imployed in it, were to be fastned on them: and if these could be once generally received, then Men might be alienated from it by a shorter way, than could be done by the dull and unsuccessful methods of Reason. Therefore as the Cause of our Church hath been often vindicated, by the learned Books that have been published in it; and never with more success, and a clearer victory, than of late, in the elaborate Writings (which are never to be mentioned but with honour) of the renowned Dr. *Stillingfleet*; so I judged it might not be an unuseful and unacceptable Work (which tho it be of a lower form, and so most suitable to my genius, yet will be of general use) to employ the leisure I enjoy, and the small Talent committed to me, in examining and opening the Transactions of those Times: And if these who read it, are dispossessed of their prejudices, and inclined to consider things as they are now set before them, in a truer light, I have gained my end in it.

The Truths of Religion need no support from the Father of Lyes. A Religion made up of Falshoods and Impostures, must be maintained by means suitable to it self: So *Sanders's* Book might well serve the ends of that Church, which has all along raised its greatness by publick Cheats and Forgeries; such as the Donation of *Constantine*, and the Book of the *Decretals*; Besides the vast number of Miracles and Visions that were for many Ages made use of by them; of which even the most disingenuous of their own Writers begin to be now ashamed. But the Reformation of Religion was a Work of Light, and needs none of the Arts of Darkness to justify it by. A full and distinct Narrative of what was then done, will be its Apology, as well as its History. There is no need of Artifice, but only of Industry, and sincerity to gather together all the remains of that Time, and put them in good order.

I am now beginning to look towards the next, and indeed the best part of this Work: Where in the first Reign, we shall observe the active endeavours

endeavours of those Restorers of Religion. The next Reign affords a sadder prospect of that Work laid in Ruins, and the Authors of it in Ashes; but the Fires that consumed them, did rather spread than extinguish that Light which they had kindled. And what is fabled of the *Phœnix*, will be found true of our Church, That she rose new out of these Ashes, into which she seemed consumed.

Towards the perfecting this History, I hope all that love the Subject of it, will contribute their Endeavours, and furnish every thing that is in their power, which may make it fuller or clearer: So I end with that desire which I made in the Preface, that any who have in their hands any Papers relating to these times, will be pleased to communicate them; and what-ever assistance they give to it, shall be most thankfully owned and acknowledged.

The end of the Appendix.

ADDENDA.

Numb. I. *ARTICLES about Religion, set out by the Convocation, and published by the Kings Authority.*

AN ORIGINAL.

HENRY the Eight, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, and of *France*, Defender of the Faith, and Lord of *Ireland*, and in Earth Supream Head of the Church of *England*, to all and singular our most loving, faithful and obedient Subjects, greeting. Amongst other cures committed unto this our Princely Office, whereunto it hath pleased God of his infinite mercy and goodness to call us, we have always esteemed and thought (as we also yet esteem and think) this to be most chief, most ponderous, and of most weight, that his Holy Word and Commandments may sincerely without let or hinderance, be of our Subjects truly believed and reverently kept and observed; and that unity and concord in opinions, namely in such things as does concern our Religion, may encrease and go furthward, and all occasion of dissent and discord touching the same be repressed, and utterly extinguished; for the which cause we being of late to our great regret credibly advertised of such diversity in opinions, as have grown and sprongen in this our Realm, as well concerning certain Articles necessary to our Salvation, as also touching certain honest and commendable Ceremonies, rites, and usages in our said Church, for an honest policy, and decent order heretofore of long time used and accustomed; minding to have that unity and agreement established through our said Church concerning the premisses; and being very desirous to eschew not only the dangers of Souls, but also the outward inquietness which by occasion of the said diversity in opinions (if remedy had not been provided) might perchance have ensued; have not only in our own person in any times taken great pain, study, labour and travails, but also have caused our Bishops and other the most discreet and best learned men of our Clergy of this our whole Realm to be assembled in our Convocation, for the full debatement and quiet determination of the same: where after long and mature deliberation and disputations, had of and upon the premisses, finally they have concluded and agreed upon the said matters, as well those which be commanded of God, and are necessary to our Salvation, as also the other touching the honest ceremonies, and good and politick order, as is aforesaid; which their determination, debatement, and agreement, forasmuch as we think to have proceeded of a good, right and true judgment, and to be agreeable to the Laws and Ordinances of God, and much

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much profitable for the establishment of that charitable concord and unity in our Church of *England*, which we most desire, we have caused the same to be published, willing, requiring and commanding you to accept, repute, and take them accordingly; most heartily desiring and praying Almighty God, that it may please him so to illumin your hearts that you, and every of you, may have no less desire, zeal, and love to the said unity and concord, in reading, divulging, and following the same, than we have had and have, causing them to be thus devised, set forth and published. And for because we would the said Articles, and every of them, to be taken and understanden of you after such sort, order, and degree as appertaineth accordingly; We have caused by the like assent and agreement of our said Bishops and other Learned men, the said Articles to be divided into two sorts, that is to say, such as are commanded expresly by God, and are necessary to our Salvation, and such other, as although they be not expresly commanded of God, nor necessary to our Salvation; yet being of a long continuance for a decent order and honest policy, prudently instituted, are for that same purpose and end to be observed in like manner; which ye following, after such sort as we have prescribed unto you, shall not only attain that most charitable unity and loving concord, whereof shall ensue your incomparable commodity, profit and lucre, as well spiritual as other; but also ye conforming your selves, and using these our said Articles as is aforesaid, shall not a little encourage us to take further travel, pains, and labours for your commodities in all such other matters, as in time to come may happen to occur, and as it shall be most to the honour of God and ours, the profit, tranquillity, and quietness of all you our most loving Subjects.

The Articles of our Faith.

F*irst*, as touching the chief and principal Articles of our Faith, sith it is thus agreed as hereafter followeth by the whole Clergy of this our Realm, we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our people by us committed to their spiritual Charge, that they ought and must most constantly believe and defend all those things to be true, which be comprehended in the whole body and Canon of the Bible, and also in the three Creeds or Symbols, whereof one was made by the Apostles, and is the common Creed which every man useth, the second was made in the Holy Council of *Nice*, and is said daily in the Mass, and the third was made by *Athanasius*, and is comprehended in the Psalm *Quicunque vult*; and that they ought and must take and interpret all the same things according to the selfe-same sentence and interpretation, which the words of the selfe-same Creeds or Symboles do purport, and the Holy approved Doctors of the Church do intreat and defend the same.

Item, that they ought and must repute, hold and take all the same things for the most Holy, most sure and most certain and infallible words of God, and such as neither ought ne can be altered or convelled by any contrary opinion or Authority.

Item,

Item, that they ought and must believe, repute and take all the Articles of our Faith contained in the said Creeds to be so necessary to be believed for mans Salvation, that whosoever being taught will not believe them as is aforesaid, or will obstinately affirm the contrary of them, he or they cannot be the very members of Christ and his Spouse the Church, but be very Infidels or Hereticks, and members of the Devil, with whom they shall perpetually be Damned.

Item, that they ought and must most reverently and religiously observe and keep the selfe-same words, according to the very same form and manner of speaking, as the Articles of our Faith be already conceived and expressed in the said Creeds, without altering in any wise or varying from the same.

Item, that they ought and must utterly refuse and condemn all these opinions contrary to the said Articles, which were of long time past condemned in the four Holy Councils, that is to say, in the Council of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, and *Chalcidonense*, and all other sith that time in any point consonant to the same.

The Sacrament of Baptism.

SEcondly, as touching the Holy Sacrament of Baptism, we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their Spiritual Charge, that they ought and must of necessity believe certainly all those things, which hath been always by the whole consent of the Church approved, received and used in the Sacrament of Baptism; that is to say, that the Sacrament of Baptism was instituted and ordained in the New Testament by our Saviour Jesus Christ, as a thing necessary for the attaining of everlasting life, according to the saying of Christ, *Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua & Spiritu Sancto, non potest intrare in Regnum cœlorum.*

Item, that it is offered unto all men, as well Infants as such as have the use of Reason, that by Baptism they shall have remission of sins and the grace and favour of God, according to the saying of St. *John*, *Qui crediderit & Baptizatus fuerit Salvus erit.*

Item, that the promise of Grace and everlasting life, which promise is adjoyned unto the Sacrament of Baptism, pertaineth not only unto such as have the use of reason, but also to Infants, innocents and children; and they ought therefore and must needs be Baptised: and that by the Sacrament of Baptism they do also obtain remission of their sins, the grace and favour of God, and be made thereby the very sons and children of God, insomuch as Infants and Children dying in their Infancy shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, or else not.

Item, that Infants must needs be Christened because they be born in Original sin, which sin must needs be remitted; which cannot be done but by the Sacrament of Baptism, whereby they receive the Holy-Ghost

which exerciseth his Grace and efficacy in them, and cleanseth and purifieth them from sin by his most secret vertue and operation.

Item, that Children or men once Baptized, can, ne ought ever to be Baptized again.

Item, that they ought to repute, and take all the Anabaptists and the Pelagians opinions contrary to the premisses, and every other mans opinion agreeable unto the said Anabaptists or the Pelagians opinions in this behalfe, for detestable Heresies, and utterly to be condemned.

Item, that men or children having the use of reason, and willing and desiring to be Baptized, shall by the vertue of that holy Sacrament obtain the grace and remission of all their sins, if they shall come thereunto perfectly and truly repentant and contrite of all their sins before committed, and also perfectly and constantly confessing and believing all the Articles of our faith, according as it was mentioned in the Article before, or else not.

And Finally, if they shall also have firm credence and trust in the promise of God adjoyned to the said Sacrament, that is to say, that in and by this said Sacrament which they shall receive, God the Father giveth unto them for his Son Jesus Christs sake, remission of all their sins, and the Grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby they be newly regenerated and made the very Children of God, according to the saying of Christ and his Apostle St. *Peter*, *Pænitentiam agite & Baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine Jesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum, & accipietis donum Spiritus Sancti*, and according also to the saying of St. *Paul ad Titum* 3. *non ex operibus justitiæ quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam, salvos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis & renovationis Spiritus Sancti, quem effudit in nos opulenter per Jesum Christum servatorem nostrum, ut justificati illius gratia hæredes efficiamur juxta spem vitæ æternæ.*

The Sacrament of Penance.

THirdly, Concerning the Sacrament of Pennance, We will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their Spiritual charge, that they ought and must most constantly believe, that that Sacrament was instituted of Christ in the New Testament as a thing so necessary for mans Salvation, that no man which after his Baptism is fallen again and hath committed deadly sin, can without the same be saved or attain everlasting Life.

Item, That like-as such men which after Baptism do fall again into sin, if they do not Pennance in this Life, shall undoubtedly be damned; even so whensoever the same men shall convert themselves from the said naughty Life, and do such Pennance for the same as Christ requireth of them, they shall without doubt attain remission of their sins and shall be saved.

Item, That this Sacrament of perfect Pennance which Christ requireth

-eth of ſuch manner of perſons, conſiſteth of three parts, that is to ſay, Contrition, Confeſſion, with the amendment of the former Life, and a new obedient reconciliation unto the Laws and will of God, that is to ſay, exteriour Acts in works of Charity according as they be commanded of God, which be called in Scripture, *fructus digni Pænitentia.*

Furthermore, as touching Contrition which is the firſt part, We will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed by us unto their Spiritual charge, that the ſaid Contrition conſiſteth in two ſpecial parts, which muſt always be conjoined together. and cannot be diſſevered; that is to ſay, the penitent and contrite man muſt firſt knowledg the filthineſs and abomination of his own ſin, whereunto he is brought by hearing and conſidering of the will of God declared in his Laws, and feeling and perceiving in his own conſcience that God is angry and diſpleaſed with him for the ſame; he muſt alſo conceive not only great ſorrow and inward ſhame that he hath ſo grievouſly offended God, but alſo great fear of Gods diſpleaſure towards him, conſidering he hath no works or merits of his own which he may worthily lay before God as ſufficient ſatisfaction for his ſins; which done then afterwards with this fear, ſhame and ſorrow muſt needs ſucceed and be conjoyned, The ſecond part, *viz.* a certain faith, truſt and confidence of the mercy and goodneſs of God, whereby the penitent muſt conceive certain hope and faith that God will forgive him his ſins, and repute him juſtified and of the number of his Elect children, not for the worthineſs of any merit or work done by the penitent, but for the only merits of the blood and paſſion of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

Item, That this certain faith and hope is gotten and alſo confirmed, and made more ſtrong by the applying of Chriſts words and promiſes of his grace and favour contained in his Goſpel, and the Sacraments inſtituted by him in the new Teſtament; and therefore to attain this certain faith, the ſecond part of Pennance is neceſſary, that is to ſay, Confeſſion to a Prieſt if it may be had; for the Abſolution given by the Prieſt was inſtitute of Chriſt to apply the promiſes of Gods grace and favour to the Penitent.

Wherefore as touching Confeſſion, We will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed by us to their ſpiritual charge, that they ought and muſt certainly believe that the words of Abſolution pronounced by the Prieſt, be ſpoken by the Authority given to Him by Chriſt in the Goſpel.

Item, That they ought and muſt give no leſs faith and credence to the ſame words of Abſolution ſo pronounced by the Miniſters of the Church, than they would give unto the very words and voyce of God himſelf if he ſhould ſpeak unto us out of Heaven, according to the ſaying of Chriſt, *Quorum remiſeritis peccata*, &c. *& qui vos audit me audit.*

Item, That in no ways they do contemn this Auricular Confeſſion which is made unto the Miniſters of the Church, but that they ought

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to repute the ſame a verry expedient and neceſſary mean, whereby they may require and ask this Abſolution at the Prieſts hands, at ſuch time as they ſhall find their conſciences grieved with mortal ſin, and have occaſion ſo to do, to the intent they may thereby attain certain comfort and conſolation of their conſciences.

As touching the third part of Penance, We will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed by us to their ſpiritual charge, that although Chriſt and his death be the ſufficient oblation, ſacrifice, ſatisfaction, and recompence, for the which God the Father forgiveth and remitteth to all ſinners not only their ſin, but alſo Eternal pain due for the ſame; yet all men truly penitent contrite and confeſſed, muſt needs alſo bring forth the fruits of Penance, that is to ſay, Prayer, Faſting, Almſdeeds, and muſt make Reſtitution or Satisfaction in will and deed to their neighbour, in ſuch things as they have done them wrong and injury in, and alſo muſt do all other good works of mercy and charity, and expreſs their obedient will in the executing and fulfilling of Gods Commandments outwardly, when time, power and occaſion ſhall be Miniſtred unto them, or elſe they ſhall never be ſaved; for this is the expreſs precept and commandment of God, *Agite fructus dignos pænitentiæ*; and St. *Paul* ſaith, *Debitores ſumus*, and in another place he ſaith, *Caſtigo corpus meum & in ſervitutem redigo.*

Item, That theſe precepts and works of Charity be neceſſary works to our Salvation, and God neceſſarily requireth that every penitent man ſhall perform the ſame, whenſoever time, power, and occaſion ſhall be miniſtred unto him ſo to do.

Item, That by Penance and ſuch good works of the ſame, we ſhall not only obtain everlaſting life, but alſo we ſhall deſerve remiſſion or mitigation of theſe preſent pains and afflictions in this World, according to the ſaying of St. *Paul*, *Si nos ipſi judicaremus, non judicaremur a Domino*; & Zacharias, *Convertimini ad me & ego convertar ad vos*; & Eſajas 58. *frange eſurienti panem tuum*, &c. *tunc eris velut hortus irriguus. Hæc ſunt inculcanda eccleſiis & ut exercitentur ad bene operandum, & in his ipſis operibus exerceant & confirment fidem, petentes & expectantes a Deo mitigationem præſentium calamitatum.*

The Sacrament of the Altar.

FOurthly, as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, We will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed by us unto their ſpiritual charge, that they ought and muſt conſtantly believe that under the form and figure of bread and wine, which we there preſently do ſee and perceive by our outward ſenſes, is verily, ſubſtantially, and really contained and comprehended, the very ſelfe-ſame body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt which was born of the Virgin *Mary* and ſuffered upon the croſs for our Redemption, and that under the ſame form and figure of bread and wine, the very ſelfe-ſame body and blood of Chriſt is corporally, really, and in the very ſubſtance exhibited, diſtributed and received of all them which receive the ſaid

said Sacrament; and that therefore the said Sacrament is to be used with all due reverence and honour, and that every man ought first to prove and examine himself, and religiously to try and search his own Conscience, before he shall receive the same according to the saying of St. *Paul*, *Quisquis ederit panem hunc aut biberit de poculo domini indigne, reus erit corporis & sanguinis domini; probet autem seipsum homo, & sic de pane illo edat & de poculo illo bibat: nam qui edit aut bibit indigne, judicium sibiipsi manducat & bibit, non dijudicans corpus domini.*

Justification.

FIfthly, As touching the order and cause of our Justification, we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that this word Justification signifieth remission of our sins, and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God, that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ.

Item, That sinners attain this Justification by Contrition and Faith joyned with Charity, after such sort and manner as we before mentioned and declared; not as though our Contrition, or Faith, or any works proceeding thereof can worthily merit or deserve to attain the said Justification; for the only mercy and grace of the Father, promised freely unto us for his Sons sake Jesus Christ, and the merits of his blood and his passion be the only sufficient and worthy causes thereof; and yet that notwithstanding to the attaining of the said Justification, God requireth to be in us not only inward Contrition, perfect Faith, and Charity, certain hope and confidence, with all other spiritual graces and motions, which as we said before must necessarily concur in remission of our sins, that is to say, our Justification: but also he requireth and commandeth us, that after we be justified we must also have good works of charity and obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of his Laws and Commandments; for although acceptation to everlasting life be conjoyned with Justification, yet our good works be necessarily required to the attaining of everlasting Life, and we being justified be necessarily bound, and it is our necessary duty to do good works, according to the saying of St. *Paul*, *debitores sumus non carni ut secundum carnem vivamus, nam si secundum carnem vixerimus moriemur, sin autem spiritu facta corporis mortificaverimus, vivemus; etenim quicunque spiritu dei ducuntur hi sunt filii dei*: and Christ saith, *si vis ad vitam ingredi serva mandata*: and St. *Paul* saith, *de malis operibus, qui talia agunt Regnum dei non possidebunt*, Wherefore we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, and God necessarily requireth of us to do good works commanded by him, and that not only outward and civil works, but also the inward spiritual motions and graces of the Holy Ghost, that is to say, to dread and fear God, to love God, to have firm confidence and trust in God, to invocate and call upon God, to have patience in all adversities, to hate sin, and to have certain purpose and will not to sin again, and such other like motions and vertues; for Christ saith, *Nisi abundaverit*

rit justitia vestra plusquam scribarum & Pharisæorum, non intrabitis in regnum cælorum, that is to say, we must not only do outward civil good works, but also we must have these foresaid inward spiritual motions consenting and agreeable to the Law of God.

Of Images.

AS touching Images, truth it is that the same have been used in the old Testament, and also for the greater abuses of them sometime destroyed and put down, and in the new Testament they have been also allowed, as good Authors do declare; wherefore we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, how they ought and may use them. And *First*, that this may be attributed unto them that they be representers of vertue and good example, and that they also be by occasion the kindlers and firers of mens minds, and make men often remember and lament their sins and offences, especially the Images of Christ and our Lady; and that therefore it is meet that they should stand in the Churches, and none otherwise to be esteemed: And to the intent the rude people should not from henceforth take such superstition, as in time past it is thought that the same hath used to do, we will that our Bishops and Preachers diligently shall teach them, and according to this Doctrine reform their abuses; for else there might fortune Idolatry to ensue, which God forbid. And as for Censing of them, and kneeling and offering unto them, with other like worshippings, although the same hath entred by devotion and fallen to custome; yet the people ought to be diligently taught, that they in no ways do it, nor think it meet to be done to the same Images, but only to be done to God and in his honour, although it be done before the Images, whether it be of Christ, of the Cross, or of our Lady, or of any other Saint besides.

Of Honouring of Saints.

AS touching the honouring of Saints, we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our people, committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that Saints now being with Christ in Heaven be to be honoured of Christian people in Earth; but not with that confidence and honour which are only due unto God, trusting to attain at their hands that which must be had only of God, but that they be thus to be honoured, because they be known the Elect persons of Christ, because they be passed in Godly Life out of this transitory World, because they already do Reign in Glory with Christ; and most specially to laude and praise Christ in them for their excellent vertues which he planted in them, for example, of and by them to such as are yet in this World to live in vertue and goodness, and also not to fear to dye for Christ and his cause as some of them did; and finally to take them, in that they may, to be the advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ. By these ways and such like be Saints to be honoured and had in reverence, and by none other.

Of

Of Praying to Saints.

AS touching Praying to Saints, We will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that albeit grace, remission of sin and Salvation, cannot be obtained but of God only by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, which is only sufficient mediator for our sins; yet it is very laudable to pray to Saints in Heaven everlastingly living, whose charity is ever permanent, to be intercessors and to pray for us and with us unto Almighty God after this manner: All holy Angels and Saints in Heaven pray for us and with us unto the Father, that for his dear Son Jesus Christ's sake, we may have grace of him and remission of our sins, with an earnest purpose, not wanting Ghostly strength, to observe and keep his holy Commandments, and never to decline from the same again unto our lives end: And in this manner we may pray to our *Blessed Lady*, to St. *John Baptist*, to all and every of the Apostles or any other Saint particularly, as our devotion doth serve us; so that it be done without any vain superstition, as to think that any Saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ, or that any Saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is Patron of the same. And likewise we must keep Holy-days unto God in memory of him and his Saints, upon such days as the Church hath Ordained their memories to be celebrated; except they be mitigated and moderated by the assent or commandment of the Supream head, to the Ordinaries, and then the Subjects ought to obey it.

Of Rites and Ceremonies.

AS concerning the Rites and Ceremonies of Christs Church, as to have such vestments in doing God service as be and have been most part used, as Sprinkling of holy-Water to put us in remembrance of our Baptism and the blood of Christ sprinkled for our redemption upon the Cross; Giving of holy bread to put us in remembrance of the Sacrament of the Altar, that all Christen men be one body mystical of Christ, as the bread is made of many grains and yet but one Loaf, and to put us in remembrance of the receiving the holy Sacrament and body of Christ, the which we ought to receive in right Charity; which in the beginning of Christs Church, men did more often receive than they use now adays to do; Bearing of Candles on *Candlemas-day* in memory of Christ the spiritual light, of whom *Simeon* did prophesie as is read in the Church that day; Giving of ashes on *Ash-Wedensday*, to put in remembrance every Christen man in the beginning of Lent and Penance, that he is but ashes and earth and thereto shall return; which is right necessary to be uttered from henceforth in our mother-tongue always on the same day; Bearing of Palms on *Palm-Sunday* in memory of receiving of Christ into *Jerusalem* a little before his death, that we may have the same desire to receive him into our hearts; Creeping to the Cross and humbling our selves to Christ on *Good-Friday* before the Cross, and offering there unto Christ before the same, and kissing of it in memory of our Redemption by Christ made

upon the Croſs; Setting up the Sepulture of Chriſt, whoſe body after his death was buried; the Hallowing of the Font, and other like Exorciſms and Benedictions by the Miniſters of Chriſts Church: and all other like laudable Cuſtoms, Rites, and Ceremonies be not to be contemned and caſt away, but to be uſed and continued as things good and laudable, to put us in remembrance of thoſe ſpiritual things that they do ſignifie, not ſuffering them to be forgotten, or to be put in oblivion, but renuing them in our memories from time to time; but none of theſe Ceremonies have Power to remit ſin, but only to ſtir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our ſins be forgiven.

Of Purgatory.

FOraſmuch as due order of Charity requireth, and the book of *Maccabees* and divers ancient Doctors plainly ſhewing, that it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for Souls departed, and foraſmuch alſo as ſuch uſage hath continued in the Church ſo many years even from the beginning, We will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed by us unto their ſpiritual charge, that no man ought to be grieved with the continuance of the ſame, and that it ſtandeth with the very due Order of Charity, for a Chriſten man to pray for Souls departed, and to commit them in our prayers to Gods mercy, and alſo to cauſe others to pray for them in Maſſes, and Exequies, and to give Alms to others to pray for them, whereby they may be relieved and holpen, of ſome part of their pain: But foraſmuch as the place where they be, the name thereof and kind of pains there, alſo be to us uncertain by Scripture; therefore this with all other things we remit to God Almighty, unto whoſe mercy it is meet and convenient for us to commend them, truſting that God accepteth our prayers for them, referring the reſt wholly to God, to whom is known their eſtate and condition; wherefore it is much neceſſary that ſuch Abuſes be clearly put away, which under the name of Purgatory hath been advanced, as to make men believe that through the Biſhop of *Romes* Pardon Souls might clearly be delivered out of Purgatory, and all the pains of it, or that Maſſes ſaid at *Scala cæli*, or otherwhere, in any place, or before any Image, might likewiſe deliver them from all their pain, and ſend them ſtreight to Heaven, and other like Abuſes.

Signed

Thomas Cromwell.

T. Cantuarien.
Edwardus Ebor.
Joannes London.
Cuthbertus Dunelmen.
Joannes Lincoln.
Joannes Lincoln Nomine procuratorio pro Dom. Joan. Exon.
Hugo Wygornen.
Joannes Roffen.
Richardus Ciceſtren.

Joannes Bathonien.
Thomas Elien.
Joannes Lincoln. nomine procuratorio pro Dom. Rowlando Coven. & Lichfielden.
Joannes Bangoren.
Nicholaus Sarisburien.
Edwardus Hereforden.
Willielmus Norwicen.
Willielmus Meneven.
Robertus Aſſaven.

Robertus

Robertus Abbas Sancti Albani.
Willielmus Ab. Westmonaster.
Joannes Ab. Burien.
A *Richardus Ab. Glasconiæ.*
A *Hugo Ab. Redying.*
Robertus Ab. Malmesbur.
Clemens Ab. Evesbamen.
Johannes Ab. de Bello.
Willielmus Ab. S. Petri Glocest.
Richardus Ab. Winchelcombens.
Joannes Ab. de Croyland.
Robertus Ab. de Thorney.
Robertus Ab. de Waltham.
Joannes Ab. Cirencest.
Joannes Ab. Teuxburen.
Thomas Prior Coventr.

Joannes Ab. de Osney.
B *Henricus Ab. de*
Anthonius Ab. de Eyntham.
Robertus Prior Elien.
Robertus Magister ordinis de Sem-per-ingham.
Richardus Ab. de Notley.
Hugo Prior de Huntingtoun.
Willielmus Ab. de Stratford.
Gabriel Ab. de Buckfestia.
Henricus Ab. de Wardenor.
Joannes Prior de Merton.
Richardus Pr. de Walsingham.
B *Thomas Ab. de*
Thomas Ab. de Stanley.
Richardus Ab. de Bytlesden.
Richardus Pr. de Lanthony.
Robertus Ab. de Thame.
B *Joannes Prior de*
Radulphus Prior de Kymme.
B *Richardus Ab. de*
Robertus Ab. de Welhows.
Bartholamaus Pr. de Overhey.
Willielmus Pr. de Burgaveny.
Thomas Ab. de Abendon.

Inferior Domus.

C *R. Gwent Archidiaconus London, & Breck.*
Robertus Alridge Archid. Colecestr.
Thomas Bedyl Archid. Cornub.
Richardus Street Archid. Derbiæ.
David Pole Ar. Salop. Procurator. Archid. & Cleri Covent & Lichfield.
Richardus Doke Archid. Sarum.
Edmundus Bonner Archid. Leycestriæ.
Thomas Baghe Archid. Surr.
Richardus Rawson Archid. Essex.
Edmundus Cranmer Archid. Cant.
Polidorus Virgilius Archid. Wellen.
Richardus Coren Archid. Oxon.
Henricus Morgan Procurator cleri Lincoln.
Petrus Vannes Archid. Wygornen.
Georgius Hennage Decanus Lincoln.
Nilo Spencer Procurator Cleri Norwicen.
Guilielmus Knight Archid. Cestriæ.
GamalielClyfton Decanus Hereford. & Proc. Capit.
Joannes London Decanus Wallingford.
Richardus Layton Archid. Bucks.
Hugo Coren Proc. Cleri Hereford.
Richardus Sparaheford Proc. Cleri Hereford.
Mauritius Griffith Proc. Cleri Roffen.
Gulielmus Buckmastr. Procurator Cleri London.
Richardus Shelton Mag. Colleg. de Melyngham.
Per me Willielmum Glyn. Archi. An-glessen.
Robertus Evans Decan. Bangoren.
Walterus Cretying Ar. Bathonien.
Thomas Bagard Procurator Cleri Wygornen.
Joannes Nase Proc. Cleri Bathon & Wellen.
Georgius Wyndham Archid Norwicen.

Nicolaus Metcalfe Archid. Roffen.
Gulielmus Hedge Procurator Cleri Norwicen.
Adam Traves Archid. Exon.
Ricardus Woleman Dec. Wellen.
Tho. Brerewood Archidiacan. Har. Procur. Capituli & Cleri Exon.
Georgius Carew Archid. Totten Proc. Capituli & Cleri Exon.
Thomas Bennet Psoc. Cleri & Capit Sarum.
Richardus Arch Proc. Cleri & Capit Sarum.
Petrus Lighman Proc. Cleri Cant.
Edmundus Stewart Proc. Cleri Winton.
Joannes Rayne Proc. Cleri Lincoln.
Leonardus Samill Proc. Cleri Archid. Lewen.
Simon Matthew Proc. Cleri London.
Linfrid Ogle Archid Salop.
Gulielmus Maye Proc. Cleri Elien.
Rol. Philips Proc. Eccles. St. Pauli London.
Joannes Bell Ar. Glocest.
Joannes Chambers Dec. St. Stephani Archid Bedford.
Nicolaus Wilson

Some Observations on the former Subscriptions.

A The Abbots of *Glossenbury* and *Reading* Subscribe with the rest: by which it appears that they complyed in the changes that were made as readily as others did.

B The Abbots writ generally so ill that it is very hard to read their Subscriptions: Some of them I could by no means know what to make of.

C There are of 50 of the lower house of Convocation: of those there are 25 Archdeacons 4 Deans of Cathedrals 3 Deans of Collegial Churches 17 Procurators for the Clergy and one Master of a Colledge.

II. Some Queries put by *Cranmer* in Order to the Correcting of several Abuses.

Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.

First, What causes, reasons, or considerations hath or might move any man to desire to have the Bishop of *Rome* restored in any point to his pretended Monarchy, or to repugn against the Laws and Statutes of this Realm made for the setting forth of the Kings Title of Supream Head?

2. *Item,* Whether a man offending deadly after he is Baptized, may obtain remission of his Sins, by any other way than by Contrition, through grace?

3. *Item,* If the Clergy know that the common sort of men have them in a higher estimation, because they are perswaded, that it lyeth in the will and Power of Priests to remit, or not remit sins at their pleasure whether in such case the said Clergy offend if they wink at this, and voluntarily suffer the people to continue in this Opinion?

4. *Item,* Whether a sinner being sorry and contrite for his sins and forthwith dying, shall have as high a place in Heaven, as if he had never offended?

5. *Item,* Whether any, and what difference may be Assigned betwixt two men, whereof the one being very sorry and contrite for his sins dieth without Absolution of the Priest, and the other which being contrite is also absolved by the Priest and so dieth?

Item,

Item, If it may appear that the common people have a greater affiance or trust in outward Rites or Ceremonies than they ought to have, and that they esteem more vertue in Images and adorning of them, kissing their feet or offering Candles unto them, than they should esteem, and that yet the Curates knowing the same, and fearing the loss of their offerings, and such other temporal commodities, do rather encourage the people to continue after this sort, than teach them the truth in the premisses according to Scripture; what the Kings Highness and his Parliament may do, and what they are bound in conscience to do in such case? 6.

Item, Whether now in time of the new Law the Tithes or tenth be due to Curates by the Laws of God, or of man; and if the same be due by the Laws of man, what mans Laws they be? 7.

Item, Whether the Clergy only, and none but they ought to have voices in general Councils? 8.

Item, Whether the 19th Canon in the Council of *Calcedon*, wherein is contained that one Clerk may not sue an other before any secular Judge, but only before his Bishop, and such other Canons of like effect, have been generally received or not? and whether the same be contrary to the Kings Prerogative and Laws of this Realm; and whether it be expedient that it were declared by the Parliament that the said Canons being at no time received, especially within this Realm, be void and of none effect? 9.

Item, Of the 24th Canon of the said Council, wherein is contained that Monasteries once consecrate by the Bishop, may not after be made dwelling houses for Say-men, whether that Canon have been received and observed, and whether the same be against the Power of the King and Authority of his Parliament? 10.

Item, If it may appear that the Bishops have not, ne yet do maturely examine and diligently inquire of the Conversation, and Learning of such as be ordered or admitted to Cures by them, but rather without examination or inquisition indistinctly admit persons unable, whereof ensueth great peril of Souls, and innumerable inconveniences otherways, what the Kings Highness or his Parliament ought to do, or may do for reformation in the premisses? 11.

Item, If such as have Deanries, Arch-Deaconries, Chantership, and other Offices or promotions of the Clergy, use not themselves in their own persons after such sort as the primary institution of these Offices or Promotions require, and according to the Wills of them that endowed the same, what the King and his Parliament may do or ought to do in this case? 12.

Item, For what causes and to what ends and purposes such Offices and promotions of the Clergy were first instituted? 13.

Item, If Curates having Benefices with cure, for their more bodily ease, refuge to dwell upon any of their said Cures, and remain in idleness continually in Cathedral or Collegial Churches, upon their Prebends, whether it be in this case expedient, that the Kings Highness or his Parliament take any Order for the redress of the same? 14.

Item,

15. *Item*, Of the Sacraments of Confirmation, Order, Matrimony, and extream Unction, what the external signs and inward graces be in every of the said Sacraments, what promises be made to the receivors of them by God, and of what efficacy they be of and energy of themselves?

III. Some Queries concerning Confirmation, with the answers which were given to them by *Cranmer*, and *Stokesley* Bishop of *London*.

AN ORIGINAL.

WHether Confirmation be Instituted by Christ?

Written with *Cranmers* hand. *Cott. Libr. Cleop. E.* 5.

Respon. There is no place in Scripture that declareth this Sacrament to be instituted of Christ.

First, For the places alledged for the same be no Institutions but Acts and deeds of the Apostles.

Secondly, These Acts were done by a special gift given to the Apostles for the confirmation of Gods Word at that time.

Thirdly, The said special gift doth not now remain with the Successors of the Apostles.

What is the External Sign.

The Church useth *Chrisma* for the exterior sign, but the Scriptur maketh no mention thereof.

What is the Efficacy of this Sacramint?

The Bishop in the name of the Church doth invocate the Holy Ghost to give strength and constancy, with other spiritual gifts, unto the person confirmed: so that the efficacy of this Sacrament is of such value, as is the Prayer of the Bishop made in the name of the Church.

Hæc respondeò, salvo semper eruditiorum & Ecclesiæ orthodoxæ judicio.

Stokesley's Paper.

The first Question, *Whether the Sacrament of Confirmation be a Sacrament of the New Testament institute by Christ?*

To this I answer, *That it is.*

The second Question, *What is the outward sign, and the invisible graces which be conferaed in the same?*

To this I Answer, That the Words *Signo te Signo' Sanctæ crucis & confirmo te*, &c. With the consignation, with the Creame, imposition of hands of the Prelates, be the Signs: and the increase of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and especially of fortitude, to speak, shew, and defend the Faith, and to suffer for the same in case need be.

The

The third Question, What promises be made of the said graces?

I Answer, That the facts and deeds that be expressed in the Books of the Apostles, with the effects ensuing, by the imposition of their hands, upon them that before had received Remission of their sins, joyned with the promises of Christ, made to his Church, and the continual belief of the university of the same Catholick Church from the time of the Apostles hitherto, without contradiction of any man (ignorants and suspects of Heresie only excepted) maketh us, and in my opinion, without prejudice of other mens opinions, ought to suffice to make all men that hath promised to believe the Catholick Church, assuredly to think that God hath made the promises of the said grace.

Ego Joannes London. *sic respondeo, fretus autoritate & Testimonio antiquissimorum, eorumque Doctissimorum pariter ac Sanctissimorum virorum, & præcipue Sanctæ matris nostræ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, cui etiam in non expressis in sacra Scriptura, non multo minus quam scriptis, fides adhibenda est; nisi tam de baptismo parvulorum, quam de perpetua Deiparæ virginis integritate, & id genus compluribus, quibus sine salutis periculo nemo discrepat, licebit salva fide contradicere.*

IV. Some Considerations offered to the King by *Cranmer*, to Induce him to proceed to a further Reformation.

PLeaseth it your Highness graciously to consider, deeply to ponder and weigh by your high wisdom these Considerations following. *Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.*

First, How no great thing is to be determined, principally matters of Christs Religion, without long, great, and mature deliberation.

Secondly, How evil it hath succeeded when in Provincial, yea or yet in General Councils, men have gone about to set forth any thing as in the force of Gods Law, without the manifest Word of God, or else without apparent reasons, infallibly deduced out of the Word of God.

Thirdly, How all Christened Regions are now full of Learned men in the Scripture, which can well espie out and judge how things that be, or shall be set forth are agreeable with Scripture or not.

Fourthly, Of what Audacity men be of now adays, which will not spare to write against high Princes, as well as against private persons, without any respect to their high Estates, only weighing the equity or the iniquity of the cause.

Fifthly, How not only men of the New Learning (as they be called) but also the very Papistical Authors, do allow that by the Word of God, Priests be not forbidden to Marry, although they were not ignorant that many expounders of Scripture were of the contrary judgment.

Sixthly, How that it is not possible that all Learned men should be

of one mind, ſentence, and opinion, as long as the cockle is mingled with the wheat, the Godly with the ungodly, which certainly ſhall be as long as the World endureth.

Seventhly, How variety of Opinions have been occaſion of the opening of many verities heretofore taken for Hereſie, yea and yet ſo eſteemed and taken of many, in other Regions; as namely the uſurped Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome* hath by that occaſion come into Light, with the effuſion of the blood not of a few, ſuch as were the firſt ſtirrers up thereof.

Laſtly, There be alſo other opinions not ſpoken of,which have made, and yet will make as much variance in your Graces Realm as any of them treated of, namely, Whether the Holy Scripture teacheth any Purgatory to us after this Life or not? whether the ſame Scripture teacheth the Invocation of dead Saints? Whether there be any unwritten verities neceſſary to be believed not written in Scripture, nor deducted by infallible Arguments out of the open places of Scripture? Whether there be any ſatisfactions beſide the ſatisfaction of Chriſt? Whether free will by its own ſtrength may diſpoſe it ſelf to grace of a conveniency (as it is ſaid) *de congruo*? Whether it be againſt Scripture to kiſs the Image of Chriſt in the Honour of him? And generally whether Images may be uſed any other way than your Grace ſetteth forth in your Injunctions?

Wherefore in conſideration of the premiſſes it may pleaſe your Highneſs to ſuſpend your judgment for a time, and not to determine the Marriage of Prieſts to be againſt Scripture, but rather to put both parts to ſilence, commanding them neither to preach, diſpute, nor openly to talk thereof under pain of, &c. And in caſe theſe premiſſes do not move your Highneſs to ſtay, that then it may pleaſe the ſame to grant that the Article of Prieſts Marriage may be openly diſputed in both Univerſities, under indifferent Judges, before it be determined. All the Arguments of the contrary party firſt to be delivered in writing to the defenders twelve days before the diſputation; to the intent they may the more maturely and deliberately make anſwer to the ſame; and they that ſhall enter as defenders into this diſputation, to do it under this condition, that if their Judges decern them to be overcome, they be right well contented to ſuffer death, therefore: And if their adverſaries cannot prove their purpoſe, their deſire is no more but that it may pleaſe your Highneſs to leave your moſt humble Subjects to the liberty that Gods Word permitteth them in that behalf; and your ſaid humble Subjects ſhall pray unto Almighty God for the preſervation of your moſt Royal Eſtate long to continue to Gods Glory and Honour.

V. A

V. A Declaration made of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests.

AN ORIGINAL.

AS touching the Sacrament of Holy Orders, we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge,

First, How that Christ and his Apostles did institute and Ordain in the New Testament, that beside the Civil Powers and governance of Kings and Princes, which is called in Scripture, *potestas gladij*, the Power of the Sword, there should be also continually in the Church Militant, certain other Ministers or Officers, which should have Spiritual Power, Authority and commission under Christ, to Preach and teach the Word of God, unto his people, and to dispence and administer the Sacraments of God unto them; and by the same to confer and give the grace of the Holy Ghost, to consecrate the blessed body of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, to loose and absoil from sin, all persons which be duly penitent and sorry for the same; to bind and excommunicate such as be guilty in manifest crimes and sins, and will not amend their defaults; to order and consecrate others in the same room, Order and Office, whereunto they be called and admitted themselves; and finally to feed Christs people like good Pastors, and Rectors, as the Apostles calleth them, with their wholsome doctrine, and by their continual exhortations and monitions to reduce them from sin and iniquity, so much as in them lyeth, and to bring them unto the perfect knowledg, the perfect love and dread of God, and unto the perfect charity of their neighbours.

Item, that this Office, this Ministration, this Power and Authority is no tyrannical Power, having no certain Laws or Limits, within the which it ought to be contained, nor yet none absolute Power, but it is a moderate Power,. subject, determined, and restrained unto those certain Limits and ends for the which the same was appointed by Gods Ordinance; which, as was said before, is only to administer and distribute unto the members of Christs Mystical body, spiritual and everlasting things; that is to say, the pure and heavenly doctrine of Christs Gospel, and the graces conferred in his Sacraments: And therefore this said Power and administration is called in some places of Scripture, *donum & Gratia*, a gift and a grace; in some places it is called *Claves sive potestas clavium*, that is to say, the keys or the Power of the keys, whereby is signified a certain limited Office restrained unto the execution of a special Function or Ministration, according to the saying of

St. *Paul* in his first Chap. of his Epistle to the *Romans*, and in the fourth Chap. of his first Epistle to *Timothy*, and also in the fourth Chap. of his Epistle to the *Ephes.* Where he writes in this Sentence; *Quum ascendisset Christus in altum, captivam duxit captivitatem, & dedit dona hominibus, dedit autem, alios quidem Apostolos, alios vero Prophetas, alios vero Evangelistas, alios autem pastores ac doctores, ad instaurationem sanctorum, in opus administrationis, in ædificationem corporis Christi, donec perveniamus omnes in unitatem fidei & agnitionis filii Dei, in virum perfectum, in mensuram ætatis plene adultæ Christi.* That is to say, "when Christ ascended into Heaven, he subdued and vanquished very captivity her self, and led or made her thrall and captive, and distributed and gave divers heavenly gifts and graces unto men here on earth; and among all he made some the Apostles, some Priests, some Evangelists, some Pastors and Doctors, to the intent they should execute the work and office of their administration, to the instauration, instruction, and edifying of the members of Christs Mystical body: And that they should also not cease from the Execution of their said Office, until all the said members were not only reduced and brought unto unity of the Faith, and the knowledg of the Son of God, but also that they were come unto a perfect state, and full age therein; that is to say, until they were so established and confirmed in the same that they could no more afterwards be wavering therein, and be led or carryed like children, into any contrary doctrine, or opinion, by the craft or subtile perswasion of the false Pastors and Teachers, which go about by craft to bring them into erroneous opinions, but that they should constantly follow the true Doctrine of Christs Gospel, growing and encreasing continually by charity unto a perfect member of that body, whereof Christ is the very head, in whom if the whole body, that is to say, if every part and member be grown and come unto his perfect estate, not all in like, but only one according to the gift and quality which is deputed unto it, and so to be compacted, united, and corporated together in the said body, no doubt but that whole body and every part thereof shall thereby be made the more perfect and the more strong, by reason of that natural love and charity, which one member so united in the body hath unto the other: by which words it appeareth evidently not only that St *Paul* accounted and numbred this said Power and Office of the Pastors and Doctors among the proper and special gifts of the Holy Ghost, but also it appeareth that the same was a limited power and Office, ordained specially and only for the causes and purposes before rehearsed.

Item, That this Power, Office, and Administration is necessary to be preserved here in Earth for three special and principal causes. *First*, for that it is the Commandment of God it should be so, as it appeareth in sundry places of Scripture. *Secondly*, for that God hath instituted and ordained none other ordinary mean or instrument, whereby he will make us partakers of the reconciliation which is by Christ, and confer and give the graces of his holy Spirit unto us, and make us the right inheritors of everlasting Life, there to Reign with him for-

ever

ever in glory, but only his words and Sacraments; and therefore the Office and Power to Minister the said Word and Sacraments, may in no wise be suffered to perish, or to be abolished, according to the saying of St. *Paul*, *Quomodo credent in eum de quo non audierunt? quomodo autem audient sine prædicante? quomodo autem prædicabunt nisi missi fuerunt? sicut scriptum est, quam speciosi super montes pedes Evangelizantium pacem, annunciantium bona!* *Thirdly*, because the said Power and Office or Function hath annexed unto it assured promises of excellent and inestimable things; for thereby is conferred and given the Holy Ghost with all his graces, and finally our justification and everlasting life, according to the saying of St. *Paul*, *Non me pudet Evangelii Jesu Christi, potentia siquidem est Dei ad salutem omni credenti*; that is to say, I am not ashamed of the room and Office which I have given unto me by Christ, to preach his Gospel, for it is the Power of God, that is to say, the elect Organ or instrument ordained by God and endued with such vertue and efficacy, that it is able to give and Minister effectually everlasting Life unto all those that will believe and obey unto the same.

Item, That this Office, this Power and Authority was committed and given by Christ and his Apostles unto certain persons only, that is to say; unto Priests or Bishops, whom they did elect, call, and admit thereunto by their Prayer and Imposition of their hands.

Secondly, We will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed unto their Spiritual charge, that the Sacrament of Order may worthily be called a Sacrament, because it is a holy Rite, or ceremony instituted by Christ and his Apostles in the New Testament, and doth consist of two parts, like as the other Sacraments of the Church do; that is to say, of a spiritual and an invisible grace, and also of an outward and a visible Sign. The invisible gift or grace conferred in this Sacrament, is nothing else but the Power, the Office and the Authority before mentioned: the visible and outward Sign, is, the Prayer and Imposition of the Bishops hands, upon the person which receiveth the said gift or grace. And to the intent the Church of Christ should never be destituted of such Ministers, as should have and execute the said power of the keys, it was also Ordained and commanded by the Apostles, that the same Sacrament should be applyed and ministred by the Bishop from time to time, unto such other persons as had the qualities, which the Apostles very diligently descryve; as it appeareth evidently in the third *Chap.* of the first Epistle of St. *Paul* to *Tim.* and his Epistle unto *Titus*. And surely this is the whole vertue and efficacy, and the cause also of the institution of this Sacrament, as it is found in the New Testament; for albeit the Holy Fathers of the Church which succeeded the Apostles, minding to beautifie and ornate the Church of Christ with all those things, which were commendable in the Temple of the *Jews*, did devise not only certain other ceremonies than be before rehearsed, as Tonsures, Rasures, Unctions, and such other observances to be used in the administration of the said Sacraments, but did also institute certain inferiour orders or degrees, as *Janitors*, *Lectors*, *Exorcists*, *Acolits*, and *Subdeacons*, and deputed

to every one of thoſe certain Offices to Execute in the Church, wherein they followed undoubtedly the example and rites uſed in the Old Teſtament; yet the truth is, that in the New Teſtament there is no mention made of any degrees or diſtinctions in Orders, but only of Deacons or Miniſters, and of Prieſts or Biſhops : [illegible] there is any word ſpoken of any other ceremony uſed in the conferring of this Sacrament, but only of Prayer, and the Impoſition of the Biſhops hands.

Thomas Cromwell.	*Rich. Ciceſtr.*	*Simon Matthew.*
T. Cantuarien.	*Richardus Wolman.*	*Joannes Prynn.*
Edwardus Ebor.	*Joannes Bell.*	*Gulielmus Buckmaſtre.*
Joannes London.	*Willielmus Clyffe.*	*Willielmus Maye.*
Cuthbertus Dunelmenſis.	*Robertus Aldridge.*	*Nicolaus Wotton.*
Joannes Lincoln.	*Gilfridus Downes.*	*Ricardus Cox.*
Joannes Bathonienſ.	*Joannes Skip.*	*Joannes Redman.*
Thomas Elien.	*Cuthbertus Marſhall.*	*Thomas Robertſon.*
Joannes Bangor.	*Marmaduke Waldeby.*	*Thomas Baret.*
Nicolaus Sarum.	*Robertus Oking.*	*Joannes Naſe.*
Edwardus Hereforden.	*Nicolaus Heyth.*	*Joannes Barbar.*
Hugo Wygorn.	*Rodolphus Bradford.*	
Joannes Roffen.	*Richardus Smith.*	

(Some other hands there are that cannot be Read.)

Sacræ Theologiæ, Juris Eccleſiaſtici, & Civilis Profeſſores.

VI.

VI. *A Letter of* Melanthons, *to perswade the King to a further Reformation. An Original.*

S. D. Serenissime & Inclyte Rex, Etsi audieramus Romanum Episcopum omnibus artificiis incendere Cæsaris Caroli & Regis Gallici animos adversus Britannos & Germanos, tamen quia spero Deum hæc pericula gubernaturum esse, & defensurum tranquillitatem tuam, scripsi in alteris literis de Ecclesiarum emendatione, quam si tempora sinent, rogo ut Regia Majestas tua suscipiat. Postea adjeci hanc Epistolam, non impudentia, sed optimo studio, & amore cum Ecclesiarum, cum Regiæ Majestatis tuæ incitatus: quare per Christum obtestor Regiam Majestatem tuam ut meam libertatem boni consulat. Sæpe cogito Britannicæ Ecclesiæ primordia, & cæteras laudes: hinc enim propagata est doctrina Christiana in magnam Germaniæ & Galliæ partem; imo Britannicæ Ecclesiæ beneficium fuit, quod primum Romanæ Provinciæ liberatæ sunt persecutione. Hæc primum nobis Imperatorem pium Constantinum dedit: magna hæc gloria est vestri nominis. Nunc quoque Regia Majestas tua, primum heroica magnitudine animi ostendit se veritati patrocinaturum esse, excussit Romani Episcopi tyrannidem, quare veterem puritatem Ecclesiæ vestræ maxime optarim restitui integram. Sed animadverto istic esse quosdam qui veteres abusus ortos aut confirmatos a Romano Episcopo adhuc mordicus tenent. Mirum est autem Autore abusuum ejecto ipsa tamen venena retineri; qua in re illud etiam periculi est, quod illi ipsi aut eorum imitatores aliquando revocaturi potestatem Romani Episcopi videntur, si populus hunc putavit esse Magistrum Ecclesiarum, incurrunt enim ritus in oculos & admonent de autore, ut Solonis memoria cum legibus Athenis & propagata & jucunda fuit. *Cotton Libr. Cleop. E. 5.*

Gaudebam igitur in Edicto recens istic proposito de Religione, promitti publicam deliberationem & emendationem de Ecclesiarum ritibus & legibus, eaque sententia mitigavit Decreti acerbitatem: quanquam enim laudo pietatem, quod errores prohibentur, qui pugnant cum doctrina Catholicæ Ecclesiæ quam & nos profitemur; tamen doleo ad eas causas adjectum esse articulum, in quo præcipitur omnium rituum usitatorum & cælibatus observatio. Primum enim multi transferent Edicti Autoritatem ad stabiliendos abusus Missæ. Deinde in universum confirmatur pertinacia eorum qui Doctrinæ nostræ sunt iniquiores, & debilitantur studia piorum. Augustinus queritur sua ætate jam duriorem fuisse servitutem Christianam quam Judaicam, quanto erit asperior servitus, si superstitiosiores ineptiæ, ut reptatio ad crucem aut res similes, muniantur corporum suppliciis? Gerson scribit prodesse piis, qui tamen superstitiosius observant ritus, ut invitentur ad eos violandos, ut usu & exemplo dediscant superstitionem.

Sed munio tranquillitatem, dices, & nolo dissimilitudine rituum excitari discordias. Ego de piis & modestis loquor qui humanas traditiones sine tumultibus violant, non de his qui in cætu publico seditiose tranquillum populum aut concitant aut perturbant. Extant autem antea leges de seditiosis, nec statim violatio inepti & non necessarii ritus judicanda est seditiosa, attamen hac in re non solum tranquilli-

 tatis,

tatis, sed etiam piarum conscientiarum ratio habenda est: est enim tenera res conscientia, facile languescit perculsa potentum judiciis.

Nec ignoro quosdam novo jam uti genere sapientiæ, excusant abusus, & leniunt eos astute affictis interpretationibus, ut habeant speciosam causam cur eos retineant; sicut nefarios abusus accusat Autor reformationis Coloniensis, ut campanarum consecrationem & similes imposturas. Quam multa sunt in fabulosis historiis sanctorum, ut Christophori, Georgii, quæ ut poemata continent venustissimas Allegorias; nec tamen propter has cogendæ sunt Ecclesiæ ut illas poeticas personas colant,

Erat in Egypto sacrum cum fici maturuissent, populus enim in templo edens recentes ficus, addebat canticum his verbis, Dulcis veritas. Huic ritui facile est bellam significationem addere, eumq; accommodare ad laudem Verbi Dei, nec tamen propterea hic mos in Ecclesias revocandus est; atqui hanc novam sophisticam exoriri passim videmus. Sic in Italia dicuntur abusibus patrocinari, Contarenus, Sadoletus, & Polus Cardinalis; nam hi præcipue susceperunt sibi jam has partes defendendæ Romanæ impietatis, & hanc ducunt esse magnam ingenii laudem fucos illinire vitiosis ritibus, putantq; se his ineptiis Dionysii Theologiam Mysticam renovare. Hæc Sophistica, nisi prudentes gubernatores Ecclesiarum obsistent, pariet horribilem confusionem religionum, & rursus obruet veritatem. Donec flagitantur humani ritus tanquam necessarii, confirmatur prava opinio de cultu; ideo Paulus tam vehementer non modo opinionem, sed ritus ipsos Leviticos insectatus est, prævidebat enim non excuti posse superstitionem, si ritus manerent, quare gravissime inquit, *si circumcidimini, Christus vobis nihil proderit.*

Retineatur ergo simplex & perspicua sententia de libertate in adiaphoris, & doceant concionatores quæ scandala vitanda sint; retineantur ritus divinitus instituti, & aliquæ humanæ traditiones utiles ad bonum ordinem, ut Paulus loquitur, & sit modus cæremoniarum quæ habeant conjunctam gravitatem & elegantiam; decet autem abesse ab Ecclesiis barbariem: Cæteri inutiles & inepti ritus non duriter flagitentur.

Deinde quantum periculi adfert conscientiis prohibitio conjugii, nec ignorat Regia Majestas tua, legem de cælibatu perpetuo tantum Romæ natam esse: extant Epistolæ Episcopi Tarraconensis defendentes conjugia Presbyterorum in Hispania contra Romanum Episcopum. In Germania ante annos quingentos adhuc Sacerdotes fuerunt mariti, adeoque ægre tulerunt sibi eripi hanc libertatem, ut in Episcopum Moguntinum recitantem edictum Romanum tumultuantes impetum fecerint, quare Episcopus fugere coactus recitationem omisit. Erat Autor Edicti Gregorius septimus qui cuilibet tyrannorum veterum audacia & impietate par fuit. Hic cum longo & funesto bello civili nostros Germanicos imperatores implicuisset, simul etiam Ecclesias Tyrannide oppressit. Audio & in Anglia Sacerdotes fuisse maritos: deniq; notæ sunt Historiæ, quæ exempla satis multa continent, quare miror in Edicto citari Epistolam ad Corinthios, cum hæc longe aliud tradat de conjugio, ac præcipiat conjugium iis qui non sunt idonei ad cælibatum.

Nec objicienda sunt vota quæ & expresse pugnant cum divinis mandatis, & trahunt secum multiplicem superstitionem & morum corruptionem; videmus enim qualis sit vita multorum Sacerdotum cælibum:

itaq; non sine dolore aliquo legi in Edicto, quod hi qui Uxores duxerunt accusantur Levitatis, nam hoc convicio causa nostra prægravari videtur, quæ tamen Ecclesiæ necessaria est, ut conjugii dignitas clarius conspiciatur, ut superstitiosi cultus votorum reprehendantur, ut arceantur libidines. Non enim impurus cælibatus, sed honesta & pia conjugum consuetudo, est castitas Deo grata, sicut Christus sua voce divinam conjunctionem appellat connubium, inquiens, *Quos Deus conjunxit*, &c. Discamus Dei Ordinationem in natura magnifacere, eaque reverenter uti, non singamus ipsi novos cultus sine Verbo Dei; de quo genere Paulus nominatim concionatur, cum ad Timotheum scribens duriter reprehendit eos qui prohibent nuptias.

Propheta Daniel insignes notas addidit Antichristo duas, cum ait colet Deum Maosim argento & auro, & Deum patrum suorum non intelliget, & mulieres non curabit. Hæc quadrant maxime ad Romanos mores: Missarum abusus & Sanctorum cultus pepererunt immensas opes & Regiam potentiam. Nova numina confecta sunt, adorantur aureæ & argenteæ statuæ, & auro atque argento ornantur. Deinde accedit Lex de cælibatu, unde magna corruptio morum orta est. Hæ notæ cui genti, cui Regno usquam competunt nisi factioni Episcopi Romani? qui cum sit Antichristus, pio & forti animo ipsius autoritati & legibus adversandum est.

Porro fæliciter cœpit Regia Majestas tua quædam emendare, sustulit aliqua idola quæ impie colebantur: Obtestor ergo Regiam Majestatem tuam, ut reliquam impietatem Romanam etiam ex Ecclesiis tollat. Exempla testantur ingentibus victoriis ornatos esse Reges qui sustulerunt Idololatriam, ac sæpe testatur Deus quantopere requirat hunc cultum, ut removeantur superstitiones, & pro hoc officio ingentia præmia pollicetur: quare Deus etiam defendet Regiam Majestatem tuam, si ut Ezechias & cæteri pii Reges impios ritus sustuleris. Audit Regia Majestas tua in Belgico & alibi immanem sævitiam exerceri adversus pios; & hæc Tyrannis gignit alia multa vitia, stabilit idololatriam, delet veram invocationem, extinguit penitus veram Religionem; cumq; desint boni Doctores, multi in populo fiunt palam ἄθεοι· Constat enim pene Ethnicam licentiam esse in Belgico, alii superstitiosi natura, alii fanaticas opiniones Anabaptistarum amplectuntur. Talis est in Belgico status, quod quidem floret pace, otio, opibus; adfluunt luxu ditiores, ita se beatos esse putant, nec interea prospiciunt quot pœnæ ipsis impendeant: Deus autem haud dubie tantam impietatem & crudelitatem atrociter puniet. Nollem igitur in Regno tuo renovari asperitatem adversus pios, quam ita prohibebit Regia Majestas tua si Edictum leniet & Ecclesias constituere perget. Deinde ut etiam ad posteritatem, animi abhorreant a Tyrrannide Romani Episcopi, plurimum refert illas leges tolli, quæ sunt nervi autoritatis ipsius; magna vero adminicula potentiæ Romanorum Episcoporum fuerunt, Missarum abusus, & Cœlibatus, quæ si durabunt aliquando poterunt præbere occasionem iis qui depravatæ sunt opinionis Romanæ Aulæ, ut ad eam rursus inclinationem faciant. Id caveri quantum referat, si doctrinæ puritas conservanda est, satis intelligit Regia Majestas tua. Verum adhuc est quod *Juvenalis* de Romana aula scripsit, *hic fiunt homines*, &c. imbuti eo loci malis artibus, contumaciam singularem adversus Reges inde referunt, ut multa exempla testantur. Hanc Epistolam loquaciorem ac liberiorem ut Regia Majestas tua

boni consulat oro. Precor autem Deum & Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, ut Regiam Majestatem tuam servet & defendat, ac gubernet ad salutem Ecclesiæ. Bene & feliciter valeat Regia Majestas tua. Ex Francofordia,

Cal. Aprilis 1539.

Regiæ Majestatis tuæ

Addictissimus

Philippus Melanthon.

Directed thus on the back;

Serenissimo & Inclyto Angliæ & Franciæ Regi D. Henrico Octavo Walliæ & Cornubiæ Principi, Capiti Anglicæ Ecclesiæ post Christum Supremo,

Principi Clementissimo.

VII. *A Letter written by the* German *Ambassadors to the King, against the taking away of the Chalice, and against private Masses, and the Celibat of the Clergie, &c. An Original.*

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5.

SErenissime & Potentissime Rex, Domine Clementissime, Etsi Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem vestram maximorum negotiorum mole, tum ad Regnum ac Provincias proprias Majestatis Vestræ pertinentium, tum etiam exterorum Regum, Principum, & Potentatuum gravissimis causis, quæ ad Regiam Majestatem Vestram pene quotidie devolvuntur, obrui non ignoremus; nosque pro nostra erga Regiam Majestatem Vestram debita observantia ut par est, nihil minus velimus aut cogitemus, quam Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem Vestram vel mittendis literis crebrioribus, vel ulla alia re interturbare & a Reipublicæ curis impedire, tamen certis quibusdam de causis, quas Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Vestræ probaturos nos speramus, duximus iterum ad Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem Vestram literas dandas esse, nihil dubitantes quin Vestra Serenissima Regia Majestas eas pro sua insigni bonitate, sapientia, doctrina, atque favore sincerioris Religionis, benigne acceptura sit. Cum enim ab Illustrissimis Principibus nostris nobis injuncta mandata Vestræ Serenissimæ Majestati jampridem exposuerimus, & præterea postulante Majestate Vestra cum quibusdam ejusdem Reverendissimis & eruditissimis Episcopis & Theologiæ Doctoribus, de articulis Religionis Christianæ per duos pene menses sermones contulerimus, ac Dei beneficio res eo perducta fuerit, ut nihil ambigamus, quin inter Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem Vestram & Principes nostros, ac eorum in causa religionis confœderatos, utrorumq; Episcopos, Theologos & Subditos firma

ma atq; perpetua concordia in sinceriore Evangelii Doctrina, in laudem Dei Optimi Maximi, salutem Ecclesiæ Christianæ, ac perniciem Romani Antichristi, secutura sit, nosque reliquam disputationem de abusibus non expectare queamus, existimavimus non esse alienum ab officio nostro, ut ante discessum nostrum Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Vestræ, quæ per Dei Gratiam indefessa cura & diligentia sinceram Evangelii Doctrinam promotam cupit, debitam observantiam, atque perpetuum studium nostrum literis nostris testatum relinqueremus, & Majestati Vestræ nostrorum etiam sententiam de quibusdam Articulis abusuum, de quibus Majestas Vestra post abitum nostrum haud dubie curabit eosdem Episcopos & Theologos pro inquirenda veritate, sermones conferre & disputare, declararemus: nihil ambigentes, quin ea etiam in re Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra pro Christi gloria id præstitura sit, ut non tantum doctrinam puram habeat, verum etiam abolitis aliquando impiis cultibus & abusibus per Romanum Episcopum in Ecclesiam introductis, cultus ac cæremonias consentaneas Verbo Dei constituat: facile enim Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra pro sua summa sapientia perspicit, non posse unquam Doctrinæ puritatem, vel constitui, vel conservari, nisi tollantur è medio etiam hi abusus, qui prorsus & ex diametro, ut dici solet, cum Verbo Dei pugnant,& Romani Antichristi tyrrannidem ac idololatriam, tum pepererunt, tum etiam hactenus conservarunt; nam ut radicibus demum resectis, necesse est arbores & herbas penitus exarescere & perire, ita dubium non est, quin impiis Romani Episcopi abusibus & idololatria, ut fundamento stabilitatis ipsius, labefactis & eversis,etiam Tyrannis ejusdem prorsus ruitura & interitura sit; quod nisi fiat perpetuo metuendum est, ne levi aliqua occasione iterum repullulescat & tanquam a radice reviviscat.

Sunt vero hæc tria pene capita & fundamentum Tyrannidis & Idololatriæ Pontificiæ, quibus stantibus, neque Doctrina Religionis integra permanere, neque unquam Romani Episcopi improbissimus dominatus,penitus extirpari poterit: nempe, Prohibitio utriusque speciei Sacramenti in cæna Domini, Missa Privata, & Interdictio conjugii Sacerdotum, quæ quidem usque adeo Dei Verbo adversantur, adeoque etiam honestati publicæ repugnant, ut vel ex his solis apertissime intelligi possit Romanum Pontificem verum Antichristum, & omnis idololatriæ, impietatis, erroris, & turpitudinis, in Christi Ecclesiam introductæ auctorem esse; de quibus sane articulis nos pauca quædam Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Vestræ optimo studio scribemus, & ejusdem ut Regis summa sapientia, acerrimo judicio, & excellenti doctrina præditi, censuræ committemus, persuasissimum nobis habentes Vestram Majestatem Illustrissimam Principum nostrorum, & Statuum confœderatorum consilium & institutum, in hisce articulis non improbaturam esse.

Primum enim, Serenissime ac Potentissime Rex, non existimamus quenquam inficias iturum, quin Christi Doctrina, mandata, & ordinationes omnibus aliis præceptis, traditionibus aut cæremoniis humanis præferri debeant; hic enim cum ipse sit vita & veritas, errare non potest, humana vero omnia, præcipue in rebus divinis, incerta & dubia sunt. Porro constat Christum ipsum utramq; speciem instituisse, cum ait, Bibite ex hoc omnes; & Paulum idem docuisse, cum inquit, 2 Cor. 11. probet seipsum homo, & sic de pane comedat & poculo bibat. Quibus sane locis, non de una parte Ecclesiæ, id est, de Sacerdotibus tantum, *De utraque specie.*

sed

ſed de tota Eccleſia mentio fit: Nam quod quidam ita Argumentantur, ſolis Apoſtolis Chriſtum id dixiſſe, eaque de cauſa utramque ſpeciem ad ſolos Sacerdotes pertinere, infirmum admodum eſt Argumentum; quia eadem ratione ſequeretur, quod Laicis ne altera quidem ſpecies danda eſſet; neque enim alio loco Chriſtus mandavit ſolum corpus laicis dari, & utramque ſpeciem pro Sacerdotibus inſtituit: ſed hoc fatendum eſt, quod illud mandatum Chriſti de Sacramento, aut ad omnes, hoc eſt, Laicos & Sacerdotes pertineat, aut Laici prorſus a Sacramento Corporis etiam arcendi fuerint, cum nuſquam alibi in Evangelio, niſi tunc cum dedit Apoſtolis ſimul corpus & ſanguinem, Sacramentum pro Laicis inſtitutum reperiatur; idque ad omnes pertinere Paulus declarat, cum addit, & de poculo bibat, &c. Quod enim dicunt Sacramenti diviſionem, urgentibus quibuſdam cauſis, ab Eccleſia inſtitutam eſſe, & ſub una ſpecie, non minus quam ſub utraque contineri, non multum ad rem facit: Quis enim non intelligit hic de Chriſti inſtituto & mandato agi, idque humanæ auctoritati & opinionibus longe præferendum eſſe; neque enim Eccleſia ſumit ſibi hanc libertatem, ex Chriſti Ordinationibus res indifferentes conſtituendi; & rationes illæ vel de diſcrimine ordinum, ſeu dignitate Sacerdotali, vel periculo effuſionis & ſimiles, nullo modo tantam queunt vim habere, ut propterea Divinæ Ordinationes mutandæ ſint; neque ulla etiam conſuetudo contra mandata Dei introducta, ipſis canonibus Pontificiis atteſtantibus, probanda eſt. Conſtat vero uſum utriuſque ſpeciei, & clarum habere mandatum Chriſti, & adprobationem Sanctorum Patrum, ac conſuetudinem veteris Eccleſiæ; ſic enim, inquit Divus Hieronymus, Sacerdotes qui Euchariſtiæ ſerviunt, & ſanguinem Chriſti populis diſtribuunt: & Gelaſius Pontifex, Sacramenti Corporis & Sanguinis Domini diviſionem prohibet, eamque grande Sacrilegium adpellat.

Adhæc, durat hodie hic mos Communionis utriuſque ſpeciei in Græcis Eccleſiis, quæ hac in re Romani Pontificis tyrannidi ſemper reſtiterunt, neque ejus jugum recipere voluerunt, & teſtantur Hiſtoriæ tum in Germania, tum in multis aliis regionibus ac provinciis, verum Communionis uſum diu conſervatum fuiſſe, ſed tandem fulminibus Romani Antichriſti, quibus totum pæne orbem terrarum conterruit & ſubjugavit, homines, ut veriſimile eſt, victi, verũ Euchariſtiæ uſum mutarunt, ad quem tamen, per ſingularem Dei Gratiam, agnita iterum veritate Evangelica, cum Principes noſtri, tum alii Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes, jam redierunt, & ſeſe ac ſuos in re Univerſæ Eccleſiæ maxime ſalutifera, tanquam in libertatem, excuſſo jugo Pontificio, vendicarunt & adſeruerunt. Nam quæ cauſæ Pontificem permoverint, ut contra Chriſti mandatum & inſtitutum, contra ſententiam Sanctorum Patrum, contra conſuetudinem Univerſæ Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ, Sacramentum divideret, & Laicos Sanguine Domini nefarie ſpoliaret, facile Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra perſpicit. Veriſimile quidem videtur, eum voluiſſe ſuam, ſuique ordinis auctoritatem ac dignitatem, ea ratione augere, & hoc diſcrimen inter Laicos & Sacerdotes conſtituere; nam etiam nunc clamitant adverſarii, laicos debere eſſe altera ſpecie contentos; quaſi regnum aliquod poſſideant, & ita imperare ipſis liberum ſit, ut etiam Chriſti beneficium hominibus eripere queant, ad quod potius, ſi ſuo officio fungi vellent, omnes invitare & pellicere deberent. Sed quid Chriſto cum Belial? quid Pontifici cum Chriſti inſtituto, cujus ipſe ſe ſummum adverſarium

eſſe

esse satis declarat, ideoque tum in hoc, tum aliis salutaribus Religionis Christianæ Articulis oportuit ipsum a scriptura discedere, imo Doctrinam Evangelio consentaneam damnare, ut manifestum fieret, eum esse Antichristum, de quo passim Scriptura talia prædixit.

Porro in altero Articulo, De Missa Privata, adhuc magis adparet a Romano Pontifice Religionem Christianam adeo oppressam & obscuratam, ut Christi Beneficium qui sua morte nos redemit, solusque est hostia & satisfactio pro peccatis nostris, penitus sustulerit, & in ejus locum idololatricum cultum pro abolendis peccatis in Ecclesiam invexerit, eamque suis erroribus & prophanationibus miserabiliter implicaverit, turbaverit & deformaverit. Cum enim Missa nihil aliud sit, nec esse debeat, quam communio sive Synaxis, ut Paulus adpellat, neque etiam alius ejus usus fuerit tempore Apostolorum & veteris Ecclesiæ, quemadmodum hoc clare ex S. Patribus probari potest, plane diversum quoddam opus, prorsus pugnans cum communione & vero Missæ usu inde factum est, quod docent ex opere operato, ut loquuntur, mereri gratiam, & tollere peccata vivorum & mortuorum. *De Missa privata.*

Hæc opinio quantopere distet a Scripturis, ac gloriam Passionis Christi lædat, Sereniss. Regia Majestas Vestra facillime judicabit. Si enim hoc verum est, quod Missa pro aliis applicari potest, quod peccata tollit, & prodest tam vivis quam mortuis, sequitur Justificationem ex opere Missarum contingere non ex fide; verum hoc omnino Scripturæ repugnat, quæ tradit nos gratis propter Christum per fidem justificari, ac peccata nobis condonari, & in gratiam nos recipi, atque ita non alieno opere, sed propria fide propter Christum, singulos justos fieri: At illi docent alienum opus pro remittendis peccatis alteri, quod quidem merum est somnium & figmentum humanum, repugnans Evangelicæ Doctrinæ; nam tunc demum adplicatur gratia per Verbum & Sacramentorum usum, cum ipsi utimur Sacramentis, sed isti pro aliis utuntur, quod perinde est ac si pro aliis Baptizarentur. Neque vero potest dici quantopere deformet Christi Gloriam opinio illa de Missa, quæ ex opere operato conferat gratiam, aut applicata pro aliis mereatur eis remissionem venialium & mortalium peccatorum culpæ & pœnæ; idque aperte adversari Scripturæ, & a vero usu Missæ sive communionis longe discedere, vel inde liquet, quia Missa sive Synaxis ideo est instituta, ut fides Lis qui utitur Sacramento recordetur quæ beneficia accipiat per Christum, & erigat ac soletur pavidam conscientiam; ideoque ibi porrigi debet Sacramentum, his quibus opus est consolatione, sicut Ambrosius ait, quia semper pecco, semper debeo accipere Medicinam. Atque hic usque ad tempora Gregorii in Ecclesia Missæ usus fuit, neque antea privatæ Missæ cognitæ fuerunt; quod quidem cum multis aliis Patrum Sententiis patet, tum Chrysostomi, qui inquit, Sacerdotem stare ad altare, & alios ad Communionem accersere, alios arcere: Et ex veteribus Canonibus constat, unum aliquem celebrasse Missam, a quo reliqui Presbyteri & Diaconi sumpserunt corpus Domini; sic enim inquit Canon Nicenus, Accipiant Diaconi secundum Ordinem post Presbyteros ab Episcopo vel Presbytero, Sacram Communionem. Et scribit Epiphanius, in Asia Synaxim ter celebratam singulis septimanis, nec quotidianas fuisse Missas, eumque morem ab Apostolis traditum esse; qui quidem Missæ usus etiam hodie in Græcis Parochiis durare dicitur, nam tantum singulis dominicis diebus & festis, fit ibi una publica Missa, privatas vero

non

non habent: fuitque Græca Eccleſia hoc nomine longe fœlicior quam Latina, quæ meliorem uſum cœnæ Domini, Synaxis, ſive Miſſæ retinuerit, neque vel Sacramentum Corporis & Sanguinis Domini, contra claram Evangelii Doctrinam diviſerit, ut paulo ante diximus, neque etiam privatas Miſſas Sacræ Scripturæ acerrime repugnantes, receperit; cujus quidem rei hanc potentiſſimam cauſam fuiſſe arbitramur, quod Græca Eccleſia Romanum Epiſcopum auctorem perverſæ & Idololatricæ Doctrinæ, & omnium pœne abuſuum qui in Eccleſiam introducti ſunt, pro ſummo Eccleſiæ Univerſalis ſive Catholicæ capite, nunquam agnoverit.

Sed concedunt quidam adplicationes quæ fiunt in Miſſa pro vivis & mortuis, & item opiniones, quod ex opere operato gratiam mereri traduntur, non eſſe probandas, & diſputant abolitis illis opinionibus impiis, alia ratione Miſſas privatas retinendas, nempe quia ſunt gratiarum actiones, quæ poſſint ab uno vel a pluribus fieri. Hæc ſane ratio videtur aliquam habere ſpeciem, eſtque σοφὸν φαρμακόν, ut inquit Sophocles, quo in cauſis invalidis, & ut ipſe ait, morbidis utendum ſit. Si Miſſa tantum eſſet gratiarum actio, poſſit fortaſſis tali aliquo prætextu colorari; verum conſtat eam principaliter inſtitutam eſſe, ut ſit Sacramentum quod per miniſtrum alteri exhibeatur, ut accipiens & credens conſequatur gratiam. Et hoc quidem principali fine poſito, accedit alter de gratiarum actione; quare nullo modo ab inſtitutione Chriſti recedere, ſed modum & formam illius Inſtitutionis, & exemplum veteris Eccleſiæ ſequi & retinere debemus: Nulla enim novitas, præſertim in Sacramentis, recipienda eſt, contra formam a Chriſto traditam, & contra exempla veteris Eccleſiæ.

Porro conſtat privatas Miſſas eſſe recentes, & a Romanis Pontificibus introductas, & ne hodie quidem, ut paulo ante dictum eſt, in Græcis Eccleſiis eſſe, niſi Parochiales diebus feſtis, cum quibus adhuc manet veſtigium Communionis: Cum igitur contra Dei Verbum Miſſa privata introducta ſit, eamque humanum tantum & commentitium cultum eſſe adpareat, quis dubitat quin talis Miſſa, ſine ullo periculo omitti poſſit, imo debeat, cum repugnet Evangelio? Eſtque pium & ſanctum opus, verum Miſſæ ſive Synaxis uſum Eccleſiæ reſtituere ac reddere, quo per Romanum Pontificem, hoc eſt Antichriſtum, multis jam annis miſerabiliter privata fuit, qui quidem adhuc mordicus privatas Miſſas tenet, adſerit, & defendit. Neque id immerito, facile enim ſentit quod labefactata Miſſa privata, labefactetur imo ruat Univerſum ejus Regnum & Tyrannis, quæ Miſſis illis nititur; ut enim in ſeminibus cauſa eſt Arborum & ſtirpium, ita hujus luctuoſiſſimi dominatus, imperii, tyrannidis, nundinationis & idololatriæ Pontificiæ ſemen fuit ſuperſtitio Miſſarum privatarum: Nam hæ pepererunt & ſuſtinuerunt, veluti Atlas quidam, totum Papatum; ad harum normam omnia redacta ſunt, ſiquidem nihil fuit, quod non Miſſa aliqua expiari poſſe creditum eſt. His aucupatus Pontifex Romanus indulgentias, quibus immenſam pecuniam ex toto orbe terrarum prædatus eſt; hæ Monachorum turbas infinitas coacervarunt, cum eorum nullus alius eſſet uſus, quam demurmurandi Miſſas privatas, & alioquin inutile terræ pondus forent. Hæ ſunt & fuerunt univerſa pietas, quam Pontifex Romanus profitetur, hanc ſolam novit ille Religionem, quæ in Miſſis privatis conſiſtit; Doctrinam enim Evangelii non modo non habet, verum acerrime odit & proſequitur, & in

ſummâ

ſumma his Miſſis ipſam prædicationem Verbi Divini Pontifex exterminavit, ut per omnia Antichriſti munere fungeretur: Nam in loco unius concionis Verbi, amplius mille Miſſæ privatæ, hoc eſt, humani & commentitii cultus, contra Divinum Verbum ſucceſſerunt; cum non Miſſas fieri ſed Evangelium prædicare, & Sacramenta rite diſtribuere & adminiſtrare, Chriſtus Apoſtolis, quorum illi volunt eſſe ſucceſſores, mandaverit.

Curarunt igitur Illuſtriſſimi Principes noſtri, & alii Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes Principes & Status, privatas Miſſas penitus aboleri, & verum Miſſæ uſum ſive Synaxim Chriſti inſtitutioni, exemplo Apoſtolorum, veteris Eccleſiæ ac Patrum ſententiis conformem, in Eccleſiam revocarunt & reſtituerunt. Quæ quidem Miſſa ſive Synaxis ſumma cum reverentia celebratur, ſervatis pene omnibus uſitatis Cæremoniis, quæ non repugnant pietati; & admiſcentur Germanicæ ſive vernaculæ cautiones ad docendum populum, præcepit enim Paulus, in Eccleſia uti lingua intellecta a populo. Porro, quia propter communionem ſive uſum Sacramenti Miſſa inſtituta eſt, hi qui ſunt idonei & antea explorati, ſacramento utuntur; ac dignitas & uſus Sacramenti, ſumma diligentia ac cura ex Verbo Dei populo commendatur, ut ſciant & intelligant homines, quantam conſolationem pavidis conſcientiis adferat, ac diſcant Deo credere, & optima quæque ab eo expectare & petere.

Et hunc quidem Sacramenti & Miſſæ uſum, Scripturæ conſentaneum, Deo gratum, & pietati conducibilem eſſe, Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra facile agnoſcit; neque enim hic aliquid contra Dei Verbum admittitur, imo ſecundum Chriſti mandatum & ordinationem, qui hanc Sacram Communionem ad hunc finem inſtituit, omnia geruntur: Nulla eſt hic admixta, prava, aut impia opinio, ut in Miſſa privata Papiſtica, cujus finis & inſtitutio cum Evangelio pugnat. Nihil hic etiam abſque ſumma reverentia, ordine, & decoro, digno Eccleſiæ, fieri cernitur. Audemuſque adfirmare, majore Religione hunc verum Miſſæ uſum exhiberi apud nos, quam hactenus unquam ſub Papatu privatæ Miſſæ celebratæ fuerint, provocamuſque ad teſtimonia doctiſſimorum virorum, qui a Majeſtate Veſtra miſſi in illis locis fuerunt, & hæc omnia coram fieri viderunt & audierunt.

Quod enim Adverſarii clamitant, Noſtros omnes cultus Divinos, omnes Cæremonias, omnem denique Religionem abolere & labefactare, ea in re Principibus noſtris, & aliis Evangelii Doctrinam profitentibus, injuriam faciunt; & hæc eos inſigni quadam malevolentia & odio pluſquam Vatiniano, ut dici ſolet, confingere & comminiſci clare adparet, cum ex Doctrina noſtrorum, quam conſentientem Sacris Literis in lucem ediderunt, & Scriptis ſuis univerſo orbi Chriſtiano promulgarunt, tum etiam exemplis noſtrarum Eccleſiarum, in quibus nolint velint coguntur fateri, omnia religioſius & ſanctius fieri, quam apud ipſos; immo Dei beneficio univerſus populus, non tantum in templis eſt religioſior, ſed in tota diſciplina publica modeſtius ſe gerit, majoremque erga Magiſtratum civilem, & eos qui Eccleſiis præſunt, reverentiam & honorem exhibet, quam unquam antea factum fuerit: & hoc ſinceræ Evangelii Doctrinæ acceptum referre debemus, quæ ſingulos, rectius omnibus Pontificiis conſtitutionibus, ſui officii admonet, & ſola in quibus re vera pietas ac cultus divinus conſiſtat, tradit ac docet.

Porro, quod Miſſæ collocatæ ad quæſtum, ut ſub Papatu accidit, tur-

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piter prophanentur, quodque hic abusus in omnibus pene templis latissime pateat, non est obscurum: Nam Christi beneficium qui nos pretioso suo sanguine redemit, idque gratuito pro vili stipe & mercede vendere, & tale etiam opus inde constituere velle, quod ex sui natura, hoc est ex opere operato, mereatur gratiam, & possit adplicari pro peccatis aliorum, mortuorum & vivorum, quis non videt summam esse impietatem? Quid enim est corpus Domini indigne tractare & sumere, si hoc non esset? An potest etiam magis impium quidquam dici, quam illi de Missis istis docuerunt? Nempe quod Christus sua passione satisfecerit pro peccatis Originis, & instituerit Missam, in qua fieret Oblatio pro quotidianis delictis mortalibus & venialibus: cum Christus pœnitentiam & remissionem peccatorum prædicari mandaverit; Missam vero, hoc est Synaxim, ad alium plane finem instituerit, viz. ut porrigatur Sacramentum his quibus opus est consolatione, & ut per Verbum & Sacramentum credentes gratiam recipiant, & remissionem peccatorum consequantur, non ut ipsi suum opus, quod quale quale sit, humanum figmentum, humanus cultus est, contra Scripturam Deo offerant ac sacrificent. Hoc enim non placat Deum, ut Christus ipse inquit, se frustra coli mandatis hominum: Nam Missam non esse tale opus sive Sacrificium, quod mereatur gratiam & prosit etiam aliis, inde adparet, quia Missa sive Synaxis ad hoc est instituta, non ut Deo aliquid offeratur, sed ut communicantes consolationem hauriant, & veluti pignus seu certum signum gratiæ ac bonæ voluntatis Dei erga se recipiant, atque ita recordentur mortis Christi, hoc est, beneficiorum quæ per Christum accipiunt, qui quidem pro nobis mortuus est, solusque pro peccatis nostris satisfecit, idque probant Verba ipsa quibus & Christus & Paulus de Missa sive Synaxi usi sunt.

Primum enim inquit Christus, hoc est Corpus Meum, quod pro vobis traditur. Hæc sunt Verba promissionis Divinæ quæ solam fidem exigunt, quibusque offertur nobis gratia & remissio peccatorum, ergo non est Sacrificium, hoc est, opus quod Deo offeratur & quidem pro abolendis peccatis. Item Paulus ait, Annunciantes mortem Domini: Annunciare autem non est Sacrificare, hoc est tale opus Deo reddere, quo peccata deleantur. Præterea Evangelii textus ita sonat, Fregit & dedit Discipulis, inquiens, accipite & comedite, &c. item, bibite ex hoc omnes, &c. accipere autem, comedere, & bibere, non est sacrificare, quia hæc opera ex opere operato non delent peccata.

Neque mandatur hisce verbis, ut nos Deo aliquid offeramus, sed potius ut ab eo accipiamus, quia addit, pro vobis traditum, & sanguis qui pro vobis effunditur; quæ Verba ostendunt, non exhiberi a sumentibus Eucharistiam Deo Sacrificium, sed donum hominibus datum. Præterea vero nemo dicit Laicos cum sumunt Sacramentum, Sacrificare: at quantum ad hanc Sacram Communionem, Missam, sive Synaxim pertinet, nulla est ratio diversitatis, cum idem Christus uno eodemque tempore ac momento, propter eundem finem & usum, hoc Sacramentum absque differentia utentium Sacerdotum vel Laicorum instituerit. Et quemadmodum prohibitio utriusque speciei, humanum tantum commentum & mandatum est; ita quod de Sacrificio Missæ ex opere operato gratiam promerente traditur, humana tantum opinio est, contra Verbum Dei, a quo in rebus maximis, nempe ad remissionem peccatorum, salutem animarum, & vitam æternam pertinentibus, nullo modo est discedendum:

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Non enim frustra Paulus inquit & bis repetit, Si nos aut Angelus de Cœlo Evangelizet vobis præter id quod Evangelizavimus & accepistis, Anathema sit. Præterea nec potest ratio diversitatis adsignari ex Sacris Literis, cur magis dicant eos qui Sacramento Eucharistiæ fruuntur Sacrificare, quam illos qui alio Sacramento, ut Baptismo, utuntur, cum utrumque nihil aliud sit, quam Sacramenta, quæ Christus horum institutor & auctor prorsus ad alium finem, quam ut sint talia Sacrificia, qualia illi comminiscuntur, ordinavit. Sed oportuit Romanum Pontificem Missas privatas, ad opprimendam Christi, cum ipse hostis est, gloriam attollere, ut populum Christianum a veritate Evangelica & agnitione Christi, & Sacramentorum legitimo usu, prorsus abduceret, Christique bonitatem & misericordiam obliteraret. Qui enim Missam tale Sacrificium esse cogitant, quo Deus placetur, hi non queunt Christi beneficium expendere pro dignitate, & in terroribus ac doloribus iræ & judicii Dei non habebunt refugium, neque bona conscientia poterunt dona & signa amoris divina agnoscere, si alieno opere Deum placari & peccata remitti sibi persuasum habeant: Nam illi ipsi qui nituntur impias opiniones de Missa privata excusare, hoc prætextu, quasi Missa ideo vocetur Sacrificium, quia sit gratiarum actio & sacrificium laudis, hi convincuntur propriis ipsorum testimoniis & Scriptis quæ de Missis extant, hæque persuasiones hominum animis etiam hodie de Missis privatis inhærent: sic enim Thomas inquit in Opusculo de Sacramento Altaris, cur Missa instituta sit? Corpus Domini semel oblatum est in cruce, pro debito originali, sic offeratur jugiter pro quotidianis delictis in Altari, ut habeat in hoc Ecclesia munus ad placandum sibi Deum, super omnia legis Sacrificia preciosum & acceptum.

Alexander Papa, nihil in Sacrificiis Ecclesiæ majus esse potest, quam Corpus & Sanguis Christi, nec ulla oblatio hac potior est, sed omnes præcellit: item ipsa veritas nos instruit, Calicem ac Panem in Sacramento offerre, quando ait, accipite & comedite, nam crimina atq; peccata, oblatis his Domino Sacrificiis, delentur. Et rursus inquit, talibus hostiis delectabitur & placabitur Deus, & peccata dimittet ingentia. Gabriel de Canon. Missæ, Sacramentum Eucharistiæ veluti Sacrificium summo patri oblatum, nedum veniale sed etiam mortale, non dico sumentium sed omnium eorum pro quibus offertur, & quantum ad reatum culpæ & pœnæ, plus vel minus secundum dispositionem eorum pro quibus offertur, tollit: unde Thomas in Quarto Dist. 1, 2. q. 2. Eucharistia in quantum est Sacrificium, habet effectum etiam in aliis pro quibus offertur, in quibus non præ-exigit vitam spiritualem in actu, sed in potentia, & ideo si eos dispositos inveniat, eis gratiam obtinet, virtute illius veri Sacrificii a quo omnis gratia in nos fluxit, & per consequens peccata mortalia in eis delet, non sicut causa proxima, sed in quantum gratiam contritionis eis impetrat.

His & similibus omnes libri Scolasticorum pleni sunt, quibus uno ore docent, Missam tale esse Sacrificium, quo gratiam homines mereantur ex opere operato, quod ad delenda aliorum peccata adplicari possit. Quæ Doctrina aut potius perversum & impium figmentum, an pugnet cum Sacris Literis necne? An verum Missæ seu communionis usum tradat necne? An Christi beneficium non magis obscuret quam illustret, imo etiam prorsus tollat? Vestræ Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati dijudicandum relinquimus, quæ pro sua sapientia, & non tantum in rebus politicis, sed etiam Sacris & in omni genere doctrinarum acerrimo judicio, facile censebit, justissimam causam habuisse Principes nostros & alios Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes, Missas privatas abrogandi, & verum Missæ sive Communionis usum, pro Christi gloria & consolatione totius Ecclesiæ Christianæ, restituendi & revocandi, postquam ex Dei Verbo cognoverunt,

noverunt, quantum privatæ Missæ a veritate Evangelica dissent, quantumq; in iis insit impietatis & idololatriæ: fuit enim unicum Sacrificium propitiatorium in mundo, viz. Mors Christi, qui, ut Paulus inquit, semel est pro nobis oblatus, & factus hostia pro peccatis nostris, quod cætera legis Sacrificia propitiatoria significarunt, quæ similitudine quadam, erant satisfactiones redimentes justitiam legis, ne ex politia excluderentur illi qui peccaverant, eaq; cessaverunt post Revelatum Evangelium: in Novo Testamento, necesse est cultum tantum esse Spiritualem, hoc est, justitiam fidei & fructus fidei, quia adfert justitiam & vitam spiritualem & æternam, juxta, Dabo legem meam in cordibus eorum; & Christus ait, veri adoratores adorabunt Patrem in spiritu & veritate, id est, vero cordis adfectu, qua de causa abrogati sunt. Levitici cultus, quod debeant succedere cultus Spirituales mentis, & horum fructus ac signa, ut in Epistola ad Hebræos manifeste docetur.

Ex quibus omnibus sequitur Missam non esse Sacrificium, quod ex opere operato mereatur, faciente vel aliis remissionem peccatorum, ut illi docuerunt. Et quocunq; quidam fuco nitantur excusare Missas privatas, semper eis refragatur & reclamat Doctrina ipsorū de Missa, qua eam aliis posse adplicari tradiderunt, & peccata delere hominibus persuaserunt. Hæc opinio nisi restituto vero Missæ usu, nunquam ex animis hominum delebitur, sed perpetuo manet & redit is error, quod oporteat talem esse cultum in Ecclesia, quo Deus placetur.

Et ut videatur fictione juris; ut Jureconsulti loquuntur, Missam posse vocari sacrificium memoriale sive laudis: at cum id non sit satisfactorium pro facientibus, vel adplicabile pro aliis, quo quis mereatur remissionem peccatorum, quorsum attinebit, relicto vero ejus usu & institutione, id in Ecclesiam introducere, ubi propter nullam humanam rationem, commentum, aut opinionem, a Christi mandato & ordinatione est discedendum? Eadem enim ratione; Natalis Domini & similia festa, quæ in Christi memoriam celebrantur, sacrificia memorialia sive Eucharistica dici possent; imo talia Sacrificia verius sunt, Evangelii prædicatio, fides, invocatio, gratiarum actio, adflictiones, aut adplicationes pro aliis; & Missa principalis finis, ut supra disseruimus, is est, ut sit Sacramentum, quod per ministrum alteri exhibeatur, quare non potest dici Sacrificium; cum nemo ignoret magnum inter Sacrificia & Sacramenta discrimen esse, his enim nos dona a Deo oblata accipimus, illis vero nostrum Deo reddimus & offerimus.

Neque vero habent privatæ Missæ alios auctores quam Pontifices, qui a tempore Gregorii, nunc hanc, nunc illam cæremoniam, cantionem, aut orationem, singuli pro sua sanctitate & opinione adjecerunt, ut historiæ uno consensu testantur, donec eandem, egregium illud opus, dignum istis auctoribus exædificarunt, & relicto vero Missæ sive Communionis usu, ac obliterata doctrina de Christo, Universa Ecclesia Missis privatis in qua sola omnem pœne sanctitatem posuerunt, repleta & obruta fuit.

Hæc Serenissime ac Potentissime Rex, nostrorum Principum & aliorum Imperii ordinum, Evangelicam Doctrinam profitentium, Theologi & Doctores, justis voluminibus explicarunt, quæ quidem hac Epistola nos breviter adtingenda duximus; non quod Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem Vestram hæc latere penitus putemus, neque enim ignoramus Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Vestræ & veterū & recentiū scripta, de his & aliis Controversiis Ecclesiasticis diligentissime cognita esse, de quibus etiam Majestas Vestra sapientissime eruditissime sæpe cum doctis viris conferre & disputare solet: Sed hæc ideo fecimus ut Majestati Vestræ quam posset fieri brevissime, occasionem & causas quasdam abolitarū privatarum Missarum apud nos, summa cum observantia ut decet exponeremus;

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& adversariorum calumnias, quibus cum apud Regiam Majestatem Vestram tum alias, undecunque quæsita & arrepta occasione, variis technis & figmentis, doctrinam sinceriorem gravare & in odium omnium perducere conantur, declinaremus.

Neque vero ambigimus quin Majestas Vestra, ut Rex eruditissimus & veritatis Evangelicæ amantissimus, facillime judicabit, quod non temere privatæ Missæ apud nos abrogatæ sint, sed justissimis & firmissimis rationibus, ex Dei Verbo quod solum errare non potest, sincere & absque sophistica deductis, pro conservanda & illustranda Christi Gloria, & hominum salute id factum esse: Et opponantur qualescunque excogitari possint cavillationes & sophismata, tamen adparebit nostros hoc agere quod sit tutius, dum retinent modum & formam institutionis Christi. Ac maxima pars Sacerdotum sua sponte apud nos desiit Missas privatas celebrare, posteaquam intellexerunt ex Evangelica Doctrina, quantum in iis erroris & impietatis esset; & plurimi ac doctissimi quique, qui Sacerdotia aut Parochias sub Magistratibus alienis a sincera Evangelii Doctrina tenebant, eas deseruerunt, ne cogerentur facere contra suas conscientias, seque ad ea loca in quibus Evangelii Doctrina libere prædicatur contulerunt; gravissimum enim est quenquam in re præsertim tali, quæ Dei gloriam lædit, ac Divino Verbo repugnat, tanquam ad cultum divinum adigi, & compelli.

Sed ne Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Vestræ prolixitate literarum simus molesti, desinemus plura de hoc articulo inpræsentiarum disserere.

Restat tertius locus instituti Argumenti, viz. de Conjugio Sacerdotum, quod itidem Romanus Episcopus contra Scripturam, contra leges naturæ, & contra omnem honestatem prohibuit, ac multorum peccatorum, scelerum & turpitudinis occasionem præbuit: sed fortassis ne possit dubitari eum esse Christi adversarium, de quo cum illam ipsam prohibitionem, tum alia quædam quæ in illum solum adperte quadrant, Scriptura clare prædixit, oportuit eum talem legem Cælibatus Sacerdotalis sancire, ut sicut leo ex unguibus, ita Papa, hoc est Antichristus, ab hac prohibitione Sanctissimi & in omnibus honorabilis conjugii, agnosceretur; sic enim Paulus inquit, Spiritus autem manifeste dicit, quod in novissimis temporibus discedent quidam a fide, attendentes Spiritibus Erroris & Doctrinis Dæmoniorum, in hypocrisi loquentium mendacium, cauteriatam habentium conscientiam suam, prohibentium nubere: hæc si non in Romanum Episcopum congruunt, in quem alium convenient? nemo enim alius quam ipse conjugium Sacerdotibus injustissime eripuit, & cælibatum impurissimum sub specie Sanctitatis, & ut Paulus ait in Hypocrisi & per mendacium introduxit. *De Conjugio Sacerdotum.*

Scriptura non minus Sacerdotibus, quam alterius sortis hominibus matrimonium liberum permittit, sunt enim de eadem carne, quæ totum genus humanum vestit & continet, nati: non possunt igitur naturam suam mutare, non possunt carnem abjicere, nec absque singulari Dei dono cælibes vivere, nam non quilibet, ut Christus inquit, capit Verbum hoc: & Paulus, propter Fornicationem unusquisque suam Uxorem habeat; & peculiariter de Sacerdotibus ait, constituas per civitates Presbyteros sicut disposui tibi, si quis sine crimine est, unius Uxoris vir, Filios habens fideles, non in accusatione luxuriæ; item, oportet Episcopum esse irreprehensibilem, unius Uxoris virum: patet igitur hanc prohibitionem

non ex jure Divino, sed potius contra Sacram Scripturam decretum esse.

At solet a quibusdam Pontificiis defensoribus opponi, quod licet conjugium Sacerdotum non videatur vetitum Divinis Literis, tamen Sacerdotes a veteribus temporibus in hunc usque diem in cælibatu vixisse, eaque de causa addunt non esse discedendum hac in re a tali exemplo, neque permittendum conjugium Sacerdotibus. His, Serenissime ac potentissime Rex, adperte refragantur historiæ, tum Ecclesiasticæ tum aliæ, ex quibus clare patet, Episcopos & Sacerdotes veteribus temporibus conjugatos fuisse.

Primum enim Spiridion Cyprius Episcopus, vir unus ex ordine prophetarum, ut Historia Ecclesiastica ait, Uxorem habuit ex qua filiam nomine Irenen suscepit; deinde ordine pene omnes Episcopi Uxorati fuerunt, quorum plurimi Filii postea, tum Romani, tum alii Episcopi creati sunt: fuit enim Sylverius Papa Hormisdæ Episcopi Filius, Papa Theodorus Theodori Episcopi Hierosolymitani, Papa Adrianus secundus Talari Episcopi, Joannes decimus Papa Sergii Papæ, Gelasius Valerii Episcopi, Papa Joannes decimus quintus Leonis Presbyteri Filius; & ne omnes enumeremus, patet vel unica historia Polycratis, ex cujus parentibus septem fuerunt per ordinem Episcopi, ipse vero fuit octavus: at non est credibile omnes illos ex illegitimis nuptiis prognatos esse, cum ipsi canones & decreta Synodorum doceant, conjugia Sacerdotum esse licita; sic enim inquit Canon Apostolorum, si quis docuerit Sacerdotem sub obtentu Religionis propriam Uxorem contemnere, Anathema sit.

Item extat præclarum exemplum de Paphnutio confessore, qui universæ Synodo Nicenæ prohibitionem conjugii dissuasit, & obtinuit ne hac ex parte sancitum, sed hoc in uniuscujusque voluntate non necessitate permissum fuerit. Quæ Historia etiam in jure Pontificio recensetur, extatque decretum quoddam sextæ Synodi, in quo palam damnatur prohibitio conjugii Sacerdotalis.

Sed objicitur iterum, propter votum castitatis, quod Sacerdotes præstiterunt, non posse eis permitti nuptias. Hoc quale votum sit, quamque obligatorium, quod sine peccato servari non potest, Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra pro summa sapientia & Doctrina, facile æstimabit: neque enim donum castitatis omnibus datum est, idque cælibatus ipse Sacerdotum, & quotidiana experientia etiam nunc testatur; & quid de tali voto sentiendum sit, Sanctorum Patrum sententia declaravit, sic enim Augustinus ait, quidam nubentes post votum adserunt adulteros esse, ego autem dico vobis quod graviter peccant qui tales dividunt. Et Cyprianus de virginibus qui continentiam voverunt, sic inquit, si perseverare nolunt, vel non possunt, melius est ut nubant, quam ut in ignem delitiis suis cadant.

Censent itaque prædicti Sancti Patres, tale votum non debere impedire Matrimonium, sicut revera etiam non potest obstare quo minus hi quibus donum continentiæ non contigit, matrimonium contrahant: nam melius est nubere quam uri, ut inquit Paulus; Quid autem est impurius cœlibatu illo Sacerdotali? quam pauci vero continent? quam plurimi in fornicationibus, adulteriis, & id genus similibus ac gravioribus peccatis & flagitiis pene quotidie deprehenduntur, contra quod si leges severe animadverterent, non habituri essent, quo de illo ficto & hypocritico cœlibatu adeo gloriarentur?

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Ac tradunt Historiæ in Germania triennium aut amplius, Sacerdotes acerrime restitisse Sanctioni Pontificis Hildebrandi de cælibatu, qui summis viribus Uxores adimere conatus est, hique justissimas causas contra illam constitutionem ac tyrannidem Pontificiam, pro Matrimonio defendendo allegarunt, in qua re cum nihil æqui obtinere potuerint, tandem ingens orta est seditio contra Archiepiscopum Moguntinum, qui decretum pontificium detulat, adeo ut is ab incæpto destiterit; & vix tandem Papa post multas diras execrationes & bullas, quibus etiam cœlum ipsum expugnare conatus est, miseris Sacerdotibus facultatem liberam conjugii, contra divina & humana jura abstulerit, & omnis generis libidinis & impuritatis exercendæ occasionem præbuerit: Extat quoque Epistola ad Nicolaum Episcopum Romanum I. Divi Udalrici Episcopi Augustensis, qua is gravissimis & optimis argumentis dissuadet & damnat prohibitionem conjugii Sacerdotum.

Cum igitur Principes nostri, & alii profitentes Evangelii Doctrinam, patefacta per Dei Gratiam iterum veritate, intellexerint quid de prohibitione illa pontificia conjugii Sacerdotalis sentiendum esset, & palam viderent & experirentur, quod non posset cœlibatus ille sine peccatis & scandalis consistere, ruperunt in ea etiam vincula pontificia, ac Matrimonium Sacerdotibus, sicut hoc Scriptura Sacra & exempla Sanctorum Patrum ac veteris Ecclesiæ exigunt & testantur, liberum permiserunt. Existimarunt enim hoc quoque ad suum officium pertinere, ut infinitorum scandalorum & scelerum, quæ necessario secum trahit cælibatus Sacerdotalis, occasionem & materiam præscinderent & auferrent, públicæque honestati hac quoque in re consulerent; maxime cum animadverterent quantæ etiam abominationes, & in ordine Sacerdotali, & in Monasteriis Vestalium ac Monachorum evenerint, in quibus compertum est sæpe infantes crudeliter necatos, pharmacis fœtus depulsos, & similia nefaria crimina commissa, quos solos fructus cælibatus ille protulit: ideoque plurimi nunc sunt conjugati Sacerdotes apud nos, multi etiam cælibes, idque cujusque conscientiæ ut vel ducat uxorem, vel a conjugio abstineat, permittitur; modo ita vivat ne sit aliis offendiculo, alioqui enim non minus in Sacerdotes quam reliquum vulgus, hac quoque parte, secundum leges politicas animadvertitur. Ac per Dei Gratiam, hoc inde secutum est, quod eorum conscientiis, quibus continentiæ donum non contigit, consultum fuerit, plurimorum flagitiorum & scelerum occasio cessaverit, matronis ac puellis quibus plerique istorum sub specie pietatis sæpissime inhiabant, & laqueos nectebant, nihil ejusmodi periculi sit; & in summa, quod quum tum Officia Ecclesiastica tum politica majore reverentia & honestate tractentur, quodque ab universis in majore honore & favore habeantur Sacerdotes, quam antea in illo pleno scandulis cælibatu acciderit, id quoque magna ex parte honestum conjugium Sacerdotum præstat.

Adhæc, nulli acrius & constantius oppugnant Romanum Pontificem, & tum Matrimonii libertatem, tum sanam Doctrinam ab illo obscuratam & oppressam defendunt, quam hi qui ab ejus jugo impuri illius cælibatus liberati sunt: & honeste etiam suos liberos, quos ex conjugio suscipiunt educare solent, quibus haud dubie Deus etiam post mortem parentum, ubi in timore Domini aliti & edocti fuerint, prospiciet; gravissimum enim esset, Sacerdotes ideo a conjugio arcere, quia sua munia sive officia tantum ad vitam suam, non autem jure hæreditario tenent;

eadem

eadem ratione multis aliis qui ſunt aut in publicis muneribus, aut in privatis Miniſteriis, Matrimonium interdicendum foret. Quod quidem ſi fieret, Reip. plus incommodi quam boni allaturum eſſet; cum & Sacrarum Literarum Auctoritate, Sanctiſſimorum Patrum Sententiis, legum naturæ & gentium teſtimonio, & omnium ſapientiſſimorum virorum judicio ac ſuffragiis conſtet, Matrimonium ſemper iis qui cælibes vivere non queant, ad vitanda graviora pericula, conceſſum & liberum eſſe debere.

Hæc, Sereniſſime ac invictiſſime Rex, coram Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtate Veſtra, breviter differenda duximus, ut Majeſtati Veſtræ rationes quaſdam commemoraremus, cur Illuſtriſſimi Principes noſtri, & alii Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes Principes & Status Imperii, in his tribus Articulis adeo diſſentiant a Romano Pontifice; ut ſicut in reliquis Doctrinæ Chriſtianæ partibus, a veritate vel latum digitum non diſcedendum eſſe exiſtiment, ita in his etiam decreverint, abjecta ejus tyrannide, pro Gloria Evangelii, & ad vitanda infinita ſcelera, perdurare: neque vero hic dicemus de aliis abuſibus a Romano Pontifice introductis, in quos imprimis Confeſſio Auricularis recenſeri meretur, qua ille, & Poteſtatem clavium tantum ad turpiſſimum quæſtum & tyrannidem redegit, & Confeſſionem ipſam, quæ informandarum & conſolandarum conſcientiarum gratia ſalubriter inſtituta fuit, carnificinam tantum Conſcientiarum reddidit, perque eam tum omnes Reges, Principes, & Potentatus ſub ſuo jugo tenuit, tum multorum malorum auctor extitit; de qua quid noſtri ſentiant, ac qua reverentia in Eccleſiis retineant, edita ipſorum ſcripta teſtantur.

Ac gratulamur nobis datam occaſionem hæc Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtati Veſtræ exponendi, ejuſq; cenſuræ committendi: Cum enim Majeſtas Veſtra & ſumma Doctrina, ſapientia ac ſtudio veritatis prædita ſit, & Romani Epiſcopi tyrannidem (haud ſine mente deum, ſive numine divum, ut Poeta inquit) itidem ex ſuis ampliſſimis Regnis exterminari curaverit, neque amplius per Dei Gratiam illius impiis opinionibus captiva teneatur; perſuaſiſſimum nobis habemus Veſtræ Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtatis hiſce de rebus maximis, quæ ad Dei Gloriam, ſalutem Eccleſiæ, & perpetuam profligationem Romani Antichriſti pertinent, æquiſſimum ac liberrimum fore judicium, quod ſane ii, quibus vel Doctrina aut veritatis ſtudium deeſt, vel animum habent addictum Pontificiis Opinionibus, vel metu interdum prohibentur, aut etiam ab affectibus diverſe trahuntur, non adeo facile præſtare poſſunt; & plurimi interdum inſervientes tempori, fingunt ſe odiiſſe pontificem, ſimulantque ſtudium veritatis, quibus tamen revera aliud eſt cordi, hi vero quum non poſſint nec debeant de hiſce controverſiis ferre ſententiam, Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra nequaquam ignorat.

Non autem dubitamus, quin ut quiſque eſt eruditiſſimus, & veritatis Evangelicæ amantiſſimus, ita facillime eum cauſam noſtram immo Chriſti & Eccleſiæ adprobaturum eſſe, neque enim ea ullum commodum aut emolumentum privatum quæritur, ſed ſolum agitur de abolendis impiis abuſibus in Chriſti Eccleſiam per Antichriſtum invectis, & Chriſti Gloria illuſtranda, ac veris cultibus reſtituendis, & ut hominum Conſcientiæ jugo ac tyrannide pontificia liberentur, ac ſcandala publica, quantum fieri poſſit è medio tollantur. Quarum quidem rerum ſtudium quo jure reprehendi queat, ut etiam magis favore & imitatione dignum cenſendum

dum ſit: Cum enim omnium bene conſtitutarum Rerumpub. hic præcipue finis & ſcopus eſſe debeat, ut & Dei Gloria ornetur, & publica ſalus, honeſtas, pax, & tranquillitas conſervetur, quis dubitat eos qui ſedent ad gubernacula Rerumpub. & ad hæc tanquam ad Cynoſuram ut dici ſolet, curſum ſuum & omnem rationem regendi Rempublicam inſtituunt, maximis laudibus dignos eſſe ? Et quoniam Sereniſſima Regia Veſtra Majeſtas, ut Rex ſapentiſſimus & eruditiſſimus, hunc quoque ſcopum in gubernandis ampliſſimis & laudatiſſimis Regnis & Provinciis ſuis, ob oculos habere luce meridiana clarius adparet, non poſſumus non nobiſipſis, quum in hac honeſtiſſima cauſa promovendæ Chriſti gloriæ & publicæ utilitatis ad Sereniſſimam Regiam Majeſtatem Veſtram Oratores miſſi ſumus, non gratulari ; non poſſumus etiam non fælices judicare univerſos ſubditos Majeſtatis Veſtræ, quibus divina bonitate talis Rex & Princeps contigerit, qui cum aliis regiis virtutibus excellit, tum ſtudio veræ pietatis & veritatis Evangelicæ omnibus modis admirandus conſpicitur.

Sunt quidem illa maxima Remp. certis & juſtis legibus civilibus conſtituere, bonos tueri & juvare, improbos pœnis adficere, arcere injurias, pacem & concordiam ſubditorum conſervare ; quis enim non tanquam Deum aliquem talem Principem amplectendum & [illegible], a quo iſta præſtentur: ſed adhuc ſunt majora, ſi [illegible] accesserit, ſi Chriſti Gloria ornetur, ſi Dei Verbum in pretio habeatur, ſi cultus Divinæ voluntati conſentanei inſtituantur, ſi hominum conſcientiis conſulatur, & publica ſcandala e medio tollantur ; illa enim tantum hanc civilem vitam attingunt, quam unumquemq; quum tempus præfinitum advenerit, deſerere oportet ; hæc vero ad æternam ſalutem pertinent quæ bonos & pios, ceſſante hac miſera conditione humanæ vitæ, expectat, quibuſq; & in hoc, & in futuro ſæculo, maxima præmia propoſita ſunt. Hoc eſt cur Deus Reges honore ſui nominis ornat, cum ait, ego dixi Dii eſtis, maxime ut res divinas intelligant, & veram Religionem in mundo conſervent ; huc præcipue Scriptura hortatur, cum inquit, nunc Reges intelligite, & erudimini qui judicatis terram, ſervite Domino, &c. huc invitant exempla præſtantiſſimorum regum in Sacris Literis, qui ſumma cura, opera, ac ſtudio veram Religionem promoverunt, & impios cultus abrogarunt : hoc David, hoc Joſias, hoc Joſophat, hoc Ezechias, & deinceps omnes Sanctiſſimi Reges præſtiterunt. Eadem cum Sereniſſ. R. M. Veſtra haud dubie etiam cogitet, imo jam nunc in hoc totis viribus incumbat, ut ſincera Evangelii Doctrina Papæ Tyrannide oppreſſa reſtituatur, Gloria Chriſti itidem a Pontifice obſcurata iterum illuſtretur, & impii abuſus ab illo ipſo Antichriſto in Eccleſiam tanquam venenum quoddam peſtilentiſſimum ſparſi & introducti aboleantur, ac veri & Divinis Literis conſentanei cultus & cæremoniæ conſtituantur, non dubitabimus quin Deus Opt. Max. Sereniſſ. R. Majeſtatis Veſtræ conatus & conſilia, in hiſce rebus Sanctiſſimis & Honeſtiſſimis fortunaturus ſit, & pro ſua bonitate clementer effecturus, ut inter Sereniſſ. R. M. Veſtram & Principes noſtros, ac eorum in cauſa Religionis confæderatos, talis concordia conſtituatur, quam & in laudem Evangelii, & publicam totius Chriſtiani Orbis utilitatem ceſſuram, & majori exitio Romano Antichriſto futuram eſſe, minime ambigimus ; eſtque optima ſpes, ut volente Deo, plures Reges, Principes, & potentatus, ad hanc Sanctiſſimam cauſam accedant, ac Evangelicæ veritatis Doctrinam agnoſcant &

recipiant, ſicut etiam hactenus per Dei Gratiam, maximi progreſſus facti ſunt, & non tantum in Germania, verum etiam extra Germaniam, Potentiſſimi Reges, Principes & civitates, Divini Verbi Doctrinam receperunt.

Adparetque homines paſſim agnita veritate, ex Scriptis eorum qui Evangelii Doctrinam profitentur & docent, per totum pene orbem terrarum ſparſis, ſanioris Doctrinæ admodum cupidos eſſe, quorum preces aliquando Deus pro ſua benignitate exaudiet, ac ſuum Verbum illuminatis mentibus Regum & Principum latiſſime propagabit, ut ſit unus paſtor, hoc eſt Dominus noſter Ieſus Chriſtus, & unum ovile quod eſt Eccleſia Catholica, quæ profitetur ſincerum Chriſti Evangelium, & illi conſentaneum uſum Sacramentorum retinet, non Papiſtica aut Romana, quæ utrumque reprobat, odit, & oppugnat.

Quod reliquum eſt, Sereniſſime ac Potentiſſime Rex, Domine Clementiſſime, precamur & optamus ut Sereniſſ. Regia Majeſtas Veſtra in cæpto negotio veritatis Evangelicæ pro illuſtranda Chriſti Gloria & ſalute publica, per Dei Gratiam fortiter pergat, quod quidem Majeſtatem Veſtram, ut Regem veræ pietatis & omnis virtutis ac Doctrinæ amantiſſimum, facturam nihil dubitamus: Oramuſque ut Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra dato benigno reſponſo, ad Illuſtriſſimos Principes noſtros, quam primum fieri queat, ne commodam præſentis Navigationis occaſionem negligamus, clementer nos dimittat; & ut Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra, erga quam noſtra debita officia atque ſervitia ſumma cum obſervantia perpetuo conſtabunt, has noſtras literas pro ſua inſigni humanitate, bonitate ac clementia, in optimam partem accipiat, noſque etiam clementer commendatos habeat. Bene valeat Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra, quam Deus Opt. Max. pro illuſtranda & propaganda nominis ſui Gloria & publica ſalute, diu ſervet incolumem. Datæ Londini quinto die Auguſti Anno Dom. 1538.

Veſtræ Sereniſſimæ Regiæ

Majeſtatis

Addictiſſimi & obſequentiſſimi,

Franciſcus Burgratus
Vicecancellarius.

Georgius a Boyneburgh
D. Oratores.

Friderichus Myconius
Eccleſiaſtes Gothanus.

VIII. *The King's Answer to the former Letter.*

Literas Vestras, Egregii ac præstantissimi Oratores, per ministrum vestrum nuper ad nos missas summa humanitate plenas, atque ingentem erga nos benevolentiam spirantes, tum libenter accepimus, tum magna cum voluptate legimus; quibus significatis vos, post exposita nobis mandata, cum quibusdam Episcopis & Theologiæ Doctoribus a nobis designatis de Christianæ Religionis nonnullis articulis per duos menses contulisse; non dubitare quoque quin inter Principes vestros & nos, atq; utrorumq; Episcopos Theologos & subditos, firma perpetuaq; concordia in Evangelii Doctrina ad laudem Dei, & Romani Antichristi perniciem sit sequutura: Verum quia reliquam disputationem de abusibus expectare non potestis, cum jam naves appulerint vos in patriam deportaturæ, ante discessum vestrum existimatis vestri officii esse ut sententiam vestram de quibusdam abusuum articulis nobis declaretis, de quibus nos post discessum vestrum cum Episcopis & Theologis nostris conferre possemus. Et quia tria capita præcipua putatis quæ fundamentum Pontificiæ Tyrannidis sustentare videntur, nempe Prohibitionem utriusque speciei in cæna Domini, Missas privatas, & Prohibitionem Conjugii Sacerdotum; de his articulis sententiam vestram ingenue aperitis, atque eam judicio nostro quantumcunq; id sit, & censuræ committitis: Quis non hanc vestram benevolentiam, Egregii Oratores, summopere amplectatur, Quis non hanc Vestram gratitudinem modis omnibus admiretur? Qui nobiscum ea communicare studetis, quæ non modo ad præsentem vitam transigendam sed ad futuram quoque assequendam conferunt? Enimvero si illos non abs re existimamus amicos, qui in Regionum commerciis ea quæ sunt grata atque commoda important, ne quid usquam desit quod ad præsentem vitam degendam pertinet, quanto magis illi sunt amici judicandi, qui quæ ad æternam vitam conferunt impertiri non gravantur! nam quæ præsentis vitæ subsidia parantur durabilia diu non sunt, quæ vero ad æternam promovent nunquam intermoriuntur; quinimo amicitia ipsa terrena, quantumvis ingens, quantumvis firma, finem habet è vita excessum, charitas vero quæ nunquam excidit post hanc vitam splendescit magis. Et quia nostrum judicium non aspernari videmini, quod nos ipsi indignum existimamus, ut de rebus tam arduis judicemus, atque ea proponitis quæ putatis inprimis amplectenda, qua in re non vulgarem sed ingentem vim erga nos amoris ostenditis, ne nos non respondere huic vestræ tantæ gratitudini videremur, si quæ nobis ad præsens videntur vobiscum non communicaremus, decrevimus itidem de his tribus Articulis nonnihil attingere, & pectus nostrum ingenue vobis aperire: Quo fiet ut mutuus inter nos & Principes vestros amor eo magis augescat, eo diutius foveatur, si nihil occultum inter amicos retentetur, sed summa sinceritate gerantur omnia, id quod nos cum omnibus amicis semper facere consuevimus; quod nostrum perpetuum institutum in præsentia apud Amicissimos, eosque quos habemus charissimos, mutare nequaquam libuit. Verum de Articulis ipsis tandem agamus.

Cotton Lib. *Cleop.* E. 5.

De utraque Specie.

Quod inprimis sub utraq; Specie semper Eucharistiam populis secundum primariam Christi institutionem dandam esse existimetis,& nullo pacto sub altera tantum, non possumus quovis pacto adduci, egregii & præstantissimi Oratores, ut putemus vos id serio affirmasse, sed forsan probandi causa nobis id protulisse, ut quid sentiamus intelligeretis; nam ipsa opinio tam aliena est a recta Scripturæ intelligentia, ut vix quivis id serio affirmare præsumeret, quod latius in hac Epistola declarabimus. Nec nobis persuadere possumus, etsi occasio sit, vos non nobiscum credere, quod sub specie Panis sit realiter & substantialiter verum & vivum Corpus Christi, & una cum Corpore Sanguis verus, alioqui fatendum esset Corpus ibi exsangue esse, quod nefas esset dicere, cum Caro illa Christi non modo viva, sed & vivificatrix sit; & quod sub specie vini non modo vivus & verus Christi Sanguis sit, sed etiam una cum vero Sanguine viva & vera etiam Corporis sit Caro. Quod cum ita sit, necessario consequetur etiam eos qui sub altera specie communicant, & solum sub specie Panis Corpus Christi sumunt, non fraudari Communione Sanguinis Christi, atque eos etiam qui sub specie vini Communicant non fraudari communione Corporis Domini; Quocirca cum sub alterutra specie utrumq; contineatur, viz. & Corpus & Sanguis Christi, utravis solum species porrigatur populis, utrumque, id est tam Sanguis quam Corpus Christi,per hoc eisdem exhibeatur. Nam Christus ipse sub altera specie dedisse legitur in Evangelio Lucæ Discipulis duobus in Emaus euntibus, quando agnitus est in fractione Panis; scribitur enim, quod cum recumberet cum eis, accepit panem & benedixit, ac fregit & porrigebat illis, & aperti sunt oculi eorum,& cognoverunt eum fractione panis. Ubi de Eucharistia eum locum vetustissimi Authores Chrysostomus, Theophylactus, & Augustinus intelligunt, & tamen de vini poculo nulla ibi fit mentio: Unde Christus qui in altera specie miuistravit Eucharistiam, libertatem Ecclesiæ sponsæ suæ reliquisse videtur, ut imitetur sponsi sui vestigia, ac similiter sub altera specie, sicut sub utraque, communicare libere possit. Nam Christus qui sub utraq; specie Communionem docuit, etiam de Communione sub altera ipse exemplum reliquit, qui secum tamen nusquam vel in præceptis, vel in exemplis dissidet.

Simile idem Lucas in Actis Apostolorum citat, quando post adventum Spiritus Sancti, prædicante Petro, appositæ sunt animæ circiter tria millia, inquiens, Erant autem perseverantes in Doctrina Apostolorum & Communicatione & fractione panis & orationibus; Ubi similiter de Eucharistia eum locum intelligunt veteres, & de poculo nulla fit ibi mentio. Jam si Christum ipsum Autorem, si Apostolos ab eo ad docendum orbem missos patronos habet, Communio sub una specie nempe Panis, usitata in Ecclesia non est tanquam Evangelicis præceptis contraria, statim repudianda; nam Apostoli, qui per adventum Spiritus edocti sunt omnem veritatem, nunquam in fractione Panis Communionem dedissent populo, si utraq; species de præcepto Christi semper necessario fuisset porrigenda, ne Christi jubentis parum memores institutum ejus mutasse viderentur.

Porro ipsa Christi Verba, quæ post Evangelistas Paulus totam cœnam dominicam Corrinthiis enarrans citat, nos admonent Christum separatim

de alterutra specie locutum esse, ait enim, Dominus Iesus in qua nocte tradebatur, accepit panem & gratias agens fregit, & dixit, accipite & manducate, Hoc est Corpus meum quod pro vobis traditur, hoc facite in mei commemorationem. Ecce Christus de Corpore suo sub specie panis sumendo separatim locutus est, inquiens, Hoc facite, priusquam ullam de poculo faceret mentionem. Postea autem de Calice ait Paulus, Similiter & Calicem postquam cænavit accepit dicens, Hic calix Novum Testamentum est in meo sanguine, hoc facite quotiescunq; bibetis in mei commemorationem: Nec dixit sicut de corpore dixerat simpliciter, Hoc facite in mei commemorationem, sed dixit, Hoc facite, cum hac adjectione, nempe quotiescunq; bibetis, in mei commemorationem, per hoc nobis indicans non semper sub specie vini sumendum esse sanguinem una cum corpore sub specie Panis, sed quotiescunq; sumeretur Sanguis sub specie Vini in Commemorationem Christi id faciendum.

Ecce rursum Christus post distributionem corporis sui, peracta cœna in qua corpus suum sub specie Panis separatim prius dederat, iterum separatim sub specie Vini Sanguinem suum offert, inquiens, Hoc facite quotiescunq; bibetis in mei commemorationem, significans nobis & seorsum nonnunquam alterum porrigi posse, & tamen cum ita sit, utriusq; vim integram populis dari, alioqui suffecisset semel duntaxat de utroq; fuisse dictum, Hoc facite, nec de Calice adjecisset Hoc facite quotiescunque bibetis, cum prius de specie Panis simpliciter dixisset Hoc facite, nisi separatim ea sumi posse judicaret.

Neque quisquam negare potest Discipulos in cœna sub specie panis sumpsisse Corpus Christi, nam cœnantibus illis, accepit panem & benedixit, ac fregit deditq; illis, dicens Hoc est Corpus meum; Calicem autem non nisi post intervallum ac peracta cœna porrexit, nisi quis adeo stupidus esset, ut crederet post sumptionem speciei panis non prius eos sumpsisse Corpus Christi, quum postquam cænavit porrexisset Calicem; quasi vero priora Verba Christi irrita fuissent, cum de specie panis diceret Hoc est Corpus meum, aut ipsa distributio facta Discipulis nullam vim haberet, priusquam de Calice peracta Cæna bibissent; Quod cum impium sit sentire, tum ipsum Verbum & factum Christi, proh nefas! evacuat. Denique ipse Paulus, postquam etiam de utraque specie conjunctim locutus est, rursum de ipsis speciebus disjunctim infert, inquiens ὥστε ὃς ἂν ἐσθίῃ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, ἢ πίνει τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναξίως, ἔνοχος ἔσται τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου.

Quæ verba latine sic transtulit Erasmus, Itaq; quisquis ederit panem hunc aut de Calice biberit indigne, reus erit corporis & sanguinis Domini; ubi ex Pauli verbis aperte liquet, Quisquis indigne panem hunc sumpserit, reum esse Corporis & Sanguinis Domini, aut si quis de Calice biberit indigne, similiter reum esse Sanguinis & Corporis Domini, quod tamen nullo modo crimini daretur, nisi seorsum sub specie panis esset & Corpus & Sanguis Christi, atq; itidem sub specie vini seorsum esset & Corpus & Sanguis Christi; nec disjunctim de specie panis locutus fuisset Paulus, si nunquam nisi conjunctim cum Calice sumeretur: Neq; rursum disjunctim de Calice dixisset, si nunquam nisi conjunctim cum specie panis esset sumendus. Quorsum enim ea disjunxisset si nunquam nisi conjuncta esse possent? At Verba ipsa Scripturæ singula sunt attendenda, nam Propheta inquit, Inclinate aurem vestram in Verba oris mei; & Moises in Deuteronimo ait, Ponite corda vestra in omnia verba quæ ego testificor

testificor vobis hodie, quia non incassum præcepta sunt vobis. Et iterum, non addetis ad verbum quod vobis loquor, nec auferetis ab eo. Verba igitur Domini atque ipsius Pauli,& separatim de alterutra specie primum posita, & post utriusque conjunctionem etiam iterum disjuncta, significare nobis videntur, & posse alterutram speciem seorsum porrigi secundum Verbum Christi.

Nec per hoc quod Christus dixit, Bibite ex hoc omnes, statim consequetur Christum jussisse Communionem cuilibet de populo semper sub utraq; specie & nunquam sub altera dandam esse : Nam illorum Verborum sensum non alium esse apparet, quam quem ipse Dominus Apostolum suum Paulum, qui a Domino de hoc Sacramento omnia se accepisse testatur, edocuit, nempe quod quotiescunq; de Calice hoc quisquam biberet, id in Christi memoriam faceret, sicuti fecerunt Discipuli, qui tunc aderant præsentes & de eo biberunt omnes : Itaque quotiescunque Sanguis Christi bibendus a quoquam esset, in memoria Passio Christi recordanda est ; sicut similiter quisquis Corpus Christi sumpserit ad memoriam passionem ejus revocare debet : Neque ex præcepto Christi toties bibendum esse de hoc Calice, quotiescunq; Corpus Christi sumendum est, apparet per ea quæ de verbis & de exemplo Christi supradicta sunt. Certe quicquid Christus omnino observari præcepit, non posse ulla humana sanctione prohiberi putamus, cum humana lex divinam abolere non possit. Similiter etiam existimamus, nec morem ullum, neç ullam consuetudinem tantopere apud homines valere debere, ut Dei Verbum expugnet & Christi præceptum subvertat.

Verumtamen cum Christus nobis libere reliquerit ut eum tribus modis corporaliter sumere possimus,& quarto spiritualiter, nempe primo sub utraque specie, secundo, sub Panis specie tantum ; tertio, sub Vini ; quarto, voluntate & desiderio solo cum aliter necessitate coacti eum sumere nequimus ; existimamus pro primo,ut si quis fidelis ardenti in Deum amore flagrans, pietateq; ingenti æstuans, magnopere desideraret Sacramentum sub utraq; specie sumere, si nullum vel valetudinis vel imbecillitatis obstaret impedimentum,ei sub utraq; specie Communio præberi possit, dummodo neq; postulans neq; ministrans Sacramentum in scandalum populi, aut in contemptum Ecclesiæ id faciat, neque suo jure leges regionis in qua degit sive Ecclesiasticas sive laicas infringere præsumat.

Pro secundo & tertio sic, Quod si impedimentum aliquod hujusmodi intervenit, ut in utraque specie absq; periculo sumi non possit, ut si quis Paralysi correptus, aut ab alio quovis naturæ aut morborum impedimento utramq; speciem recipere commode non possit, hic si desideret Sacram Communionem sumere, ei sub altera tantum specie porrigatur. Pro quarto autem, Quod si quis nausea, vel alia corporis molestia adeo sit infestatus, ut nihil in stomachus receptum non rejectet, huic si id petat Sacramentum saltem ostendi posset, ut viso eo mortem Christi redemptoris sui citius revocans in memoriam compunctus corde spiritualiter communicet.

Plurimum igitur demiror, quod hi qui Christianæ Libertatis assertores & acerrimi propugnatores videri volunt, libertatem hanc nostram in hoc uno Corporis & Sanguinis Domini Sacramento, quo nihil superexcellentius, nihil celebrius, nihil incomparabilius, nihil deniq; ad consolandos fidelium animos solidius, Christus hinc abiturus Ecclesiæ suæ reliquit,

nobis

nobis tollere velint; Quid enim majus donare potuit Christus in hoc Sacramento sumendum quam seipsum? Deinde cum ipse omnino liberum nobis reliquerit, & posse aliquos sub utraq; specie Communionem accipere, & posse alios sub altera, nonnullos quoq; morborum necessitate impeditos, saltem in conspectum prolato Corpore Domini compuncto corde posse Spiritualiter communicare, quanta immodestia, quanta inclementia esset, libertate hac fraudare Christianos? Ut quibus sub utraq; specie, ob impedimenta quæ sunt innumera, Communio præberi non posset, his summi boni fruitione privatis sub neutra daretur! Nec adhuc fatentur etsi non corporaliter sumatur saltem Spiritualiter capi posse. Qua non servitute durior esset hæc conditio, ut Christi redemptoris nostri corpus, quod ille a fidelibus sumi voluit, nobis id summopere desiderantibus violenter eripiatur? quis ingenue Christianus libertatem fruitionis hujus sibi extortam non omni morte intolerabiliorem putaret? Itaq; libertas hæc a Christo nobis relicta omni conatu retinenda est, omnibus viribus amplectenda, nec ipsis mea opinione fidendum est, qui eam nobis tollere velint.

Præterea quid fiat apud septentrionales populos? quid apud populos Aphricæ,& qui intra Tropicos habitant? apud quos non ea vini copia est ut populis omnino sub specie vini præberi possit, (nam his populis cervisia ex frugibus est potui) an ideo quia sub utraq; specie his ministrari Sacramentum non potest, ab utraq; arcendi essent? aut sub una non integrum Christum capere possent? id quod absit.

Quando autem primum populus priscum morem deserere,& sub altera tantum panis specie Communionem sacram sumere cœpit, nobis est incompertum; credibile est majores nostros auctoritate Scripturæ motos, quæ alteram nonnunquam speciem per Christum & Apostolos datam memorat, propter periculum effusionis in terram Sanguinis Christi, cum liquida omnia levi membrorum trepidante motu facile effundantur, religiosa quadam & pia reverentia, non mediocriq; Dei timore abstinuisse in Sacramento a vini specie, nec Christum qui se cum Ecclesia usque in finem omnibus diebus mansurum promisit, tot sæculis eam deseruisse, ut si necessarium præceptum de utraq; specie semper ab omnibus sumenda dedisset,in re tanti momenti eam permisisset turpiter labi; sed magis Ecclesiæ suæ liberum reliquisse videtur, ut cum in alterutra specie totus & integer Christus contineatur, sub altera etiam sumi possit.

Qui vero sit mos hodie de utraq; specie in Ecclesiis Græcis, quæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Tyrannidem nunquam admiserunt, non satis nobis est compertum, cum Græcia tota Turcarum subsit imperio, nec liberam habeant facultatem Christum ut libet profitendi, quando nec Verbum Dei publice prædicare, nec ad Campanarum sonitum populum convocare, nec publicas Litanias crucis vexillo præeunte facere, his ullo pacto est concessum.

Illud quoq; suprimis est observandum, nempe quod in Universis Ecclesiis in die Parasceves Sacerdos & omnis populus sub una tantum specie panis communicant, non sub specie Vini, ut cum is dies repræsentat mortem Christi in qua sanguis ejus pretiosus prunostra salute effusus est & separatus a corpore, separatim illo die sub altera solum specie communicarent omnes sive Sacerdos sive populus: qui mos per universam Ecclesiam nunquam fuisset admissus, nisi sub altera tantum specie integer Christus contineretur,atq; nisi subaltera Sacramentum populis ministrari posset.

De

De Missa Privata.

Per Missas autem privatas multos abusus intoductos esse dicitis, quas velut Atlantem quendam Papatum sustinuisse, indulgentias invexisse, orbem expilasse, utpote quæ ad quæstum pateant, monachorum turbas coacervasse, Verbum Dei exterminasse asseritis, atq; ideo Germanos Principes Synaxim veteri more reduxisse, quam lingua vernacula facere, ritu satis decoro atque decenti commemoratis; privatas vero Missas apud vos in totum abolitas esse, quæ tot pepererunt abusus & fœtus malignos. Qua de re nobiscum diu multumq; cogitantes, consideramus inprimis nihil unquam in Ecclesia sua Christum ordinasse quo malignus serpens aliquando non sit abusus, neque tamen propterea rejiciendum est quicquid sanćte est ordinatum, alioqui Sacramenta omnia antiquanda essent; quin magis reputavimus longe satius esse abusus omnes in totum removere, quæ vero Sanćte & pie introducta sunt in Ecclesiam, illa ipsa stabilia manere.

Nam si ideo Missæ privatæ abolendæ sunt in totum, quia de illis Thomas Aquinas, Gabriel, atque alii Doctrinas ut dicitis impias induxerunt, viz. Missas ex opere operato gratiam mereri, & tollere peccata vivorum & mortuorum, & applicari posse alienum opus ad alterum, Quicquid sit, quod illi asserunt, hoc de omni Missa asserunt, non de privata duntaxat; Qua propter si ad tollendas illas opiniones qualescunque Missa privata esset abroganda, eadem ratione abroganda esset Synaxis & Missa publica, quam vos ipsi retinetis nec censetis abolendam, quicquid de ea alii opinentur. Missa vero privata, velut privata quædam est Communio & Synaxis, quæ si recte atque ut decet fiat, quicunque fideles illi interesse decreverint, si pænitentes convenerint contriti de peccatis, Deiq; implorent misericordiam cum filio prodigo dicentes, Pater peccavi in *Cœlum* & coram te, haud dubie quin ipsi Spiritualiter cum Sacerdote communicant, offerentes se & animas suas, hostias vivas & acceptabiles Deo, tametsi pauci fuerint, atq; a corporali Sacramenti sumptione abstinuerint: ac per hoc Missa privata Ecclesiæ adeo non obest, ut non parum & ad vitam corrigendam, & ad fidem in Christum corroborandam prodesse videatur; quippe Christiani per hoc peccatores se agnoscunt quotidie delinquentes, quotidie veniam postulant, quotidie per peccatum in salebroso vitæ hujus cursu cadentes, quotidie pænitentes resurgunt, & velut alacriores redditi, devicto sæpius hoste, fiunt ad pugnam audentiores.

Porro statim in exordio omnis Missæ privatæ publica est peccatorum omnium generalis Confessio, venia postulatur a Deo, absolutio impartitur a Sacerdote secundum Dei Verbum, quemadmodum in Missa publica.

Et si in Missa publica & quantumcunq; solenni nemo item alius præter Sacerdotem qui Communicare velit in esu Sacramenti, quid quæso differet Missa publica a privata? An Sacerdos in solenni die populo ad Sacra conveniente, si nemo alius communicare velit, abstinet a Missa publica? atque inter Græcos ipsos, ubi singulis dominicis diebus fit una Missa publica uti asseritis, raro admodum communicat in esu Sacramenti quisquam è populo, uti a fide dignis accepimus, qui ipsi Græcorum Sacris interfuerunt.

Quod

Quod vero Epiphanium citatis qui singulis septimanis ter celebratam Synaxim in Asia asserit, eumq; morem ab Apostolis inductum, cum jam tantum in Græcia singulis Dominicis fiat populi conventus ad Sacra, si mutari mos potuit ab Apostolis inductus, ut rarius quam statuerunt Apostoli populus congregaretur, cur non etiam mutari potuit ut sæpius conveniret, quando per hoc celebrior fit mortis Christi memoria, id quod in Missa fit etiam privata.

Jam vero si Sacramentum hoc a fidelibus exerceri Christus in mortis suæ memoriam præcepit, inquiens, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, ne mors ejus raro admodum commemorata in oblivionem transiret, quo crebrius, quo frequentius, memoria ejus in Sacramento repetitur, eo mandatum ejus servatur magis: Etenim sicut raro admodum memorata oblivioni sunt obnoxia, ita crebro frequentata radices in mente agunt altius, ne obliterari unquam possint; itaq; ut mors Christi crebra memoria illustretur, Missa etiam privata non parum confert.

Certe Paulus Apostolus singulas domos privatas, ubi credentium numerus aliquis erat, Ecclesias vocat, membra Majoris Ecclesiæ, civitatis illius in qua essent, sicut majores ipsas civitatum Ecclesias, membra Catholicæ & universalis Ecclesiæ appellat, scribens ad Corinthios; at quæ Ecclesia arcenda est a Communione Corporis Domini? Christus etiam ipse instituendo Sacramentum hoc Corporis & Sanguinis sui, inquit, Hoc quotiescunq; facitis, facite in meam commemorationem; nec tempus nec locum ullum cohibuit, quo fieri id non posset, quonam modo igitur arcebimus quenquam a Missis privatis? Et ad dies festos publicamq; Synaxim eum relegabimus? Cujus arbitrio Christus liberum reliquit, quando & ubi id vellet decenter exequi, dum inquit quotiescunque? nam si certa tempora servanda essent, non indefinite locutus fuisset Christus, ipsum Dei Verbum, ipsa sapientia Patris.

Jam vero ab initio nascentis Ecclesiæ per singulas domos ubi erant fideles fiebat communio, atq; id quotidie, teste Luca in Apostolorum Actis, ubi ait, Quotidie quoq; perdurantes unanimiter in templo, & frangentes circa domos panem; quem locum etiam de Communione veteres interpretes intelligunt, & tamen singulis diebus non agebant publice dies festos, sed privatim per domos communicabant: Etsi terrenorum regum atq; principum ministri pleriq; omnes nullum diem transigere cupiunt, quo non fruantur vel solo aspectu sui Domini, tametsi propior congressus non contingat, quis fidelis Christianus non omnibus optabit votis, ut quando in hac vita Christum Regem Regum, & Dominum Dominantium, in Majestate gloriæ regnantem cernere mortales oculi non possunt, saltem per fidem in Sacramento Corporis Domini, quod ille fidelibus in memoriam sui frequentandam reliquit, interim quotidie Regem gloriæ videat?

Quod vero Chrysostomus Sacerdotem ad altare stare, & alios ad Communionem accersere, alios arcere scribit, enarrat morem publicæ Communionis, qui sub initio nascentis Ecclesiæ crebrius quam nunc fit frequentabatur; qui mos nunc in Paschate, quando ubiq; communicat populus, apud omnes servatur Ecclesias: Cæterum ille ipse expostulat cum fidelibus sui temporis, quod rarius communicent, quam vel oporteret, vel vetus mos erat; cæterum nusquam is privatas Missas vetuit.

At Canon Nicenus Diaconis in Communione publica suum locum de-

signat post Presbyteros; cæterum nec is Canon, nec ullus alius Missas privatas abrogat.

Sacramentum autem Eucharistiæ Sacrificium non esse arbitramini, quod unum Sacrificium sit propitiatorium mors Christi, & cum is ultra non moritur, qui semel tantum pro nobis oblatus est, nullum restat ultra Sacrificium, nisi cultus Spiritualis, hoc est, justitia fidei & fructus fidei. Quid sibi velit justitia quæ ex fide est scimus, quippe quam Paulus opponit Justitiæ quæ est ex lege: Cæterum qui sunt fructus fidei, nobis ex Scripturis non satis liquet, ipsam fidem sicut charitatem, & multas alias virtutes scimus esse fructus Spiritus. Verum enimvero non satis miramur, cur quispiam ægre ferat Missam Sacrificium vocari, quando omnis vetustas & Græcorum & Latinorum sic eam appellare consuevit, quum ibi fiat consecratio Corporis & Sanguinis Domini in memoriam mortis ejus, qui, ut inquit Paulus, pro peccatis offerens hostiam, in sempiternum sedet ad dextram Dei, una enim oblatione consummavit in sempiternum sanctificatos; itaq; si Christus & Sacerdos esset, & Sacrificium, & hostia, ubicunq; est Christus, ibi est hostia nostra, ibi est sacrificium nostrum; at si in Sacramento altaris est verum Corpus Christi, & verus Sanguis Christi, quo pacto manente veritate Corporis & Sanguinis Domini, non est ibi Sacrificium nostrum?

Porro quia in Missa est Christus Sacrificium nostrum, qui ipse ultra non moritur, ibiq; cum ipso capite nostro, nos illius Corpus & membra nosmet ipsos Deo hostias vivas offerimus, Græci id totum ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν, id est, Sacrificium incruentum vocant: ita veteres omnes intrepide Missam Sacrificium vocarunt, quod ibi sit Christus Sacrificium nostrum in Sacramento.

Sic Basilius, sic Chrysostomus, sic Hieronymus, sic Augustinus eam appellare non dubitavit; Quocirca quid vetat Missam, in qua consecratur Panis in Corpus Christi, & Vinum in Sanguinem ejus, qui vere est Sacrificium nostrum, & hoc fieri in memoriam sui jussit, vocari Sacrificium: alioqui si id negabimus, non parum verendum est, ne cum Sacramentariis quos nunc vocant, qui veritatem Corporis & Sanguinis in Sacramento negant, & cum Anabaptistis consentire videamur, a qua suspicione sicut in animo nostro nos profitemur longe abesse, ita quoq; cupimus calumniantibus adversariis omnem obtrectandi ansam auferri: Atqui cum in Missa tum Sacerdos, tum populus contritus de peccatis se, ut hortatur Paulus, hostiam vivam, sanctam atq; Deo placentem exhibeat, laudes quas Deo canat & in gratiarum actione versetur, quis dubitare potest, ea quoq; ratione, Missam jure Sacrificium nominari, cum Propheta appellat Sacrificium laudis, & Paulus omnes hortetur, ut se hostias vivas exhibeant, id quod fit in Missa. Malachias etiam Propheta inquit, Ab ortu solis usq; ad occasum, magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, & in omni loco Sacrificatur, & offertur nomini meo oblatio munda, quia magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, dicit Dominus exercituum. At quæ alia oblatio munda in omni loco inter gentes, nisi solus Christus, aut quod aliud Sacrificium Christianorum, nisi Missa, ubi Commemoratio mortis Christi agitur? Nam aut aliquod inter gentes Christianorum oportet esse Sacrificium, aut mentitus est Propheta: quænam quæso est oblatio munda, nisi solus Christus hostia nostra, qui in Sacramento altaris est sub Panis & Vini speciebus? quippe quantumcunq; nos ipsi nos

Deo

Deo offeramus, hostiæ mundæ non meremur nomen, quorum omnis justitia velut pannus est menstruatæ: Itaq; constat Missam Sacrificium vocari ex Verbo Dei per Malachiam enunciato, quod cum ita sit, cur Missæ invidemus nomen Sacrificii, quod Propheta prædixit, & in qua Christus in Sacramento præsens est ipse mundi Sacrificium?

De Conjugio Sacerdotum.

Cælibatum Sacerdotum contra Scripturam, contra leges naturæ, contra honestatem, per Pontificem Romanum asseritis introductum, cum Scriptura Sacerdotibus, sicut cæteris hominibus, conjugium permittat, nec possint naturam suam mutare, nec absq; singulari dono cælibes vivere: nam non omnes capiunt verbum hoc, & Paulus inquit, propter fornicationem unusquisq; Uxorem suam habeat.

Hic primum ordiri juvat, ut locum illum Evangelii de tribus Eunuchorum generibus consideremus, quandoquidem Christus alios a natura Eunuchos esse asserit, alios per vim factos, quorum neutrum genus continentiæ virtute splendet; quoniam alteros ad generandum natura, alteros violentia reddidit inutiles. Tertium vero genus eorum est, qui quanquam terrena generatione uti possunt, malunt continere, & se castrare propter Regnum Cœlorum; de quo genere Christus statim infert, qui potest capere, capiat, id quod nec de primo, nec de secundo Eunuchorum genere intelligi potest, quibus continentiæ palma negata est, cum descendere in certamen nequeunt: tertium vero genus eorum est, qui continentiæ student, & a licitis nuptiis abstinere malunt propter Regnum Cœlorum, quo Christum liberius atq; expeditius sequantur, ne terrenis nuptiis implicati, cogitare cogantur, ut inquit Paulus, quæ sunt mundi; ad quod genus Christus virginitatis autor homines sapientissime invitat, inquiens, Qui potest capere, capiat: per hoc quod inquit, capiat, homines adhortans ad capescendum certamen ut palmam arripiant, nempe Regnum Cœlorum, ad quod neminem hortaretur, si nemo carnem posset vincere; per hoc vero quod ait, qui potest capere, posse capi palmam indicans; alioqui si impossible esset carnem superare, quorsum attineret dicere, Qui potest, si nemo id posset.

Præterea per ea verba Qui potest capere, quosdam etiam esse declarat, qui non facile possunt, nam nisi aliqui non facile possent capere, cur secerneret eos qui possunt; itaq; considerandas animi vires admonet, priusquam certamen aggrediare, ne temere arrepto certamine turpiter succumbas: Nec dixisset quosdam esse, qui se castraverunt propter Regnum Cœlorum, si caro esset insuperabilis, & nemo se castrare posset. Nec dubitandum est quin is qui hortatur ad subeundum certamen, gratiam suam sine qua nihil possent, his non defuturam demonstrat, qui nomina sua in militiam ei dederunt, quorum ille ipse dux futurus est, qui non modo in periculis suos milites invocatus nunquam deserit, sed stat ante januam & pulsat, paratus semper ad succurrendum, si quis ei aperiat: Nam Paulus tentationes superari posse nos admonet, modo Dei auxilium imploremus, inquiens, Tentatio vos non apprehendit nisi humana, fidelis autem Deus qui non patietur vos tentari supra id quod potestis, sed faciet etiam cum tentatione proventum ut possitis sustinere. Quamobrem hi qui continentiam semel profitentur, & eam postea turpiter deserunt, etiam atq; etiam considerandum est, ne nomen Dei blasphemare videantur,

 tur,

tur, Christum accusantes deserti auxilii, cum sint ipsi desertores militiæ, & primo statim congressu terga dantes hosti: itaq; quod Paulus liberum cuiq; facit, ut propter fornicationem Uxorem suam habeat, id de his intelligi, qui continentiam non sunt professi, Paulus ipse nos docet, inquiens, de viduis adolescentioribus, quæ cum luxuriatæ fuerunt in Christo nubere volunt, habentes damnationem quia primam fidem irritam fecerunt. Augustinus Pauli Doctrinam secutus, Psal. 83. inquit, alius ex Dei munere majus aliquid vovit, statuit, nec nuptias pati, qui non damnaretur si duxisset Uxorem; post votum quod Deo promisit si duxerit damnabitur: sic virgo quæ si nuberet non peccaret, Sanctimonialis si nupserit Christi adultera reputabitur, respexit enim retro de loco quo accesserat, exemplo Uxoris Loth, & sicut canis reversus ad vomitum reputatur.

Itidem Augustinus, Psal. 75. ample asserit votum semel emissum servandum esse. Hieronymus etiam adversus Jovinianum inquit, virgo quæ se Deo dicavit, si nubat, damnationem habet; atq; alio loco adversus eundem, Virgines tuæ quas prudentissimo consilio (quod nemo unquam legerat, nec audierat de Apostolo) docuisti, melius esse nubere quam uri, occultos adulteros in apertos verterunt maritos; non suasit hoc Apostolus, non Electionis vas Virgilianum consilium, est, conjugium vocat, hoc prætexit nomine culpam. Verbum ipsum Dei palam adversatur ubique ne rumpantur vota. Propheta inquit, vovete & reddite Domino Deo Vestro; in Deuteronomio quoq; scribitur, cum votum voveris Domino Deo tuo, non tardabis reddere, quia requiret illud Dominus Deus tuus, & si moratus fueris, reputabitur tibi in peccatum; si nolueris polliceri absq; peccato eris, quod autem egressum est de labiis tuis, observabis & facies, sicut promisisti Domino Deo tuo & propria voluntate & ore locutus es. Ecclesiastes etiam inquit, si quid vovisti ne moreris reddere, sed quodcunq; voveris redde: Et in Numerorum libro scribitur, si quis virorum votum Domino voverit, aut se constrinxerit juramento, non faciat irritum Verbum suum, sed omne quod promisit implebit. Quocirca Ecclesia a principio sicut conjugatos Sacerdotes & Episcopos, qui sine crimine essent unius Uxoris viri, propter necessitatem admisit, cum tot alii quot possent ad edocendum orbem sufficere tunc non reperirentur idonei, & tamen Paulus ipse Timotheum cælibem elegit; ita quoq; si quis ad Sacerdotium cælebs accersitus, postea Uxorem duxerit, semper a Sacerdotio deponebatur, secundum Canonem Neocæsariensis Concilii, quod fuit ante Nicenum. Similiter in Calcedonensi Concilio, in cujus primo capite priora Concilia confirmantur, statuitur ut Diaconissa, si se nuptiis tradat, maneat sub Anathemate, & Virgo Deo dicata & Monachus jungentes se nuptiis, maneant excommunicati.

Hoc quoq; observandum est, quod in Canonibus Apostolorum habetur, tantummodo Lectores cantoresq; non conjugatos posse Uxores ducere, cæteris vero in clerum admissis postea Uxorem ducere nunquam licuit.

Qui vero conjugati ad Sacerdotium admissi erant, Uxores suas prætextu Religionis abjicere nequaquam poterant, ut docet Canon Apostolicus; cumque in Niceno Concilio proponeretur de Presbyterorum jam ductis Uxoribus [illegible] Paphnutius, ne legitimæ Uxores pellerentur, cujus [illegible] Canone Apostolorum de-

non

non abjiciendis Uxoribus concordantem, omnes ſunt ſecuti.

Cæterum in Niceno Concilio nihil unquam propoſitum fuit, ut Sacerdotes poſt Sacerdotium Uxores ducerent, quod jam ante ſic erit prohibitum, ut ſi quis contrarium auderet, ducens poſtea Uxorem, deponeretur a Sacerdotio, ut ſupra dictum eſt; itaq; Paphnutius de non abjiciendis jam ductis ante Sacerdotium Uxoribus, non autem de ducendis poſt Sacerdotium aperte locutus eſt.

Itaq; neq; Canon aliquis Apoſtolicus, neq; Concilium Nicenum quicquam habet ejuſmodi ut in Sacerdotium admiſſi, poſtea Uxores ducant, ſicuti vos allegatis.

His concordat ſexta Synodus in qua ſancitum eſt, quod ſi quis è clero vellet Uxorem ducere, ante ſubdiaconatum id faceret, poſtea nequaquam liceret, nec ulla uſquam libertas Sacerdotibus in ſexta Synodo datur poſt Sacerdotium Uxores ducendi, ſicut vos aſſeritis.

Itaq; a principio naſcentis Eccleſiæ, plane compertum eſt nullo unquam tempore licuiſſe Sacerdoti poſt Sacerdotium Uxorem ducere; atq; ubicunq; id fuit attentatum, id non fuit impune, nam tantum nefas auſus deponebatur a Sacerdotio. Paulus Apoſtolus inquit, de conjugibus loquens, nolite fraudare invicem niſi forte ex conſenſu ad tempus, ut vacetis orationi. Hieronymus in Apologia ad Pammachium ait, Paulus Apoſtolus dicit, Quando coimus cum Uxoribus nos orare non poſſe, ſi per coitum quod minus eſt impeditur, id eſt orare, quanto plus quod majus eſt, id eſt Corpus Chriſti, prohibetur accipere: idque late proſequitur exemplo panum propoſitionis, qui non dabantur niſi continentibus Davidi & miniſtris, ut ſcribitur in libro Regum; Panes enim Propoſitionis, quaſi Corpus Chriſti, de Uxorum cubilibus conſurgentes edere non poterant, ut inquit Hieronymus, atque exemplo dationis legis veteris, ante cujus dationem filii Iſrael in Exodo triduo abſtinere ſunt juſſi ab Uxoribus.

Hieronimus etiam adverſus Jovinianum inquit, ſi Laicus & quicunq; fidelis orare non poteſt, niſi careat officio conjugali, Sacerdoti cui ſemper pro populo offerenda ſunt Sacrificia, ſemper orandum eſt: ſi ſemper orandum eſt, ſemper ergo carenduum Matrimonio. Idem aſſerit Ambroſius ample in Epiſtola ad Timotheum prima, cum quo conſentit Auguſtinus.

Paulus Timotheum Diſcipulum in Sacerdotali Officio erudiens, admonet ſecularia negotia fugienda eſſe, inquiens, Labora ut bonus miles Chriſti Ieſu, nemo militans implicat ſe negotiis ſecularibus, ut ei placeat cui ſe probavit; & ſi Sacerdotes Uxores acciperent, curis ſecularibus neceſſe eſt involvantur, nam teſte Paulo, qui cum Uxore eſt, ſolicitus eſt quæ ſunt mundi, quomodo placeat Uxori; qui vero ſine Uxore eſt, ſolicitus eſt quæ Domini ſunt, quomodo placeat Deo: Ideoq; eundem ad cælibatum hortatur, quando ait, Teipſum caſtum cuſtodi, nam caſtitas, ubi de conjugatis non fit ſermo, cælibatus intelligitur, ſuum enim Diſcipulum ſui ſimilem reddere cupiebat; atque quodam in loco Corinthiis ſcribens, omnes homines hortatur ad continentiam, ait enim, volo omnes homines eſſe ſicut meipſum, & rurſus dico non-nuptis & viduis bonum eſt, ſi ſic permanſerint ſicut & ego. Alio in loco ſcribens eiſdem, miniſtros Eccleſiæ ſui officii admonet, adhortans ne in vacuum Gratiam Dei recipiant, & ſubdit, Nem[illegible] [illegible]ſionem, ut non vituperetur miniſterium, ſed in omnibus [illegible] noſmetipſos ſicut Dei

Miniſ-

Miniſtros, &c. in vigiliis, in jejuniis, in caſtitate, in ſcientia, in verbo veritatis. Quæ omnia ad miniſtros Eccleſiæ pertinent quos caſtitatem maxime ſectari convenit, ut impuri non appropinquent altaribus, a quibus ſalaces omnino arceri decet: Nam non niſi de Sacerdotibus ea intelligi poſſunt, quando ſcientia divinæ legis & populi inſtitutio ad eos ſpectat, ut inquit Malachias, Labia Sacerdotis cuſtodiunt ſcientiam & legem requirunt ex ore ejus. Et Paulus Timotheum vult ſe exhibere operarium inconfuſibilem, recte tractantem verbum veritatis, viz. in Doctrina populi; igitur Sacerdotes Domini, qui ſe Deo jampridem dedicaverunt, qui ſe caſtraverunt propter Regnum Cœlorum, qui pro ſuis & populi peccatis orare aſſidue debent, quonam pacto, deſerto cælibatus vexillifero Chriſto, novis nuptiis operam dare ſecularibuſq; moleſtiis quibus ſcaturiunt ſe implicare decet? quid enim eſt ad aratrum manum mittere, retroq; recipere exemplo Uxoris Loth, ſi hoc non eſt? cujuſmodi homines non aptos eſſe Regno Dei, Chriſtus ipſe pronunciat, etenim ſi nemo poteſt Uxori pariter & Philoſophiæ operam dare, ut mundana prudentia docet, quanto magis is qui ſe Deo dicavit, duobus Dominis ſervire non poterit, nempe Deo pariter & mundo, quorum uterq; totum hominem, non dimidiatum, ad ſe raptat?

Quanquam autem & conjugati & cælibes in initio Eccleſiæ admittebantur ad Sacerdotium, id tamen non ubiq; ita ſervabatur teſte Hieronymo adverſus Vigilantium, ubi inquit, quid facient Orientis Eccleſiæ, quid Egypti, & Sedis Apoſtolicæ, quæ aut Virgines clericos accipiunt, aut continentes, aut ſi Uxores habuerint mariti eſſe deſiſtunt? Atque ad Pammachium Hieronymus inquit, Chriſtus Virgo, Virgo Maria, utriuſq; ſexus virginitatem dedicaverunt, Apoſtoli vel Virgines, vel poſt nuptias continentes, Epiſcopi, Presbyteri, Diaconi, aut Virgines eliguntur, aut vidui, aut certe poſt Sacerdotium in æternum pudici, in morem Eccleſiæ veterem, cujus autor eſt haud dubie Paulus & Scriptura ipſa. Jam vero uti Auguſtinum citatis, qui ait, quidam nubentes poſt votum aſſerunt adulteros eſſe, ego dico vobis quod graviter peccant qui tales dividunt: at ille ipſe Auguſtinus aſſerit, lapſus & ruinas a caſtitate Sanctiori quæ vovetur Deo adulteriis eſſe pejores, neq; ſtatim legitimum eſt quicquid tolerat Eccleſia.

Cyprianus quoq; ipſe quem citatis, in illa ipſa Epiſtola de Virginibus quæ continentiam voverunt, ubi inquit, ſi perſeverare nolunt, vel non poſſint, melius eſt ut nubant, quam ut in ignem delitiis ſuis ruant; ex quo infertis tale votum non impedire Matrimonium, longe aliud ſentit: nam conſultus a Pomponio Sacerdote, quid ſibi videretur de Virginibus his, quæ cum ſemel ſtatum ſuum continenter & firmiter tenere decreverint, detectæ ſunt poſtea in eodem lecto pariter manſiſſe cum Maſculis; ea de re altius repetens Sermonem, periculoſamq; eſſe Virginum & Maſculorum cohabitationem, confirmans per Scripturas ac graves multorum ruinas ex hoc enatas, aſſerens generaliter de omnibus Virginibus inquit, quod ſi ex fide Chriſto ſe dicaverint caſte & pudice ſine ulla fabula perſeverent, ita fortes & ſtabiles præmium Virginitatis expectent; ſi autem perſeverare nolunt, vel non poſſunt, melius eſt ut nubant, quam ut in ignem delitiis ſuis cadant, certe nullum fratribus aut ſororibus ſcandalum faciant, cum ſcriptum ſit, &c. Et paulo poſt infert, Chriſtus Dominus & judex noſter, cum virginem ſuam ſibi dicatam & ſanctitati ſuæ deſtinatam jacere cum altero cernat, quam indignatur & iraſcitur,

&c.

& quas pænas incestis hujusmodi conjunctionibus comminatur! Deinde ad quæsitum respondens, jubet obstetrices adhiberi ut videatur an Virgines illæ sint corruptæ, ubi inquit, si autem aliquæ ex eis corruptæ fuerunt deprehensæ, agant pœnitentiam plenam, quia quæ hoc crimen admisit, non mariti sed Christi adultera est, & ideo æstimato justo tempore & ex homologesi facta ad Ecclesiam redeant; quod si obstinatæ perseverent, nec se ab invicem separent, sciant se cum hac sua impudica obstinatione nunquam a nobis admitti in Ecclesiam posse, ne exemplum cæteris ad ruinam delictis suis facere incipiant. Ecce quid sentit Cyprianus de votis ruptis, incestuosos & Christi Adulteros hujusmodi flagitiosos appellat, & nisi separentur, nunquam admittit in Ecclesiam; quomodo ergo talia vota non impediant Matrimonium, aut quis ad tale Matrimonium quenquam hortari audebit, quod sine violatione voti & transgressione divini mandati, ideoq; sine gravissimo scelere contrahi non possit? Atqui quod Principes Germaniæ, scribitis, cum viderent multa flagitia de cœlibatu Sacerdotum provenire, Matrimonia Sacerdotibus libera permisisse, si meum, Egregii Oratores, consilium requisissent vestri Principes, priusquam tot Sacerdotes apud vos ruptis vinculis ad nuptias convolassent, an id consilii dedissem quod vestri Principes arripuerunt hæsito magnopere; nam si Sacerdotes qui continere nollent, erumpere ad nuptias omnino voluissent, quanto satius forte fuisset, exemplo veterum deposuisse tales á Sacerdotio, suæq; de cætero Conscientiæ quenquam reliquisse, ac deinde puriores altaribus admovisse, quam libere omnia permittendo peccatis alienis auctores videri, atq; ea ratione aliena peccata nostra facere: Veruntamen nos, qui in aliena Repub. curiosi nunquam fuimus nec esse voluimus, omnia Principum vestrorum acta atq; gesta in optimam partem interpretamur, non dubitantes, quin ad tollendos abusus omnes sincerus his animus, atq; ad repurgandam Dei Ecclesiam appositus non desit.

Porro nos qui in Regno nostro Romani Episcopi Tyrannidem profligare magna industria studuimus, & Christi Gloriam sinceriter promovere curabimus Deo propitio, quantum humano consilio fieri potest, ne quis abusus sive a Romano Episcopo sive a quovis alio inductus non aboleatur, & si quos comperiemus tempori inservientes, fingentesq; se odisse Romanum Episcopum, atq; in Sermone simulare veritatem, quam corde non amplectuntur, ejusmodi viris consilia nostra de rebus Sacris non communicabimus, nec eorum vel de Sacris vel de Prophanis expectabimus sententiam.

Quæ vero Christi puram atq; sinceram Doctrinam promovere, quæ Christi Evangelium dilatare, quæ ad repurganda Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ vitia tendere, quæ ad extirpandos abusus atq; errores omnes spectare, quæ deniq; Ecclesiæ candorem exornare posse videbuntur, ea totis viribus sectabimur, his studebimus, his Deo volente in perpetuum incumbemus.

De Articulis vero quos jam disseruimus maturius cum Theologis nostris quamprimum vacabit agemus, atq; ea demum statuemus quæ ad Christi Gloriam Ecclesiæque sponsæ ejus decorem conducere existimabimus.

Vobis autem, Præstantissimi Oratores, qui tot labores terra marique perpessi estis, ut nos inviseretis, qui cum Theologis nostris tamdiu contulistis, qui ob Evangelii negotium a Patria abfuistis multis mensibus, immensas atq; innumeras habemus gratias; nec miramur si dulcis amor

Patriæ,

Patriæ, poſt diuturnam abſentiam veſtram, ad reditum vos invitat. Itaque poſt expleta Principum veſtrorum mandata, poſt abſoluta in totum negotia veſtra, ſi non gravabimini nos inviſere, veſter ad nos acceſſus admodum gratus erit, voſque in Patriam non modo libenter dimittemus cum bona venia, ſed ad Principes etiam veſtros, literas dabimus ſummæ diligentiæ veſtræ in exequenda legatione teſtimonium perhibentes. Valete.

IX. *A Letter written by the King to his Biſhops, directing them how to inſtruct the People. An Original.*

By the KING.

HENRY R.

Cotton Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5.

Right Reverend Father in God, right truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well: And whereas for the Vertue, Learning, and good Qualities which we ſaw and perceived heretofore in you, judging you thereby a Perſonage that would ſincerely, devoutly, purely, and plainly ſet forth the Word of God, and inſtruct our People in the truth of the ſame, after a ſimple and plain ſort, for their better inſtruction, unity, quiet, and agreement in the points thereof, we advanced you to the room and office of a Biſhop within this our Realm; and ſo endowed you with great Revenues and Poſſeſſions; perceiving after, by the contrariety of preaching within this our Realm, our ſaid People were brought into a diverſity of Opinion, whereby there enſued contention amongſt them; which was only engendred by a certain contemptuous manner of ſpeaking, againſt honeſt, laudable, and tolerable Ceremonies, Uſages, and Cuſtoms of the Church; we were enforced, by our ſundry Letters, to admoniſh and command you, amongſt others, to preach God's Word ſincerely, to declare abuſes plainly, and in no wiſe contentiouſly to treat of matters indifferent, which be neither neceſſary to our Salvation, as the good and vertuous Ceremonies of Holy Church, ne yet to be in any wiſe contemned and abrogated, for that they be incitements and motions to Vertue, and allurements to Devotion: all which our travail notwithſtanding, ſo little regard was by ſome taken and adhibited to our advertiſements therein, that we were conſtrained to put our own Pen to the Book, and to conceive certain Articles, which were by all you the Biſhops and whole Clergy of this our Realm in Convocation agreed on, as Catholick, meet, and neceſſary to be by our Authority for avoiding of all contention ſet forth, read and taught to our Subjects, to bring the ſame in unity, quietneſs, and good concord: ſuppoſing then that no Perſon having Authority under us, would either have preſumed to have ſpoken any word, that might have offended the ſentence and meaning of the ſame, or have been any thing remiſs, ſlack, or negligent in the plain ſetting forth of them as they be conceived, ſo as by that mean of abſtinence ſuch quiet and unity ſhould not grow thereupon as we deſired and looked for of the ſame; and perceiving eft-ſoons, by credible report, that our labours, travail, and deſire therein, is nevertheleſs defeated, and in manner by general and contemptuous words ſpoken

ſpoken, by ſundry light and ſeditious Perſons, contemned and deſpiſed, ſo that by the abſtinence of direct and plain ſetting-forth of the ſaid Articles, and by the fond and contentious manner of ſpeaking, that the ſaid light Perſonages do ſtill uſe againſt the honeſt Rites, Cuſtoms, Uſages, and ceremonial Things of the Church, our People be much more offended than they were before; and in a manner exclaim that we will ſuffer that injury at any Man's hand, whereby they think both God, us, and our whole Realm highly offended, inſomuch that principally upon that ground, and for the Reformation of thoſe Follies and Abuſes, they have made this commotion and inſurrection, and have thereby grievouſly offended us, dammaged themſelves, and troubled many of our good Subjects: We be now enforced, for our diſcharge towards God, and for the tender love and zeal we bear unto the tranquillity and loving unity of our ſaid People and Subjects, again to readdreſs theſe our Letters to all the Biſhops of our Realm, and amongſt other unto you, as a peremptory warning to admoniſh you, to demean and uſe your ſelf for the redobbying of theſe things as ſhall be hereafter declared, upon pain of deprivation from the Biſhoprick, and further to be puniſhed for your contempt, if you ſhall offend in the contrary, as Juſtice ſhall require for your own Treſpaſs.

And firſt, we ſtraitly charge and command you, that plainly and diſtinctly, without any additions, ye ſhall every Holy day, whereſoever ye ſhall be within your Dioceſs, when ye may ſo do with your health and convenient commodity, openly, in your Cathedral Church, or the Pariſh Church of the place where ye ſhall for time be, read and declare our Articles; and in no wiſe, in the reſt of your words which ye ſhall then ſpeak of your ſelf, if you ſpeak any thing, utter any word that ſhall make the ſame, or any word in the ſame, doubtful to the People.

Secondly; We will and command you, That you ſhall in your Perſon travel from place to place in all your Dioceſs, as you may with your commodity, and endeavour your ſelves every Holy-day to make a Collation to the People, and in the ſame to ſet forth plainly the Texts of Scripture that you ſhall treat of; and with that alſo as well to declare the obedience due by God's Laws to their Prince and Soveraign Lord, againſt whoſe commandment they ought in no wiſe, though the ſame were unjuſt, to uſe any violence, as to commend and praiſe honeſt Ceremonies of the Church as they be to be praiſed, in ſuch plain and reverent ſort, that the People may perceive they be not contemned, and yet learn how they were inſtituted, and how they ought to be obſerved and eſteemed; uſing ſuch a temperance therein, as our ſaid People be not corrupted, by putting over-much affiance in them, which a part ſhould more offend, than the clear ſilencing of the ſame, and that our People may thereto the better know their duties to us, being their King and Soveraign Lord.

Thirdly; We ſtraitly charge and command you, That neither in your private communications you ſhall uſe any words that may ſound

to the contrary of this our Commandment, ne you ſhall keep or retain any Man of any degree, that ſhall in his words privatly or openly, directly or indirectly, ſpeak in theſe matters of the Ceremonies, contentiouſly or contemptouſly; but we will that in caſe ye have, or ſhall have towards you any ſuch Perſon that will not better temper his Tongue, you ſhall, as an Offender and a Seductor of our People, ſend the ſame in ſure cuſtody to us and our Council, to be puniſhed as ſhall appertain; and ſemblably to do with other Strangers whom ye ſhall hear to be notable offenders in that part.

Fourthly; Our pleaſure and commandment is, That you ſhall on your behalf, give ſtrait commandment upon like pain of deprivation and further puniſhment, to all Parſons, Vicars, Curats, and Governors of Religious Houſes, Colledges, and other places Eccleſiaſtical within your Dioceſs, that they and every of them ſhall, touching the indifferent praiſe of Ceremonies, the avoiding of contentious and contemptous Communication, concerning any of the ſame, and the diſtinct and plain reading of our ſaid Articles, obſerve and perform, in their Churches, Monaſteries, and other Houſes Eccleſiaſtical aforeſaid, the very ſame order that is before to you preſcribed. And further, that you permit nor ſuffer any Man, of what degree ſoever in learning, Strangers or other, to preach in any place within your ſaid Dioceſs out of his own Church, by virtue of any Licenſe by us, or any other of our Miniſters, granted before the fifteenth day of this month, neither in your preſence nor elſewhere, unleſs he be a Man of ſuch honeſty, vertue, learning, and judgment, as you ſhall think able for that purpoſe, and one whom in manner you dare anſwer for.

Finally; Whereas we be advertiſed that divers Prieſts have preſumed to marry themſelves, contrary to the cuſtom of our Church of *England*, our pleaſure is, Ye ſhall make ſecret enquiry within your Dioceſs, whether there be any ſuch reſiant within the ſame or not: And in caſe ye ſhall find that there be any Prieſts that have ſo preſumed to marry themſelves, and have ſithence nevertheleſs uſed and exerciſed in any thing the Office of Prieſthood, we charge you, as ye will anſwer upon the pains aforeſaid, not to conceal their doings therein, but rather to ſignify their demeanour to our Council, or to cauſe them to be apprehended, and ſo ſent up unto us accordingly. Given under our Signet at our Caſtle of *Windſor*, the 19*th* day of *November*, in the 28*th* Year of Our Reign.

X. *Tonſtall's*

X. *Tonstall's* Arguments for the Divine Institution of Auricular Confession; with some Notes written on the Margent by King *Henry's* own Hand. An Original.

Quod Confessio Auricularis sit de Jure Divino.

Cotton Libr. Cleop. E. 5.

PRobari videtur ex illo loco Matthæi 3. ubi Joanne Baptista in deserto prædicante pœnitentiam, exibat ad eum Hierosolyma & omnis Judæa, & baptizabantur ab eo in Jordane confitentes peccata sua; quem locum Chrysostomus ita exponit, inquiens, Confessio peccatorum est testimonium Conscientiæ confitentis Deum, qui enim timet Judicium Dei peccata sua non erubescat confiteri; qui autem erubescit non timet, perfectus enim timor solvit omnem pudorem; illic enim turpitudo confessionis aspicitur, ubi futuri judicii pœna non creditur. Nunquid nescimus quia Confessio peccatorum habet pudorem, & quia hoc ipsum erubescere pœna est gravis, sed ideo magis nos jubet Deus confiteri peccata nostra, ut verecundiam patiamur pro pœna? nam & hoc ipsum pars est Judicii, O misericordia Dei! quem totiens ad iracundiam excitavimus, sufficit ei * solus pudor pro pœna.

* *Nota bene de solo pudore.*

Si verecundia pro pœna est apud Deum, ea autem non continget ex confessione facta soli Deo, nam nemo rationis compos ignorat etiam absque Confessione Deum peccata nostra scire, de Confessione facta homini necesse est intelligatur. Præterea ipsa Verba demonstrant quod Joanni Baptistæ confessi sunt peccata sua, nam dixit eis, facite ergo fructum dignum pœnitentia, quod apte dicere non poterat, nisi pœnitentes eos ex confessione sibi facta rescivisset.

Fallax.

Beda Marci I.

Et Baptizabantur ab illo in Jordane flumine, confitentes peccata sua. * Exemplum confitendi peccata ac meliorem vitam promittendi datur eis, qui Baptisma accipere desiderant, sicut etiam prædicante † Paulo in Epheso multi credentium veniebant, confitentes & annunciantes actus suos, quatenus abdicata vita veteri, renovari mererentur in Christo.

* *Exemplum dicit non præceptum.*
† *Non præcepto.*

Scribitur quoq; in Evangelio Joannis 21. Quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis,& quorum retinueritis,retenta sunt: & Matth.18. Quæcunq; ligaveritis super terram erunt ligata in Cœlo, & quæcunq; solveritis super terram, erunt soluta in Cœlo. Remittere autem & solvere nemo potest id quod ignorat, occulta autem peccata præter peccantem novit nisi solus Deus, quare nisi peccata aperiantur Sacerdoti, nec ea ligare nec solvere posset. Et * quemadmodum Sacratissima tua Majestas, si commissionem aliquibus dedisset audiendi & terminandi negotium aliquod, non possent judices rem ignorantes nisi negotio coram eis patefacto causam finire, viz. propter culpam litigatorum non comparentium coram eis; sic nec Sacerdotes ligare & solvere possunt peccata quæ ignorant. Itaq; cum Deus Sacerdotem velut medicum Spiritualem Ecclesiæ dederit, si quis enim sua vulnera celat ipse sua culpa perit, cum tamen de salute sua deberet esse sollicitus, sicut Paulus ad Phil. 2. admonet, inquiens, cum metu & tremore Salutem vestram operamini.

Huic respondendum est. Absolutio datur in remedium peccatorum petentibus tantum, nam si non petiero.

* *Exemplum bene declarat rem, sed non perite positum.*

 Origenes

Origenes in Levit. Homilia 2. loquens de Remissionibus Peccatorum.

De sua opinione loquens. Est adhuc & septima, licet dura & laboriosa, per pœnitentiam remissio peccatorum, cum lavat peccator lachrimis stratum suum, & fiunt ei lachrimæ suæ panis die & nocte, & cum non erubescit Sacerdoti Domini indicare peccatum suum, & quærere medicinam secundum eum qui ait, * Dixi pronunciabo adversum me injustitiam meam Domino, & tu remisisti impietatem cordis mei, in quo impletur & illud quod Jacobus Apostolus dicit, Si quis autem infirmatur, vocet Presbyteros Ecclesiæ, & imponant ei manus, † ungentes eum oleo in nomine Domini, & oratio fidei salvabit infirmum, & si in peccatis fuerit remittentur ei.

** Male sentit qui abutitur Scriptura.*

† Nunquam in modum unctionis in Confessione utebatur.

Origenes Homilia 2. in Psal. 37.

Intellige mihi fidelem quidem hominem sed tamen infirmum, qui etiam vinci ab aliquo peccato potuit, & propter hoc mugientem pro delictis suis & omnimodo curam vulneris sui sanitatemq; requirentem, licet præventus sit & lapsus, volentem tamen medelam ac salutem reparare; si ergo hujusmodi homo memor delicti sui, confiteatur quæ commisit, & humana confusione parvi pendat eos, qui exprobrant eum confitentem, & notant vel irrident, ille autem intelligens per hoc veniam sibi dari, & in die Resurrectionis pro his quibus nunc confunditur coram hominibus, tunc ante Angelos Dei confusionem atq; opprobria evasurum, ut nolit tegere & occultare maculam suam, sed pronunciet delictum suum, nec velit esse Sepulchrum dealbatum, quod deforis quidem appareat hominibus speciosum, id est ut videntibus se quasi justus appareat, intus autem sit repletus omni immunditie & ossibus mortuorum.

Non ait necesse est ut confiteantur, jam de contemptu loquitur.

Et paulo post, Quoniam iniquitatem meam pronuncio. Pronunciationem iniquitatis, id est confessionem peccati, frequentius diximus, vide ergo quid edocet nos scriptura divina, quia opportet peccatum non celare intrinsecus; fortassis enim sicut ii qui habent intus inclusam escam indigestam, aut humoris, vel flegmatis stomacho graviter & moleste imminentem, si vomuerunt relevantur; ita etiam hi qui peccarunt, si quidem occultant & retinent intra se peccatum intrinsecus urgentur, & propemodum suffocantur a phlegmate vel humore peccati: Si autem ipse sui accusator fiat, dum accusat semetipsum, simul evomit & delictum, atque omnem morbi digerit causam. Tantummodo circumspice diligentius cui debeas confiteri peccatum tuum, proba prius medicum cui debeas causam languoris exponere, qui sciat infirmari cum infirmante, flere cum flente, qui condolendi & compatiendi noverit disciplinam, ut ita demum si quid ille dixerit, qui se prius & eruditum medicum ostenderit & misericordem, si quid consilii dederit, facias & sequaris, si intellexerit & præviderit talem esse languorem tuum, qui in conventu totius. Ecclesiæ exponi debeat & curari, ex quo fortassis & cæteri ædificari poterunt, & tu ipse facile sanari, multa hac deliberatione & satis perito medici illius consilio procurandum est.

Cyprianus in Sermone de Lapsis.

Denique, quando & fide majore & timore meliores sunt, qui quamvis nullo Sacrificii aut libelli facinore constricti, quoniam tamen de hoc vel cogitaverunt, hoc ipsum apud Sacerdotes Dei dolenter & simpliciter confitentur, exomologesin conscientiæ faciunt, animi sui pondus exponunt, salutarem medelam parvis licet & modicis vulneribus exquirunt, scientes scriptum esse, Deus non deridetur; derideri & circumveniri Deus non potest, nec astutia aliqua fallente deludi: plus imo delinquit qui secundum hominem Deum cogitans evadere se pœnam criminis credit, si non palam crimen admisit. Christus in præceptis suis dicit, qui confusus me fuerit, confundet eum filius hominis, & Christianum se putat qui Christianus esse aut confunditur aut veretur: Quomodo potest esse cum Christo, qui ad Christum pertinere aut erubescit aut metuit? minus plane peccaverit non videndo idola, nec sub oculis circumstantis atq; insultantis populi sanctitatem fidei profanando, non polluendo manus suas funestis Sacrificiis, nec sceleratis cibis ora maculando; hoc eo proficit ut sit minor culpa, non ut innocens conscientia; facilius potest ad veniam criminis pervenire, non est tamen immunis a crimine, nec cesset in agenda pœnitentia, atq; in Domini misericordia deprecanda, ne quod minus esse in qualitate delicti videtur, in neglecta satisfactione cumuletur. Confiteantur singuli, quæso vos fratres, delictum suum, dum adhuc qui deliquit in sœculo est, dum admitti confessio ejus potest, dum satisfactio & remissio facta per Sacerdotes apud Dominum grata est; convertamur ad Dominum mente tota, & pœnitentiam criminis veris doloribus exprimentes Dei misericordiam deprecemur; illi se anima prosternat, illi mæstitia satisfaciat, illi spes omnis incumbat; rogare qualiter debeamus dicit ipse, Revertimini inquit, ad me ex toto corde vestro, simulq; & jejunio, & fletu, & planctu, & scindite corda vestra & non vestimenta.

Fatetur Cyprianus Confessionem auricularem nobis non plus præcipi quam virginitatem.

Si præceptum haberet non persuaderet.

Præterea Esaias peccatorem admonet Cap. 42. secundum 70. inquiens, Dic tu prior iniquitates tuas ut justificeris; & Salomon Prov. 18. ait, Justus prior est accusator sui, atq; ideo ne Satan nos in judicio coram omnibus accuset, nos illum in hac vita, per priorem confessionem delicti nostri factam aliis prævenire debemus, nam Deum prævenire in nostri accusatione nequimus, qui omnia facta nostra jam novit, immo vero antequam fierent ea præscivit; quare Confessio illa necesse est, intelligatur, de extranea confessione facta Dei ministro qui id ignoravit, nam Deum nihil unquam latuit non modo jam factum, sed ne futurum quidem quicquam.

Hi omnes suadent, sed non præcipiunt.

Circa personas vero ministrorum quibus fieri deberet Confessio, atq; circa tempora Ecclesiæ nonnunquam aliquid immutarunt, & varie pro regionibus statuerunt.

Cum nec cui nec tempus designatur non firmum præceptum datur.

Et ne tuam solicitudinem, Sacratissima Majestas, circa publicam Regni tui tranquillitatem stabiliendam sanctissime occupatam, longa multorum lectione, quæ præter ista afferre possem, remorari videar, plura adjungere supersedebo, illud tantummodo precatus, ut meam hanc scribendi temeritatem boni consulat, quam ego totam perspicacissimo atq; eruditissimo Majestatis tuæ judicio considerandam pensitandamq; committo. Atq; ita felicissime valeat Sacratissima tua Majestas, cujus Regnum & prosperrimum & in sœculum diuturnum nobis fore precamur.

XI. *A Letter of King* Henry'*s to* Tonstall, *Bishop of* Duresme, *against Articular Confession being of Divine Institution. An Original.*

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5.

SInce me thought (my Lord of *Durham*) that both the Bishops of *York*, *Winchester*, and your Reasons and Texts were so fully answered this other day, in the House, as to my seeming and supposal, the most of the House was satisfied; I marvelled not a little why est-soons you have sent to me this now your writing, being in a manner few other Texts or Reasons than there were declared both by the Bishop of *Canterbury* and me, to make smally or nothing to your intended purpose: but either I esteem that you do it to prove my simple judgment alone, which indeed doth not much use (tho not the wisest) to call in aid, the judgments of other learned Men, and so by mine ignorant answer, seem to win the Field; or else that you be too much blinded in your own fansy and judgment, to think that a Truth, which by learning you have not yet proved, nor I fear me cannot by Scriptures, nor any other Directors probable grounds, though I know mine unsufficiency in learning, if the matter were indifferent, and that the ballance stood equal, since I take the verity of the Cause rather to favorize the part I take than yours; it giveth me therefore great boldness, not presuming in Learning, but in justness of the Cause, seeing by writing you have provoked me to it, to make answer to your Arguments: Therefore I beginning now to reply to your first Allegation, shall essay to prove, if I can, that your own Author in place by you alledged, maketh plain against your Opinion; for as you alledg him, St. *Chrysostom* saith, *Quod sufficit solus pudor pro pœna*, then Articular Confession is not by commandment necessary; for if it were, this word (*Solus*) is by your Author ill set; therefore your Author in this place furdereth you but little, To your *Fallax* Argument, I deny your consequent, founded only upon small Reason, which is the ground of your *Fallax* Argument: which Reason I need not take away, for your alledged Author doth shew too plainly, in his 5. *Homily*, *Tom.* 5. that you gather wrong sense upon his words; for he saith, with much more touching this matter, these few words, *Non hominibus peccata detegere cogo*; then this other Text before rehearsed, is not to be understood as you will by writing it. Further, me thinketh, I need not (God thank you) too greatly study for Authors to conclude your wrong taking of Texts, for those your self alledg serveth me well to purpose: for all your labour is to prove that Auricular Confession were by God commanded, and both your Authorities of *Bede* and *Paul*, sheweth nothing but that they did confess their sins, and yet do not they affirm that it was by commandment; wherefore they make for mine Argument and not for yours. Your other Texts of *John* 21. and *Matthew* 10. were so throughly answered this other day, and so manifestly declared not to appertain to our grounded Argument, that I marvel you be not ashamed est-soons to put them in writing, and to found your Argument now so fondly on them; for what fonder Argument can be made to prove thereby a necessity of Confession, than to say, If you confess not, I cannot forgive? Would a Thief which committeth

mitteth Felony, think himself obliged by the Law to disclose his Felony, if the Law say no more, but if thou confess not I cannot forgive thee? or would theft the sooner therefore to be forgiven? This is matter so apparent, that none can but perceive except he would not see. As touching *Origens* places by you alledged; as the first, in *Leviticum*, sheweth that we be as much bound *lavare stratum lacrimis*, *as dicere Sacerdoti*, which no Man, I think, will affirm that we be bound to do; and yet he affirmeth not that any of them is commanded: the Text also whereby ye would approve his so saying, doth not yet speak *quod pronunciabo justitiam meam Sacerdoti*, but *Domino:* The other of *James* seemeth better to make for extream Unction; than for Confession; for when was ever the use, that Folk coming only to Confession, were wont to be anointed with Oil, therefore this makes nothing to your Argument. As touching *Origen* in *Psal.* 37. he saith not, *quod obligamur dicere Sacerdoti*, but *si confiteantur*; and seemeth rather to perswade Men that they should not *parvipendere Confessionem*, (as all good Folk wold) than that they were obliged to Confess them to a Priest. Though *Cyprian de Lapsis*, doth praise them which do Confess their Faults to Priests, yet doth he confess that we be not bound to do so; for he saith in the highest of his praise these words, *How much be they then higher in Faith, and better in fear of God, which though they be not bound by any deed of Sacrifice, or Book, yet be they content sorrowfully to confess to the Priest sins!* He knowledgeth no bond in us by neither fact of Sacrifice or Libel, why alledg you (tho he praise Auricular Confession) that we should be bound by God and Law thereto? This is no proof thereof, neither by Reason nor by Scripture, nor any good Authority. And whereas he saith further, *Confiteantur singuli, quæso vos fratres, delictum suum*; this doth not argue a precept: nor yet the saying of *Esay*, cap. 43. *secundum Septuaginta*; nor *Solomon* in the *Proverbs* 10. for these speak rather of knowledging our Offence to God in our Heart, than of Auricular Confession; after *David* the Prophets saying and teaching, when he said, *Tibi soli peccavi*, that was not to a Priest. By the text also which you alledg, beginning, *circa personas vero ministrorum*, &c. you do openly confess that the Church hath not accepted Auricular Confession to be by God's Commandment; or else by your saying and Allegation, they have long erred: for you confess that the Church hath divers times changed both to whom Confession should be made, and times when; and that also they have changed divers ways for divers Regions; if it were by God's Commandment they might not do thus: Wherefore, my Lord, since I hear no other Allegations, I pray you blame not me tho I be not of your Opinion; and of the both, I think that I have more cause to think you obstinate, than you me, seeing your Authors and Allegations make so little to your purpose. And thus fare you well.

XII. *A*

XII. *A Definition of the Church, corrected in the Margent by King* Henry*'s own hand. An Original.*

De Ecclesia.

Cotton Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5.

ECclesia præter alias acceptiones in Scripturis duas habet præcipuas: Unam, qua Ecclesia accipitur pro Congregatione Sanctorum & vere fidelium qui Christo capiti vere credunt,& sanctificantur Spiritu ejus; hæc autem una est, & vere Sanctum Corpus Christi sed Soli Deo * cognitum, qui hominum corda solus intuetur. Altera acceptio est, qua Ecclesia accipitur pro Congregatione omnium Hominum qui baptizati sunt in Christo, & non palam abnegarint Christum, nec sunt † excommunicati ||: quæ Ecclesiæ acceptio congruit ejus Statui in hac vita duntaxat, ubi habet malos bonis simul admixtos (a), & debet esse cognita per Verbum & legitimum usum Sacramentorum ut possit audiri; sicut docet Christus, Qui Ecclesiam non audierit. Porro ad veram unitatem Ecclesiæ, requiritur ut sit consensus in recta Doctrina Fidei & administratione Sacramentorum.

Traditiones vero & ritus atq; Cæremoniæ quæ vel ad decorem, vel ordinem, vel Disciplinam Ecclesiæ ab hominibus sunt institutæ, non omnino necesse est, ut eædem sint ubiq; aut prorsus similes: hæ enim & variæ fuere & variari possunt * pro regionum atq; morum diversitate & commodo †, sic tamen ut sint consentientes Verbo Dei: & quamvis in Ecclesia secundum posteriorem acceptionem mali sint bonis admixti, atq; etiam Ministeriis Verbi & Sacramentorum nonnunquam præsint, tamen cum ministrent non suo sed Christi nomine, mandato & authoritate, licet eorum ministerio uti tam in verbo audiendo quam recipiendis Sacramentis, juxta illud, Qui vos audit me audit; nec per eorum malitiam imminuitur effectus aut gratia donorum Christi rite accipientibus, sunt enim efficacia propter promissionem & ordinationem Christi etiamsi per malos exhibeantur.

* *Sponsa Christi cognita.*
† *Juste.*
|| *Aut obstinati.*
(a) *Et cognitio hujus Ecclesiæ pervenit per usum Verbi &* Sacramentorum, *acceptione perfecta, unitate annexa, ac unanimi consensu acceptata.*

* *Modo rectoribus placeant quibus semper obtemperandum est, tamen ut eorum institutio atq; lex Verbo Dei non adversetur.*
† *Ista est Ecclesia nostra Catholica & Apostolica, cum qua nec Pontifex* Romanus, *nec quivis alius Prælatus aut Pontifex, habet quicquid agere præterquam in suas Dioceses.*

The End of the Addenda.

A Table of the Records and Papers that are in the Collection, with which the places in the History to which they relate, are marked; the first number, with the Letter C. is the Page of the *Collection*; the second, with the Letter H. is the Page of the *History*.

The Second Book.

The Third Book.

9. *The*

Addenda.

8. *The*

FINIS.

Errata *in the* Collection of Records.

PAge 21. Line 4. *compendio*, read *Compendio*. P. 19. l. 32. *huic*, r. *hic*. P. 21. l. 23 *datum*, r. *datam*. P. 65. l. 30. before *to*, r. *than*. P. 38. l. 5. *and take*, r. *to take*; l. 22. *gently*, r. *generally*. P. 111. the Marginal Note should stand 6 lines higher. P. 124. l. 14. *for*, r. *her*; l. 15. *Word*, r. *were*. P. 128. l. 12, 13, 14, 15, the *Comma's* are all wrong placed. P. 137. l. 42. *other*, r. *Oath*. P. 154. l. 19. *as if*, dele *as*. P. 157 l. 12. *here*, r. *have*. P. 190. l. 18 *our*, r. *your*. P. 220. l. 5. *Quest*. 3. r. *Quest*. 9. P. 269. l. 47. *Variety*, r. *Verity*. P. 285. l. 19, 28, r. 18. P. 305. l. 30. *in any*, r. *many*. P. 311. l. 41. *and*, r. *that*. P. 317. l. 26. *say-men*, r. *Lay-men*; l. 45. *refuge*, r. *refuse*. P. 322. l. 30. *only*, r. *every*. P. 335. l. 35, 36. *fides lis*, r. *fidelis*.

Literal Faults, or escapes in the Punctuation, are left to the Reader's Correction.

An ADVERTISEMENT.

THe Second Part of this History, containing the Reigns of King *Edward* the 6th, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*, is preparing, and will go to the Press with all convenient speed, most of the Records and other Materials being already gathered.